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A Manual of Church History

Albert Henry Newman, D. D., LL. D., born in Edgefield Co., S. C., August 25, 1852, held the chair of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary 1877-1881, McMaster University 1881-1901, Baylor University 1901-1907 and 1913-1921, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary 1907-1913, and Mercer University 1921-1929. He was Guest Professor in the University of Chicago 1906 and 1926, Vanderbilt University 1917-1918, McMaster University 1927-1929; delivered courses of lectures on "The Anabaptist Movement" at Rochester, Newton, and Crozer, 1894; translator and editor of Immer's "Hermeneutics of the New Testament," 1877; editor and author in part of the "Memoirs of D. A. McGregor," 1891; translator in part and editor of the "Anti-Manichæan Writings of Augustin" with introductory essay on "The Manichæan Heresy" (Vol. IV, "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers"), 1887; author of "A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States" (American Church History Series, first edition, 1894, revised and enlarged, 1915); author of "A History of Antipedobaptism," 1897; editor and author in part of "A Century of Baptist Achievement," 1901; contributor of the article "Baptist Churches Apostolical" in "Baptist Doctrines," by Jenkins, and of the chapter "Protestantism in North America" to the large illustrated German *"Der Protestantismus am Ende d. XIX Jahrhunderts in Wort und Bild";* contributor of the article "English and American Theology of the Nineteenth Century" and articles on Baptist biography in Hauck-Herzog *"Real-encyklopædie";* contributor of the article "Christ in the Middle Ages" and other articles to Hastings' "Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels," to "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Popular and Critical Dictionary," "Jewish Encyclopædia," Hastings' "Dictionary of Ethics and Religion," Smith and Mathews' "Dictionary of Religion and Ethics," and "Baptist Encyclopædia," *Baptist Quarterly, Baptist Quarterly Review, Dickenson's Theological Quarterly* (London), *Christian Literature, Progress, American Journal of Theology, Review and Expositor, The Crozer Quarterly, Mennonite Quarterly Review, Theolog. Litteratur Zeitung, Papers of the American Society of Church History* (three articles); editor for Church History of the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia* and contributor of many articles. Constituent member of the American Society of Church History, the Comeniusgesellschaft, and the Kirchengeschichtliche Gesellschaft; Vice-president of The American Baptist Historical Society.

A Manual of Church History

BY

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D. D., LL. D.

Volume II

Modern Church History

(A. D. 1517-1932)

REVISED AND ENLARGED

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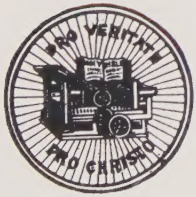

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TO

Mary Augusta Ware

the wife of my youth, to whose self-sacrificing devotion and constant encouragement I am indebted to an incalculable extent for whatever I have been able to accomplish as student, teacher, and writer

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

PREFACE

The second volume of the "Manual of Church History" is now put forth as the completion of a task assumed about twenty-five years ago, when the author was just half his present age. If it should be found measurably to fulfil the purposes for which it was planned and has been laboriously prepared, the publication of the volume will be to the author a twofold source of satisfaction as involving relief from the pressure of a long-borne burden and a consciousness of having contributed something toward the advancement of one of the noblest departments of study.

The unanimous and hearty commendation of the first volume by professors of church history and other scholars of the various evangelical denominations on both sides of the Atlantic, and the extent to which it has been adopted as a text-book in theological seminaries and universities of different denominations has stimulated the author to endeavor to make the present volume even worthier of acceptance. He is well aware that the ground traversed in this portion of the work abounds in matters that are still controverted among evangelical Christians, and he can only hope that scholars of other denominations who have praised him for fair-mindedness on the ground of his handling of difficult and delicate questions in his earlier volumes will give him credit for single-minded devotion to truth even when his conclusions involve the censure of positions that they may cherish. The author is not conscious of having swerved a hair's breadth from his conception of what absolute truth required him to state because of devotion to the interests of his own denomination or of animosity toward another.

It will be noticed that no attempt is made to sketch the history of the Oriental churches during the past four centuries. It was felt that anything like an adequate treatment of the subject would require more space than could

be spared in a volume already overcrowded with the history of Occidental Christianity during the time covered.

It is a pleasure to the author to express his gratitude to Rev. Joseph Leeming Gilmour, B. D., now pastor of the Olivet Baptist Church, Montreal, for the preparation of the Index to the present volume. His Index to Vol. I was appreciated by many readers.

A. H. N.

Baylor University, Waco, Texas,
October, 1902.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

The acceptance accorded to the "Manual of Church History" by teachers of Church History in the Theological Seminaries of many denominations and in a number of universities as a text-book and work of reference, and the fact that after thirty years several hundred volumes a year are still required, would seem to warrant the author and the publishers in seeking to bring the work up to date. The author has found little that he cares to change in the body of the work and has used the additional space allowed by the publishers for giving a succinct account of the more noteworthy events and movements of the first thirty-one years of the present century. That most of the space is devoted to Roman Catholic, German Protestant, Anglican, American Lutheran, and Union movements, comparatively little to the larger American evangelical bodies who are working side-by-side in friendly relations throughout the country and who may be expected to continue to be the chief users of the work, and none at all to the scores of smaller bodies, requires perhaps no further explanation. A separate volume would be required to do justice to all.

A brief account of the Oriental churches during the past four hundred years will be found at the end of the new edition of Vol. I, soon to appear.

A. H. N.

2401 Rio Grande Street,
Austin, Texas.

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PERIOD V

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (A. D. 1517–1648)

CHAPTER I

THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

I. INTRODUCTORY

AN attentive reading of the chapters of Period IV. must have made it abundantly evident that the hierarchical church, while it had covered Europe with its organized activities and had constituted a leading factor in the onward march of civilization, had become hopelessly corrupt. All efforts at reform from within had apparently ended in dismal failure. Evangelical influences of many types and under divers names had been manifestly and powerfully at work since the beginning of the eleventh century throughout Europe and had shown themselves capable of enduring all the fiery tests that for centuries the persecuting hierarchy had been able to bring to bear for their destruction. New modes of thought and study and new views of life had been developed, with the good-will and co-operation of the papacy itself, which could not fail to revolutionize theology and with it ecclesiastical polity and Christian living. It seems important at this stage to pass in review the religious, economic, social, and political forces that necessitated revolution and determined its character.

1. *Survey of the Reformatory Forces that had been at work during the later Middle Ages.*

(1) *Non-political, Biblical Reform.* The Reformation was not inaugurated by Martin Luther, nor by the representatives of the New Learning, nor yet by Wycliffe or Huss. It began much earlier. We have seen the so-called "heretical" (properly biblical) parties protesting with terrible earnestness against the corrupt hierarchy just as it was reaching the summit of its powers, rigid insistence on uniformity of belief and worship bringing out and greatly increasing the latent Christian life.

(2) *Patriotic-Realistic Reform.* These biblical opponents of the hierarchy persecuted, scattered, and in some regions almost exterminated; the hierarchy made still more arrogant and unscrupulous by its cruel triumph; the papacy captured by the king of France and made subservient to French interests; the papal schism resulting from efforts to free the papacy from French thraldom; the national spirit having already, from various causes, been developed; it would have been strange if Christian patriots had not arisen in the various States of Europe to cry out against the extortions and oppressions to which their fatherlands were subjected by a foreign and unfriendly hierarchy, and it would have been still stranger if such patriotic churchmen had not met with a hearty response from all classes of society. Such movements were the Wycliffite in England and the Hussite in Bohemia. In these movements the following elements entered: *a. Patriotic.*—Directed chiefly against the fleecing of the people by foreign priests, who performed no service in return for their extorted revenues. *b. Realistic.*—The leaders of these movements, being realists, believed in the reality of the one universal church, corresponding to an exalted ideal. The church of their day had apostatized. Financial corruption lay at the root of the degeneracy of the age. The corrupt hierarchy represented in their view Antichrist. They sought to purge the church of corruption while maintaining a hierarchy. A reform based upon realism could be only transient. Unless the roots of the hierarchy are destroyed, it avails little to lop off an excrescence here and there. *c. Biblical.*—The biblical element was partially apprehended, but was shorn of its power by the realism just mentioned.

These movements offered, for a time, stout resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny. But they were destined to be swept away in the tide of corruption which they made no adequate effort to stay.

(3) *Mystical Reform.* Then came the *Mystics*, men of profoundly speculative minds, led by despair of reforming and spiritualizing the church and through the study of the Neo-Platonic writings to an exaggeration of the importance and capacity of the inner life to a pantheistic identification of man with God. Here the vital

idea, taken apart from its pantheistic setting, is the need of a personal appropriation of Christ. Outward forms are of no account. We must become united with God, God being in us and we in God. By contemplating God we become one with God. By contemplating Christ we become one with Christ. The pantheistic element was so transcendental as to affect comparatively few. The tendency toward striving after individual and conscious union with Christ had a much wider influence. But mysticism was indifferent to external church order, and could not of itself bring about a radical reform.

(4) *Humanistic Reform.* Next came the *Revival of Learning*, with its contempt for scholasticism, its temporary return to Platonic paganism, its restoration of the study of the Scriptures in their original languages, its contempt for human authority, and its consequent promotion of freedom of thought.

Here, then, we have five grand elements of opposition to the corrupt hierarchy: The *Biblical*, the *Realistic*, the *Patriotic*, the *Mystical*, the *Humanistic*. From the realistic not much could be expected. Its antagonism to the biblical would be likely to more than counterbalance its power for good; the patriotic was likely to be contaminated by avarice and to introduce a vast amount of corruption into any religious movement with which it might be connected. The position of humanism in a religious reformation could be only an ancillary one, yet its aid was absolutely indispensable. Singly, each of these elements had entered the arena, and each had failed of immediate success. The time was coming when all of these elements of opposition were to combine, and the fabric of the hierarchy might well have trembled in the face of such a combination.

We might form a useful and interesting classification of the various reforming parties of the sixteenth century, on the basis of the degree in which these elements entered into each. We should say, *e. g.*, that the Erasmic movement was preponderatingly humanistic. The biblical element was, theoretically at least, taken account of by Erasmus, but with so little moral aggressiveness as to be of minor moment—there was no mysticism, little patriotism, little financial interest. The Lutheran Reformation represents a combination of all five of the reformatory forces, with a marvelous capacity to shift ground from one to another, according to the exigencies of

the occasion. Few religious leaders ever expressed greater devotion to the Scriptures than Luther, and in controversy with the Romanists he made the Scriptures the only rule of faith and practice. Yet we shall see that even the Scriptures must adapt themselves to his theories or suffer the penalty of decanonization, and church authority was of some account when rites retained by him were shown to lack clear scriptural authorization. So, also, Luther was, from the first, impelled largely by patriotic motives. Nothing contributed more to his success than the contagion of his patriotism. "There never has been a German," writes the Catholic historian Döllinger, "who so intuitively understood his fellow-countrymen, and who, in return, has been so thoroughly understood; nay, whose spirit, I should say, has been so completely imbibed by his nation, as this Augustinian friar of Wittenberg. The mind and the spirit of the Germans were under his control like the lyre in the hands of a musician." Like Wycliffe and Huss he believed, at the outset, in a universal organic church, with a single head, and desired only to restore the existing church to a state of purity. Again, Luther was greatly indebted to mediæval mysticism. His personal absorption in religious matters, as well as some features of his theology, was due to this influence. Again, Luther owed much to humanism, and was himself essentially a humanist. His contempt for Aristotle and the Schoolmen, his devotion to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, his love of freedom (for himself), resulted directly from humanistic influence. Luther's enormous power and success were due largely to the fact that he combined in his own person all the reformatory elements that had come down to him from the past.

In Zwingli and Œcolampadius, leaders of the Swiss Reformation, the patriotic, the humanistic, and the biblical elements prevailed, the second in a stronger form, and the third less intensely than with Luther. We see in them almost none of Luther's churchly realism, and almost no mysticism.

In Calvin the patriotic spirit had become cosmopolitan zeal for the spread of the gospel. He could say, "to the French first," but he was sure to add, "and also to all the world"—at least "to all Europe." He was humanistic to the extent of fully appreciating the importance of classical and philological learning; but humanistic indifference and humanistic liberalism found no place in him. He was intensely biblical; yet he interpreted the Bible by Augustine rather than Augustine by the Bible. The Bible, as he understood it,—that is, the Augustinian system of doctrine as elaborated by himself,—was to Calvin no loosely fitting garment, which he could assume or doff as expediency might dictate, but rather bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh. He would have died for these views, just as he did live and labor for them.

The Socinians represented humanism with its Erasmic external respect for authority laid aside. They had all of Luther's contempt for extra-Lutheran authority, and, in addition to this, a contempt for Luther's own. They had no remnant of realism, no mysticism. They respected biblical authority, but insisted on interpreting the Scriptures in accordance with the requirements of reason. Their apprehension of the Scriptures was not profound, and their religious zeal rarely led them to court persecution.

With the Anabaptists the biblical principle, apprehended on its positive and on its negative side, held the first place. This was combined with mysticism (in some cases a purely biblical mysticism, in other cases a Neo-platonic, semi-pantheistic mysticism), and, in some cases, with pre-millennialism: the false mysticism, when it preponderated, leading to the rejection of fundamental doctrines—denial of the importance of the written word in comparison with the divine *Logos* always present to enlighten the believer, indifference to external ordinances, modification of the commonly received views of the person and work of Christ, etc.; the pre-millennialism sometimes leading to fanaticism, and to an utter wrecking of Christian life. Pre-millennialism, in connection with a desperate and frenzied socialistic movement, is responsible for the Münster Kingdom, with its horrors.

2. *Economic and Social Conditions that favored Civil and Religious Revolution, especially in Germany.*

(1) *The Development of the Mineral Resources of Germany.* As the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Bohemia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been among the most influential causes of the Hussite and Taborite revolution of the fifteenth century, so the development of the mineral wealth of Saxony and the adjoining provinces during the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth centuries was among the most potent factors in precipitating the Protestant Revolution. The following are some of the ways in which this influence wrought:

a. The great increase of wealth in Germany excited the cupidity of the Roman Curia and led to the employment of extortionate methods of raising money beyond what was practicable at the time in most other countries. The papacy came to be looked upon by all classes of Germans as a corrupt foreign power whose chief concern in relation to Germany was that of exploitation.

b. The extensive mining operations in Freiberg, Schneeberg, Schreckenstein, Annaberg, Joachimsthal, etc., withdrew from the agricultural population a large number of laborers. Under ordinary circumstances this fact should have redounded to the advantage of the laboring class, but as a matter of fact it had the opposite effect. There was so little economic freedom that the miners were unable to secure remunerative wages and were in a chronic state of discontent, while the agricultural

laborers were compelled to work harder and were more ruthlessly exploited than before. The aggregations of mining populations greatly increased the demand for food products, as did also the growth of cities by reason of the increase of wealth and the demand for imported and manufactured goods. This increased demand for farm products stimulated the landowners to use every means for increasing production and to extort from the laborers as much as possible of the results of their industry. The growth of the cities brought in many artisans from a distance and gave employment to many peasants. The decimation of the peasant population by pestilence had still further aggravated the grievances of the survivors. The forests, which had hitherto been regarded as of little value and had been freely available for the purposes of the peasants, had come to be jealously guarded by the nobility as important sources of wealth. Vast quantities of wood and timber were consumed by the mines and the growth of the cities created an increasing demand for fuel and lumber. The increasing luxury of the nobles, who shared in the prosperity of the country, caused them to pay more attention than ever to the preservation of fish and game and to inflict upon the peasants the severest penalties for the violation of their regulations. A large and wealthy merchant class had grown up in the cities, and this, like the prosperous nobles, looked with disfavor on the extortions of the papacy as a draining of the country of its resources without corresponding advantages. It is to be noted that all classes, except clergy and monks, however much at variance they may have been with each other, were at one in resenting the extortions of the papacy.

(2) *The Organization of Artisans.* The artisans, now numerous and influential, were thoroughly organized in guilds. They had their assembly halls, where they could discuss municipal and other questions, and where they were free from the intrusion of clerical or magisterial authority. From the early Middle Ages the trade guilds had been important means of evangelical propagandism. A large proportion of the evangelical workers among the Waldenses and related parties were artisans and as members of guilds had ready access to the artisan classes

and enjoyed everywhere the hospitality and protection of their fellow-workmen. A fresh impetus was doubtless given to evangelical life in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the growth of German cities and the development of manufacturing industry. It is not to be supposed that all artisans were evangelical Christians; but it is certain that many of them were, and that the immunities enjoyed by the guilds greatly furthered the cause f evangelical dissent.

(3) *Diffusion of Secret Societies.* Nothing is more characteristic of the time immediately preceding the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution than the wide diffusion of secret societies (brotherhoods, sodalities, etc.). The influence of the new learning, with its skepticism and its desire to probe all questions of science, philosophy, and religion, in disregard of ecclesiastical authority, was doubtless paramount in this movement. Many of these societies were no doubt liberalistic or even infidel. Some of them were certainly made up of earnest Christians anxiously striving for higher attainments in Christian experience and knowledge, and it is probable that not a few of them were essentially evangelical churches. All alike were conducted in defiance of papal authority and wrought mightily for its overthrow.

(4) *Communism or Semi-communism.* Most of the evangelical parties of the Middle Ages were communistic or semi-communistic in doctrine and in practice, their communism being consciously based upon what they understood to be the teachings of Christ and the practice of the apostolic church. This is true of the Beghards and Beguines, of the Brethren of the Common Life, of the inner circle of the Waldenses, of the Taborites, and of the Bohemian Brethren, of the earlier time. While in some of these parties communism was not practised in a complete or consistent way, owing to the unfavorable conditions, it was their ideal, and the obligation of sharing with brethren in distress, even to the point of self-impoverishment, was almost universally recognized. That this type of Christianity should have appealed powerfully to the down-trodden peasantry and to the artisan classes in the cities was what might have been expected. The monastic orders had preached the doctrine

of poverty, but had soon become enormously wealthy in landed estates and notorious exploiters of labor. The common people had learned the hollowness of their pretensions and were ready to follow those who repudiated the papacy with all its institutions and insisted on an unconditional return to primitive Christianity. It is probable that a large proportion of those who accepted the social views of the evangelical Christians were without personal experience of saving grace and knew little of Scripture teaching; but it is certain that there was a general readiness to follow any leader who making the "pure word of God" his watchword should promise deliverance from ecclesiastical and civil bondage and the liberty and equality that they believed to be the inalienable right of Christian men. This propagandism of revolutionary social and religious views was conducted as secretly as possible; but it had accomplished its work in a pretty thorough way long before Luther appeared as a champion of Christian liberty.

3. *Political Relations and Conditions that Favored the Outbreak of the Protestant Revolution and Determined its Course.*

(1) *The Holy Roman Empire and the Hapsburgers.* The organization of the empire under the Golden Bull (1356) was still in force in the sixteenth century. The Hapsburg princes, starting out with a small Swiss province, had by conquest, diplomacy, and advantageous marriages, become by far the most powerful of the political forces of Europe and had long been at the head of the empire. The imperial office, though elective and at this time purchasable by the highest bidder, had become virtually hereditary, few even of the wealthy princes being able to compete with the powerful Hapsburgers, and some of the wealthier being unwilling to assume the responsibilities of the office. Some time before the imperial throne became vacant by the death of Maximilian (Jan. 12, 1519), negotiations for the succession had begun. The principal competitors were the king of France, who was distasteful to the Germans, and Charles, the grandson of Maximilian, who had become heir not only to

Austria and its eastern and Italian dependencies, but to Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and the vast colonial possessions of Spain as well. All the electors, except Frederick of Saxony, are said to have received bribes from the representatives of both of these potentates; and yet a majority of them offered the succession to Frederick of Saxony, whose territorial possessions were insignificant in comparison with those of Francis I. and Charles, but who had become, by virtue of his exploitation of the mineral wealth of Saxony, possessed of more ready money than either of the candidates. He refused to pay the price and no doubt shrank from the responsibilities of imperial administration. Besides he had committed himself to ecclesiastical reform, and would probably have hesitated to take the oath of allegiance to the Roman Catholic hierarchy required of incumbents of the imperial office. The invasion of eastern Europe by the Turks, moreover, made it peculiarly desirable that the Hapsburgers, a large part of whose possessions was in the East, should continue in the office. Apart from his control of his hereditary domains, the emperor's power in Germany was very slight, the more important principalities being able and disposed to resist any interference with the internal affairs of their provinces and even the petty principalities being exceedingly jealous in guarding their autonomy.

(2) *Germany*. Though included in the Holy Roman Empire, Germany was still in a thoroughly feudalized and disintegrated condition. By virtue of the German law of inheritance, the land had been almost endlessly subdivided among the sons of the lords and in only a few cases was there any considerable aggregation of territorial possessions and political power. These petty princes claimed and exercised the right of private warfare and many of them were little better than robber chieftains. Fist-law (*Faust-recht*) still largely prevailed. These petty principalities were interspersed with ecclesiastical estates of varying magnitude (archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, etc.), which, apart from the recognition of papal sovereignty, were governed in very much the same way as the secular principalities. With the growth of commerce during the later Middle Ages a large number of

cities had been able by reason of their wealth to emancipate themselves from the feudal lords and to obtain imperial charters as free cities. The imperial free cities had their representation in the imperial Diet side by side with the electors and with the princes, lay and ecclesiastical. These cities, with their wealth, self-government, intelligence, and diversified industries, constituted the strength of Germany at the beginning of the present period. They were usually strongly fortified and provisioned for a year. In many of them a spirit of religious toleration prevailed that enabled the older forms of evangelical Christianity to flourish even in times when exterminating persecution generally prevailed. These were the seats of the trade-guilds that did so much for the conservation and diffusion of evangelical principles and that promoted in so large a measure the democratic spirit. As early as the thirteenth century sixty cities in the Rhenish regions had leagued themselves together for the protection of commerce and the defense of their liberties. A similar organization (Hanseatic League) of the cities of northern Germany had been formed a little later. These leagues of cities did more than any other single agency for the establishment and maintenance of law and order and for the advancement of civilization in its higher forms.

The most important aggregation of territorial possessions in Germany at this time was the Wettin lands, made up of the electorate and the archduchy of Saxony. This territory was all the more important, as suggested above, because of its vast mineral wealth which was already being exploited on a large scale. Among the other more important political entities were the archduchy of Mecklenburg, the electorate of Brandenburg (later to develop into Prussia), the landgravate of Hesse, the archduchy of Bavaria, the electorate of the Palatinate, the archduchy of Lorraine, the archduchy of Luxenburg, the archduchy of Brabant, the county of Wurtemburg, the duchy of Brabant, the county of Holland, the duchy of Gelders, and the duchy of Westphalia. Among the provinces in central Germany that were already dependent on the Hapsburg princes, besides the archduchy of Austria (including the duchy of Styria, the duchy of Car-

niola, the duchy of Carinthia, and the county of Tirol), were the kingdom of Bohemia, the margravate of Moravia, and the duchy of Silesia.

(3) *Spain*, which was never an integral part of the empire, though its king was emperor, was at this time approaching the height of its glory. By the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, Castile and Aragon had been united (1481), and the opportunity came for the conquest of Grenada and the expulsion of the Moors (1492). Perpignan was acquired from France shortly afterward and Navarre was annexed in 1512. Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy (Naples) were added, as well as the Netherlands. The discovery of America by Columbus (1492) redounded to the glory of Spain, and the exploitation of America and the East was already enriching this great maritime power. The expulsion of the Moors was followed by inquisitorial proceedings against the Jews, and over a hundred thousand are said to have been driven from their homes. Many of them found a temporary abiding-place in Portugal and thence scattered over Europe. Though ardent Catholics, Ferdinand and Isabella were far from being slavishly subservient to the papacy. They made some earnest efforts at reform and threatened to chastise Alexander VI. for his scandalous conduct. A ferocious type of Roman Catholicism had been developed in Spain, partly as a result of contact and conflict with Mohammedanism, that manifested itself in the Inquisition, in the Order of Jesuits, in the enslavement and enforced conversion of heathen peoples, in the uncompromising warfare with Protestantism. The ambition of Spain at this time was boundless, but her schemes for aggrandizement were fortunately held in check by similar ambitions on the part of France, by the revolt of a large part of Germany against the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and by the aggressive attitude of the Turkish Empire in relation to Europe in general and especially in relation to the eastern possessions of the Hapsburgers.

(4) *France* had become a mighty and thoroughly centralized monarchy. The application of the law of primogeniture, fortunate marriages, and conquest had brought the feudal provinces one by one under the dominion of

the successors of Hugh Capet. Guyenne and Aquitaine were annexed in 1461, Brittany, in 1491, Burgundy, in 1477, Provence, in 1491, and Milan and Genoa (by conquest), in 1516. Moreover, a claim had been laid to Naples. This last was long one of the bones of contention between France and Spain. France was not only a mighty nation, second only to Spain, but she had already been mastered by the ambition to be mightiest of all. She was not content with any permanent eastern boundary west of the Rhine and aspired to the government of Savoy and the whole of Italy. France had long been in the van of progress. Educationally and commercially she occupied a leading position. Francis I. had abandoned the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, the charter of the liberties of the Gallican church, and had entered into a concordat with the pope (1516), in accordance with which the king was to nominate the prelates, and the pope and king were to share in an equitable way the advantages of ecclesiastical patronage. It was no doubt due in part to this good understanding between pope and king that the former supported the latter in his candidacy for the imperial throne (1519), to the great injury of the papal cause in Germany. If France and the house of Hapsburg had been at one during the early years of the Protestant Revolution it is difficult to see how the Protestant princes of Germany could have maintained their cause.

The French nobles had been deprived of their right to maintain armies and to engage in private warfare and had been attached to the crown by special privileges, including exemption from taxation and the frequent bestowal of royal gratuities. They constituted a distinct caste, separated by an insuperable barrier from the peasants, artisans, and tradesmen. The peasants were free, in a sense, but were grievously oppressed by civil and ecclesiastical taxation, and the tribunals of the country were so completely subservient to the crown as to render them helpless against injustice. They were as a rule ignorant, peaceably inclined, and submissive, and were little amenable to the revolutionary influences that wrought so powerfully and so universally among the German peasants. A large middle class, engaged chiefly

in mercantile, manufacturing, and professional pursuits, had gathered in the cities and was becoming wealthier and wealthier, and consequently more and more influential. Separated as if by caste from the nobility and depending like these on the industry of the peasants, they were despised by the former and envied by the latter. They came to have almost a monopoly of intelligence and professional skill, as well as of manufacturing, commercial, banking, and capitalistic enterprises in general. It was this class which, along with certain elements of the nobility that were antagonistic to the crown on political grounds, was to constitute the bone and sinew of the Protestant revolt in France.

The city proletariat in France was degraded and brutalized, unsympathetic with the Protestant Revolution, and ready for any kind of atrocity. Evangelical dissent of the mediæval type seems to have been almost completely eliminated from the middle and lower classes of the population, in which it flourished in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, by centuries of inquisitorial activity, and to have been almost restricted to the Vaudois (Waldensian) communities in Piedmont, Dauphiny, etc., where from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand had been suffered to survive.

(5) *England.* Constitutional monarchy, with the disappearance of feudalism in the continental sense and the absence of caste barriers between the nobles and the upper commoners, had long been established in England. While the crown was nominally the sole owner of the land and all landowners owed allegiance and support to the crown by reason of this suzerainty, the right of the crown to levy and collect taxes without the consent of the people (including the commons), to imprison or distress without due process of law, or in any way to infringe upon the rights of the individual as respects life, liberty, or property, had long since been expressly renounced, and comprehensive charters (beginning with *Magna Charta*, 1215) had repeatedly guaranteed their rights to all classes of subjects and defined the limitations of royal prerogative. At the beginning of the present period Parliament, which represented the three estates of the realm, while nominally possessed of its

pristine powers, was feeble and submissive, and a despotism of almost Oriental arbitrariness and cruelty was in force. Henry VII., the first Tudor king, had come to the throne (1485) at the close of the wars of the Roses. Himself a usurper, he displaced the usurper and tyrant, Richard III., and secured the recognition of Parliament. The older nobility had been in a great measure destroyed during the wars and he was in a position to elevate to the peerage a large number of his partisans who were likely to be completely subservient to him. To secure himself in the undisputed possession of the crown and to make opposition hopeless he maintained a standing army, rendered all the more effective by improvements in the use of gunpowder (artillery, etc.), and was careful to prevent the organization of any armed force by his enemies. Economic changes of great importance had been for some time in progress. The demand for wool in the Netherlands and elsewhere had given a great impetus to sheep-raising, with the result that multitudes of peasant farmers were displaced and forced into the towns, where manufacturing enterprise was already rapidly growing. Henry and his successors did everything possible to further the industrial revolution, and were able by selling trade privileges and monopolies and bestowing special favors on manufacturing and commercial enterprise to secure large revenues hitherto unattainable. These added to the ordinary sources of revenue enabled Henry VII. to accumulate vast treasures and to become almost independent of Parliament. To strengthen himself still further, especially in relation to France, the hereditary enemy of England, he entered into close relations with Spain, involving the betrothal (and afterward the marriage) of his son Arthur to Catharine of Aragon. On the death of Arthur, to perpetuate the alliance, Catharine was married, by papal dispensation, to Henry (afterward King Henry VIII.), a minor, who was instructed to enter a secret protest against the proceeding, to be used thereafter in case of need. Apart from a war with France, that resulted in the loss of Brittany, the reign of Henry VII. and that of Henry VIII. were prosperous and peaceful. Men of influence were too much interested in money-making and in the new learning

patronized by the sovereigns to concern themselves very much about the maintenance of the principles of *Magna Charta*.

The English peasants were free (not serfs); but economic changes bore heavily upon them. Many peasants combined manufacturing on a small scale (weaving, etc.) with agriculture and lived in simple comfort; but the agricultural peasants, who now paid fixed money rents, were often in sore straits, and ejection often followed failure to pay. But on the whole the condition of the English peasantry was superior to that of the French and immeasurably superior to that of the German. The revolutionary spirit was almost wanting and resistance would in any case have been hopeless.

(6) *Italy*. For centuries Italy had been in a state of complete disintegration. A wide strip through the center of the peninsula constituted the *States of the Church*. The popes of the Renaissance not only sadly misgoverned and ruthlessly exploited this portion of Italy, but they used their influence for the perpetual turmoiling of the entire country. Their chief interest was the enriching of their own families and the States of the Church. The very fact that these States cut Italy in two rendered a united Italy impossible. The principal political units of Italy were *Venice*, a wealthy commercial city ruled by a despotic oligarchy and possessing considerable territory at the head of the Adriatic; *Florence*, also a city-republic, with adjoining territory, despotically ruled by the Medici; *Milan*, a similar political entity, claimed by France and Spain, but held by the Sforza family till 1512; *Naples*, covering all the southern portion of Italy, for which Spain and France long contended and to which Spain with papal aid made good her claim. France was driven out of Italy in 1511 through a combination under papal direction, of England, Spain, and Germany, known as the Holy League.

4. *Summary of Circumstances and Events that Prepared the way for the Protestant Revolution.*

(1) *Effects of the Papal Captivity and Schism.* The papacy had never recovered from the degrading effects of the captivity and schism. The reforming councils

established the superiority of councils to popes. Since the healing of the schism no powerful pope had arisen to wipe away the disgrace that had befallen the papacy. On the other hand, the popes had all been notoriously worldly and ambitious; many of them notoriously profligate; some of them more devoted to pagan philosophy than to Christianity in any form. The papacy had forgotten none of its expedients for raising money; but with the increase of commercial prosperity in Europe luxury had gone hand in hand, and the Roman Curia had developed expensive tastes for architecture and fine art. A project for the building and adorning of St. Peter's Cathedral involved the raising of enormous sums of money. The private wars of the popes were also expensive to Christendom. Indulgences were now sold more shamelessly, it is probable, than ever before, to the impoverishing of the countries of Europe and to the disgust of all right-thinking people.

(2) *Persistence of the Waldenses and Related Bodies.* The Waldenses had spread throughout Europe, and were numerous in the manufacturing and commercial towns, especially in the Netherlands, the Rhine valley, Switzerland, Austria, Silesia, Northern Italy, Southern France, etc. They belonged to the middle class, and were for the most part artisans (weavers, tailors, shoemakers, etc.) and merchants. They held secret meetings, usually in their work-rooms. The Bohemian Brethren had in Bohemia and Moravia their hundreds of congregations, their tens of thousands of members and unattached supporters (many of the latter gentry and nobles), their well-equipped and efficient schools, and their extensive literature. From the date of the discovery of the art of printing to the beginning of the present period they made vastly more use of the press than Catholics and Hussites together.

The semi-monastic Beghards and Beguines, who had probably derived their inspiration from the Waldenses, had spread throughout Lower Germany, and by their devout and industrious lives had greatly influenced the masses. The Brethren of the Common Life, who had arisen in the Netherlands in the fourteenth century, spread into most parts of Germany. These have been designated

as cultured, ennobled, churchly Beghards. They established numerous schools, and devoted their chief attention to the study of the Scriptures, and to the practice and inculcation of inner piety. These did much to diffuse Christian life among the people. The Mystics (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries) though holding to many extravagant notions, through the sanctity of their lives and through the profound conviction of sin and grace that were set forth in their devotional works and sermons, did much to awaken religious interest.

The corrupt lives of the clergy caused them to suffer greatly in the esteem of the people in comparison with these classes of religious men, whose aggregate number must have been considerable.

(3) *Decline of Feudalism.* Since the beginning of the Crusades, feudalism had been on the decline in most parts of Europe, but in Germany it was still in full force. While elsewhere the condition of the peasantry had improved, in Germany it had grown worse and worse. More labor was exacted of the peasants; they were robbed more and more of their rights. The evangelical teachings of the Waldenses and related parties had made them conscious of the injustice they suffered, and a deep spirit of unrest was everywhere manifest. The peasants had made several unsuccessful efforts for freedom and were ready for revolution, should an opportunity present itself.

(4) *The Revival of Learning.* The effect of the rise and diffusion of the new learning was, first of all, to create a disgust for scholastic theology. Many, from disgust at the scholastic representations of Christianity, lost faith in Christianity itself. Some went so far in their admiration of pagan literature, as to becomes pagans. Neo-Platonism was revived and found considerable acceptance. The papal court, under Leo X., himself a devotee of Platonism, was a hot-bed of infidelity.

Besides creating a contempt for scholasticism, the great bulwark of papal absolutism, it awakened freedom of thought in general; it caused the Scriptures to be studied in the original languages, and without reference to traditional interpretations; it diffused learning

of high character throughout Europe; and it exposed the impostures and the rottenness of the hierarchy. The emancipation of ethics from scholastic casuistical subtleties and its re-establishment on the basis of eternal right was one of the most glorious achievements of the Renaissance and one of its chief gifts to the Reformation.

(5) *Aggressions of the Turks.* The condition of the church was becoming critical. The efforts to stay the progress of the Turks had failed. It seemed to many that they would sweep over the whole of Europe, and that Christianity would suffer great tribulation, if not utter extinction. This peril drew men's attention to the corrupt state of the church and the necessity for reform.

(6) *The Invention of Printing.* Printing, which had now come into general use, had already contributed greatly to the enlightenment of Europe, and was ready to be a powerful auxiliary in any movement in which the people were to be reached.

5. *Causes of the Failure of Earlier Efforts at Reform.*

The earlier attempts at reformation had apparently failed. The causes of their failure were various. We may enumerate some of them:

(1) *Lack of Popular Intelligence.* While many of the mediæval reforming parties gained extensive popular following, there was, as a rule, not sufficient intelligence among their members to enable them to come forward boldly and combat the hierarchical church on its own ground. Such was especially the case with the Waldenses and related bodies.

(2) *Inadequate Ideas of Reform.* Those parties that were not lacking in culture and social standing, such as the Wycliffites and the Hussites, were prevented by their realistic ideas of the church from openly assuming the position of separatists. Their aim was to reform the hierarchial church, rather than to overthrow it and to set up a better on the basis of New Testament precept and example. This was a hopeless task; for unless the root of the evil be destroyed, mere outward reforms are at best but exceedingly transient.

(3) *The Dependent Relations in which a Large Part of Europe stood to the Papacy.* This enabled the hierarch-

cal church to bring to bear immense physical force for the suppression of dissent. We have seen how rulers were forced to persecute.

(4) *The Exterminating Policy of the Papacy.* Having the power to persecute, the papacy was not wanting in the will, and the records of the Inquisition show how impossible it was in the Middle Ages for any party long to defy the hierarchy.

(5) *Feudalism in General.* As the feudalism openly exercised by the church enabled it to carry out its policy of persecution, so feudalism in general, with the abjectness of spirit that it cultivated in the great mass of the people, was unfavorable to the success of any movement whose very essence was freedom.

All of these influences were at their height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but from that time they steadily declined until the sixteenth century. It was impossible for them to disappear at once, and hence it was impossible for any great religious revolution which involved emancipation of thought from all human authority and the restoration of Christian life and thought to apostolic simplicity and purity to succeed until these obstacles had yielded to the attrition of social and religious influences working for centuries.

6. *The Problem of Reform.*

What were the fundamental errors of the mediæval system that needed to be eradicated? I conceive that there were three:

(1) *Sacerdotalism.* Given sacerdotalism, and what follows? If priests, as representatives of the holy Catholic Church, are, without reference to personal character, mediators between God and man, have power to bind and to loose on conditions imposed by themselves, men are no longer responsible to God for their lives, but to man. Holiness before God is of infinitely less importance than scrupulous obedience to the regulations of the priests. Religion thus comes to be a mere matter of outward form. From sacerdotalism flowed, as naturally as a stream from its source, superstitious adoration of images, shrines, etc., all forms of ritualism, the practical repudiation of Scripture authority

the domination of Church over State, the obliteration of moral law as founded on the nature of God.

(2) *The Union of Church and State.* The idea that Church and State are coincident was firmly rooted. *Cæsaro-papacy* is almost as objectionable as papacy. We shall have occasion later to mark the disastrous consequences of such union, especially for the church.

(3) *The practical annulling of Scripture authority*, which, as has been said, resulted from sacerdotalism.

For anything like a complete reformation of Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the destruction of sacerdotalism, the abolition of the union of Church and State, and the reinstatement of the Scriptures in their position of paramount authority, was absolutely necessary.

II. HUMANISM AND THE REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Erasmus, "*Opera Omnia*," 10 Vol. fol., Leyden, 1703–1706 (several of the more popular works have been printed separately. The "Praise of Folly," some of the "Colloquies," "Prayers," and "Pilgrimages" have been translated into English); writings of Colet, More, and Ulrich von Hutten; "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*"; relevant parts of the works of Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingli; Seebohm, "The Oxford Reformers, John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More"; Drummond, "Erasmus, his Life and Character"; Emerton, "Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam," 1899 ("Heroes of the Ref. Series"); Froude, "Life and Letters of Erasmus," 1895; Strauss, "Ulrich von Hutten" (Eng. Trans.); Meyerhoff, "*Reuchlin und Seine Zeit*"; Geiger, "*Joh. Reuchlin*"; Lamey, "*Reuchlin, eine biogr. Skizze*"; Stähelin, "*Erasmus' Stellung zu Reformation*," 1873; Walther, "*Erasmus u. Melanchthon*," 1879; Eberhardt, in "*Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theolog.*," 1839, *Seit.* 99–151; Chlebus, in "*Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theol.*," 1845, *Seit.* 3–82; Göbel, "*Gesch. des Christl. Lebens in der Rhenisch-Westphälischen Evangel. Kirche*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 59–92 (particularly valuable); Geiger, in Sybel's "*Hist. Zeitschrift*," 1875, *Seit.* 71 *seq.*; Herzog–Hauck (3d ed.), Wetzer u. Welte, Ersch u. Gruber, art. "Erasmus," "Reuchlin," "Hutten," etc., and New Schaff–Herzog.

Evangelical Humanism, as represented by Colet, Erasmus, Reuchlin, etc., may be regarded (1) as a preparation for the Protestant Revolution; (2) as itself an attempt at reformation; (3) as an anti-Protestant movement.

1. *Humanism as a Preparation for the Protestant Revolution.*

(1) *The English Humanistic Reformers.* In England,

under the influence of the "New Learning," a number of able scholars appeared during the last years of the fifteenth century. Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet, had studied in Italy, where they became thorough Greek scholars, and imbibed the spirit of the Renaissance; and they had returned to England to devote their lives to the advancement of learning. They had learned to despise the philosophy and theology of the schools, and to look with disfavor upon the ecclesiastical system that rested on such a foundation.

Colet was a man of genius, and added to his linguistic learning deep insight and marked spirituality. He soon came to the conclusion that the simple Bible, interpreted not according to the allegorical method of the schoolmen, but according to the grammatico-historical sense, is the only true source of religious knowledge. He delivered expository lectures on several of the Pauline Epistles, which astonished, delighted, and inspired the crowd of students and doctors who attended them. At a Convocation in 1512, Colet, now dean of St. Paul's, preached a strong reformatory sermon, in which he bewailed the avarice, ambition, pride, and self-indulgence of the bishops and other clergy, and exhorted them with great earnestness to reformation. No reformer of the sixteenth century showed profounder insight into Christian truth than Colet.

Erasmus came under his influence first in 1498, when he visited England to learn Greek, and afterward, from 1505–1514, sustained the most intimate and cordial relations with him. He always looked up to Colet as his spiritual father and regarded him as the means of his own enlightenment, though he was greatly inferior to him in moral earnestness and fidelity to conviction. For the evangelical truths in which the writings of Erasmus abound, he was greatly indebted to Colet.

The English Reformation that Colet was laboring for, was to a great extent swept away in the wars of Henry VIII.; but Erasmus, a product of it, returned to the continent, and by the great popularity of his writings disseminated reformatory views far and wide.

(2) *Erasmus as a Humanist and a Forerunner of the Protestant Revolution.* *a. Sketch of Erasmus.* He was

born in Rotterdam (1465 or 1466), and was the son of a priest and a young woman of good family, both of whom cared for him assiduously until they died (one shortly after the other), when he was about thirteen years of age. They had provided for his education in the famous school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, where he had excited the admiration of his teachers by his quickness of apprehension, his facility and elegance in expression, and the remarkable retentiveness of his memory. If he had been permitted to continue his education there, his thirst for knowledge would have been gratified by some of the best humanistic teachers of the time. The dishonesty of the person to whom funds for the completion of his education had been entrusted brought his studies at Deventer to an end. He was placed in a monastic school (1481), where three years were as good as wasted. Wearied with this life, destitute of means, and with no manifest way of earning a living, he felt himself compelled to enter a monastery (Emaus, near Gouda), and to take monastic vows, although he was thoroughly averse to monastic life. The fact that a well-educated youth of eighteen should have consented, for the sake of a morsel of bread, to bind himself by the most solemn vows to a mode of life that his soul abhorred, shows a weakness of character that was doubtless innate and which grace never fully remedied. He always looked upon this step as one of the great mistakes and misfortunes of his life. The years spent there tended to the still further depravation of his character and, as he supposed, laid the foundations for the physical weakness that interfered with his happiness and limited his usefulness throughout life. Yet this episode in his life no doubt led him to a deep realization of the corruptions of the church and the need of reformation ; and although the educational advantages of the monastery were not such as he desired he devoted himself with all his energies "by day and by night to letters." "Without a guide, and as it were by the occult force of nature," as he afterward remarked, "he pressed his way into the sanctuary of the muses." His religious guides were chiefly the works of Jerome and Laurentius Valla, the humanist.

In 1493 he was permitted by the Bishop of Camoral to go to Paris for the continuance of his studies. He soon became convinced that theological study would lead him into heresy and he had not the courage to become a heretic. He conceived at this time a profound dislike for the scholastic theology that proved invincible. Sickness, moreover, made his departure from Paris a necessity. In 1496 he matriculated in the University of Cologne as an arts student, but found little satisfaction there. Returning to Paris he became Bachelor of Theology in 1498. Here he supported himself by tutoring a young Englishman, through whom his highly important connection with English life and thought was brought about. His association with Colet, More, Linacre, and Grocyn, stimulated him to undertake the mastery of Greek and to enter upon his distinguished literary career, while it furnished him also with such an amount of financial support as enabled him to carry out his long-cherished plan of studying in Italy (1506 onward). Colet made earnest and repeated efforts to induce him to devote himself to biblical teaching in England, and was greatly disappointed that he had neither the strength of conviction nor the moral courage that would have made his magnificent intellectual powers and his ample learning available for the reformation of theology at Oxford or Cambridge. It should be said, on behalf of Erasmus, that he was deeply conscious of his moral weakness and constantly excused himself on the ground of his pusillanimity from undertaking tasks that required manly courage.

On his return from Italy in 1509 he entered at once as a man of letters upon a career that surpassed anything the age had known. The successive publication of his popular and his learned works (see below) gave him a position in the literary world never enjoyed by an individual before or after his time. Wherever he went he was treated like a king. Popes, emperor, kings, cardinals, universities, municipalities, vied with each other in showing him honor. As the mode of living into which he had been drawn was expensive and as much money was needed for the purchasing of books and the carrying out of his great literary schemes, he did not hesi-

tate to use his popularity in seeking gratuities at the hands of his wealthy and influential friends, nor to employ flattery when seeking to establish or maintain advantageous relations with the great. Nothing, save his refusal to align himself with Luther in the Protestant Revolution, has done so much to discredit Erasmus in the eyes of Protestant posterity as his shameless mendicancy. Yet the odium of this should be relieved in part at least by what we know of the spirit of the age, when, as in past ages (the Augustan age, etc.), literary men lived almost wholly by the patronage of the great and thought it a part of their business to bestow literary compliments on their patrons. His whole career was one of dependence on friendly support, and he had had no opportunity up to 1509 to develop a spirit of independence. It would have been too much to expect that when he had been conditioned by the favors of his friends to enter upon a literary career that would have enabled him to live in modest independence, he should at once have developed that sturdiness of character that depends so much on early training and constant practice. There is no reason to believe that he ever accumulated any large amount of money. For all he could earn or beg he seems always to have had the most urgent use.

After spending most of five years as teacher of Greek in the University of Cambridge, he returned to the continent, where his time was divided between Switzerland and the Netherlands. At Basel many of his works were published and he was surrounded by a coterie of scholars upon whom he exerted a profound influence in favor of the new learning and of rational methods of biblical and theological study. In his native Netherlands also his influence was widespread and deep. His journeys through Germany, from time to time, were like triumphal processions, and large numbers of young scholars caught their inspiration from him. His relations to Luther and the Reformation will be set forth subsequently, as will also his connection with and his influence upon the older evangelical theology and the great Anabaptist movement. He died in 1536.

(3) *Writings of Erasmus. a. His Satirical Writings.* In the "Praise of Folly" the enlightenment that Eras-

mus had received from Colet, and from the new learning in general, finds expression chiefly in the ridicule in which all the abuses of the papal church are involved. The avarice of popes, monks, and clergy, their intolerance, their immorality, the absurd and sometimes blasphemous nature of their scholastic disputations, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, false miracles, indulgences, etc., are satirized in the boldest manner, and in such a style as to attract all classes of readers. *b. His Devotional Writings.* The "*Encheiridion*" abounds in evangelical maxims, and is characterized by the repudiation of the ordinary monkish and papal rules of piety, and the setting up in general of true Christian principles. *c. His Editions of the Fathers and of the New Testament, His Commentaries, and His Paraphrases.* Erasmus shared with Colet admiration for Jerome, with his linguistic learning and his free criticism of the biblical texts, rather than for Augustine with his rigid theological system. Accordingly, before leaving England in 1514, he had, with immense labor, prepared an edition of the works of Jerome, which was afterward printed at Basel.

The publication of Jerome was probably intended as a means of preparing the minds of the scholars of Europe for the critical edition of the Greek New Testament which he was meditating. The Vulgate had long been regarded as the infallible word of God. To produce a Greek text different from that of the Vulgate, or to interpret the Greek text differently from the Vulgate interpretation, was regarded as sacrilege. But Jerome had treated the text of Scripture with the utmost freedom; had revised the Greek text by comparison of MSS., and had made a revision of the New Testament (Latin), and a new version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, for which, however, he was far from claiming absolute correctness.

In the preface to his Greek New Testament (1516), Erasmus shows that his aim was to influence two classes of minds: those who had lost faith in Christianity, and those who regarded the Vulgate as infallible. This preface is, in my opinion, the noblest reformatory effort of Erasmus, and nothing better was written by any reformer of the age. He sets forth the claims of the New Testament to the attention of the learned, over against the philosophies of Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and Zeno; but to be understood it must be approached with a pious and open heart, imbued with a pure and simple faith. The New Testament is adapted to the comprehension of the weakest woman, while the profoundest philosopher finds food enough for thought. He is anxious that the Scriptures should be translated into all languages, so that they may be understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens:

that the husbandman may sing them as he follows the plow, the weaver hum them to the tune of his shuttle, the traveler beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey.

Addressing the scholastic theologians, he shows the folly of paying more attention to the writings of mediæval divines than to the simple, plain words of Christ and his apostles; of venerating the worthless relics of Christ and the places where he is supposed to have been when upon earth, more than the living and breathing pictures of Christ in the New Testament. He then adds a short discussion on the methods of studying the Scriptures. The Scriptures must be approached with reverence; being food for the soul, they must permeate the very depths of the heart and mind. A knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew is necessary, and is to be acquired almost with less labor than is spent every day over the miserable babble of one mongrel language under ignorant teachers. Other branches of knowledge, natural history, geography, dialectics, rhetoric, etc., are also important. To understand the New Testament, a knowledge of the history of the Jews, their character, institutions, etc., is also necessary. Again, the texts of Scripture must not be taken isolated and apart from the connection, but must be studied with full reference to the context. Thus Erasmus set forth principles of Scripture interpretation which he had derived from Colet, but which were far in advance of his age.

His edition of the New Testament and his paraphrases and commentaries, were a means of stimulating and directing the fruitful study of the Scriptures. From this time many learned humanists began to study the New Testament as never before. Most of the men who became leaders in the Reformation owed their knowledge of the Scriptures to Erasmus: to some extent, Luther; still more, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Capito, etc.

(4) *German Humanism. a. Reuchlin.* He was born in 1455 (ten years before Erasmus), at Pforzheim, and was favored with early educational advantages. He was employed when fifteen as court singer in the Baden-Durlach court, and was sent to the University of Paris by the Margrave Karl as the attendant of his son, where he enjoyed the instruction of some of the foremost scholars of the time, and learned Greek. He continued his studies in the University of Basel with a native Greek, Andronikos Kontoblakas, as one of his preceptors, and John Wessel, the great evangelical teacher whom he had met in Paris, as a strong spiritual influence. He was admitted to the degree of Master of Philosophy with professorial privileges (1477); but was driven from the university because of prejudice against Greek learning. We next find him in the University of Orleans learning and teaching (1478) and

gaining the bachelor's degree there (1479). After studying law at the University of Poitiers he returned to Germany (1481) and settled in Tübingen as an advocate and a lecturer in the university, from which he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was appointed privy counselor to the duke of Würtemberg (1482), whom he accompanied to Rome on important papal business and through whom he had the opportunity to distinguish himself in the papal court by a Latin oration; he entered into intimate relation with the great humanist Hermolaus Barbarus, and obtained an inside view of the great Platonic school of the Medici in Florence, with its distinguished teachers, Marsilius Ficinus, Pico de Mirandola, Politanus, etc., whereby he became profoundly interested in Neo-Platonic, Pythagorean, and Jewish Cabbalistic speculations. Occupied chiefly with legal and administrative duties for his ducal patron and the Dominican Order (1484–1494), he found little time for his beloved studies. He was elevated to the nobility by the emperor, and learned Hebrew from a converted Jew. He published (1494) his religio-philosophical work "On the Wonderful Word" ("*De Verbo Mirifico*"), which added to his fame and passed rapidly through many editions, but also, as might have been expected, aroused much suspicion among the orthodox. In 1496 his noble patron died and he was brought into the deepest adversity, including poverty and great personal danger. He at last settled at Heidelberg on a modest salary as the counsellor of the Elector of the Palatinate and tutor to his son, and was able now to carry forward the studies that had for some years been partially interrupted. He visited Rome again on behalf of the elector (1498) and availed himself of the opportunity to perfect his Greek and Hebrew learning. As a judicial officer for the Swabian alliance (1502 onward) he devoted his leisure largely to Hebrew studies and became deeply interested in the Cabbala and other Jewish theosophical literature. Consequently, his interest in Jewish literature greatly increased, as did also his friendship for Jews by reason of his intimate intercourse with their leading scholars. In 1505 he published in German an inquiry: "Why the Jews are so long in Tribulation?" The reason assigned was their persist-

ent rejection of Christ and their blaspheming of his name. He exhorts Christians to seek to win them to Christianity by love and instruction. This was followed by a Hebrew grammar (1506), the first ever prepared by a Christian. He gloried in having erected for himself a monument more lasting than brass, being, as he claimed, the first who had understood how to regulate in a book the whole Hebrew language.

In 1509 a converted Jew, Joh. Pfefferkorn by name, conceived the project of a wholesale conversion of the Jews of Germany by the destruction of all their literature, except the canonical Scriptures, and the infliction of severe penalties for refusal to accept Christianity. Having published a number of exhortations to rulers to take the matter earnestly in hand, he visited the Emperor Maximilian and procured from him a mandate requiring all Jews to surrender their books to Pfefferkorn and providing him with the authority to execute the mandate. Pfefferkorn visited Reuchlin at Stuttgart and showing him the mandate requested his co-operation in the great enterprise. Nothing could have been more disgusting to Reuchlin than the proposed proceedings; but he was not courageous and he contented himself with pointing out some legal defects in the scheme. It soon became evident that Pfefferkorn and the theologians were laying a snare for him. The next year he was required by an imperial mandate to give his opinion respecting the advisability of destroying the books of the Jews. His answer was temporizing in a high degree; but he could not conceal his dislike of the proposed measure. He even defended the Talmud as an exposition of the Mosaic law and the Cabbala, which he characterized as "the great mystery of the speech and words of God," that beyond any other art "assures us of the divinity of Christ." The Jews' ceremonial books, he thought, should be preserved, as their worship was tolerated by papal and imperial laws. He knew of only two works, "*Nizahon*" and "*Tholedoth Jeschu*," that were blasphemous in their character. His advice was: "If any book be found in the conscious possession of any Jew that with express words insults, mocks, or dishonors our Lord God, Jesus, his worthy mother, the saints, or the Chris-

tian ordinances, let it be burned, in accordance with the imperial mandate, and the Jew punished, but not until he has been properly tried and sentence pronounced." He concludes with the advice that the literature of the Jews be not burned, but that "by reasonable discussions they should be gently and kindly, and with God's help, persuaded to embrace our faith." To this end he suggests that the emperor require every German university to institute and maintain for ten years two chairs of Hebrew, the books needed to be supplied by the Jews.

Reuchlin stood alone in his view of the matter, the other corporations and individuals consulted being all in favor of more drastic measures for the extermination of Judaism.

Pfefferkorn, when he had ascertained the contents of Reuchlin's paper, issued a scurrilous pamphlet in which he charged Reuchlin with having been bribed by the Jews to pronounce in their favor, and disparaged his Hebrew scholarship. Reuchlin defended himself in a counter-pamphlet, in which he accused Pfefferkorn of getting money out of him by selling him behind his back at a bookstall (referring to the pamphlet). "He has made more florins out of me than Judas made pence out of our Lord." Reuchlin's apology was sent to the University of Cologne for criticism. Having learned of this, he wrote obsequious letters to some of the professors, seeking to minimize the gravity of his offense in taking the part of the Jews and promising to retract whatever might be found in his writings contrary to the teachings of the church. "Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Give but the command, and I will sheathe my sword; when the cock crows I will weep; thunder first before thou lightenest." Hochstraten and his colleagues in the university, thus assured of his cowardice, proceeded to demand a complete recantation of his favorable opinion regarding the Jews and their literature, and the withdrawal of his objectionable writings from the market. This was more than he was prepared to yield, and encouraged by some of his humanistic friends, he again assumed a defiant attitude and entered into a sharp controversy with the Cologne theologians. An imperial mandate was secured by Hochstraten for the seizure and

destruction of Reuchlin's polemical tracts. Reuchlin appealed to the pope, whose humanistic sympathies led him to quash the proceedings, notwithstanding the most determined efforts of the Dominicans and other friends of the Inquisition against him. This papal decision aroused a furor in Germany. The Cologne extremists denounced Cardinal Grimani, who had advocated Reuchlin's cause, disparaged the pope by calling him a schoolboy, and threatened to appeal to a General Council.

The effect of this controversy was to arouse the evangelical humanists of Germany to polemical zeal and to multiply the enemies of blind intolerance and bigotry. Many of the young men who were to play a prominent part in the Protestant Revolution, such as Vadian, Melanchthon, Capito, and Œcolampadius, championed the cause of Reuchlin and were thereby prepared for the more radical work of later years. The decision in Reuchlin's favor occurred in July, 1516, the year before the posting of Luther's theses.

These proceedings greatly emboldened the German humanists and the press teemed with publications in which liberty of thought, speech, and the press was advocated and obscurantism reprobated and mercilessly ridiculed. The most noted specimens of this kind of literature are the writings of Ulrich von Hutten and the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*" (see p. 34).

The quashing of the proceedings against Reuchlin in the Roman Curia was far from putting an end to the persecuting measures of the Dominicans. In 1519 Franz von Sickingen, who was at the head of the Swabian League, peremptorily demanded of Hochstraten and his associates that they cease to annoy Reuchlin and that they reimburse him for the losses he had suffered through them; and he backed up his demands with such a display of force, that after many efforts at evasion, Hochstraten resigned his offices as prior and inquisitor and Reuchlin received his damages in good gold; moreover, the Dominicans wrote, at Sickingen's dictation, a letter to the pope commending Reuchlin and requesting the perpetual suppression of proceedings against him. In these transactions Sickingen had the influential support of Ulrich von Hutten.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian I. (January, 1519) and the accession of Charles V. (June, 1519), followed by the excommunication of Luther and the publication of his defiantly evangelical works, changed the temper of the Roman Curia, and strengthened for the time the hands of the Dominicans. Hochstraten resumed his offices, a fresh appeal was made to Rome against Reuchlin, and a papal brief was secured (summer of 1520) against his books. But Reuchlin had recently accepted the chair of Greek and Hebrew at Ingoldstadt on the invitation of the Duke of Bavaria. He resided in the house of Dr. Joh. Eck, the great opponent of Luther, and while he advised against the burning of Luther's books, he published a vindication of himself against charges of sympathy with Luther, that greatly disgusted Hutten and Sickingen and his humanistic friends in general. Hutten wrote:

> I have read your letter to the Bavarians, in which you answer the accusations of Leo X. Immortal gods, what do I see? So deeply have you sunk in fear and weakness, that you do not even refrain from insulting those who have wished to rescue you and sometimes incurred danger in your behalf. . . Do you hope, by this disgraceful flattery, to conciliate those to whom, if you are a man, you ought not even to send a greeting? But make it up with them, if you can, and, if your age permits, do that which you say you wish to do, go to Rome and kiss the pope's feet; and since you are not ashamed to do it, write against us into the bargain. Then it will be seen that it is against your will that we shake off the ignominious yoke, and that you agree with the godless priests in opposing us. I am ashamed to have written and done so much for you, since you end the affair for which we have bestirred ourselves so manfully in this wretched way. I could not have believed it of you. . . If ever you oppose Luther's cause, or make your submission to the bishop of Rome, you shall know that I do not at all agree with you.

The correspondence, of which this is an extract, is highly significant as showing the moral weakness of Reuchlin, who had done so much for the promotion of freedom of thought and the preparation of Germany for the Protestant Revolution, and the stanchness of the support that Luther received from the humanistic knights.

Reuchlin tried in vain to restrain Melanchthon, his nephew, from following Luther in his revolt against Rome, and refused to leave him his great library because his advice was unheeded. He was recalled to Tübingen,

where he again taught Hebrew and Greek, and died at Stuttgart in June, 1522, at peace with the Roman Catholic Church.

b. Other German Humanists. Mention has been made of the knights *Ulrich von Hutten* and *Franz von Sickingen* as the stanch defenders of Reuchlin and freedom of thought over against monkish and priestly intolerance and obscurantism. Sickingen, a bitter enemy of the papacy and a stalwart friend of Luther, fell in battle with the Count Palatine (May, 1525). Hutten was one of the most brilliant literary men of the age as well as one of the most courageous warriors. No man did more during the first quarter of the sixteenth century toward bringing monkish and priestly corruptions and superstitions into contempt, or for the promotion of civil and religious freedom. His writings were very widely circulated and influenced vast numbers to throw off the papal yoke and to take up arms against imperial and papal oppression. It is probable that to him, more than to Luther, was due the militant character of German Protestantism. Hutten and Sickingen alike combined political and selfish ends with their determination to break the power of the hierarchy and did not hesitate to appeal to the cupidity of the German nobles. Luther owed much to the countenance and protection of these knights and their associates, and there can be no doubt as to the profound influence they exerted on the character of his reformatory efforts. Hutten died in deep poverty of a loathsome disease, due to early excesses, in August or September, 1523. His last years were embittered by controversy with Erasmus, to whom he had earlier been deeply indebted, but who was utterly averse to his rash polemics and warlike enterprises.

One of the most effective defenders of Reuchlin, as the editor and principal writer of the "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," was Crotus Rubianus (Joh. Jäger), professor in Erfurt (twice rector of the university, 1520, etc.), distinguished for his power of humorous invective rather than for moral earnestness. In the preparation of the "*Epistolæ*" (1514–1516) he had the co-operation of Hutten, Mutianus Rufus, and Eobanus Hessus. The "Epistles" purport to be correspondence among the Do-

minican opponents of Reuchlin. They are written in the most barbarous of monkish Latin and in them are naïvely set forth the ignorance, superstition, intolerance, avarice, and fear of the new learning that characterized the supposed authors. Europe was convulsed with laughter by this masterpiece of satire. For a time many of the monks are said to have taken them seriously and to have enjoyed them as good expositions of their views. Humanists everywhere enjoyed the sharp thrusts that the "Epistles" contained against Hochstraten and the Dominicans. Erasmus was amused, but thought the authors had carried their fun too far. Luther was pleased with the idea, but not altogether with the execution. Some of the pieces ascribed to Hutten are indecent in their ribaldry. On the whole, it was one of the most effective of the literary defenses of freedom of thought and it contributed much toward the preparation of humanistically inclined minds for the Protestant Revolution. Crotus, after supporting Luther's cause for a while, became his bitter opponent and died a Catholic.

One of the most striking figures among the German humanists at the beginning of the Reformation is *Willibald Pirkheimer*, a leading citizen of Nuremberg, the chief center of humanistic culture in Germany. Pirkheimer has been likened to a Roman patrician. Of noble birth and ample wealth, of splendid culture, of courtly manners, he was already at the beginning of the century a man of mark. He was a friend of Erasmus and of Hutten and was valiant in defense of Reuchlin. In 1520 he incurred ecclesiastical censure by publishing anonymously a satire on Eck, after the Leipzig disputation. The papal bull against Luther procured by Eck involved the condemnation of Pirkheimer. To save his city from embarrassment he made a sort of recantation. Like Erasmus he was averse to violent proceedings, but up to 1524 he gave his moral support to Luther. After the outbreak of the Peasants' War he withdrew his support from the Protestant cause, although he was never sympathetic with the Romish hierarchy. He died in 1530, longing for civil and religious peace. Closely associated with Pirkheimer were Dürer, the painter, and Sachs, the poet.

2. *Erasmic Efforts at Reform.*

(1) *General Reformatory Efforts of Erasmus and his School.* Erasmus was on the most intimate terms with popes, cardinals, archbishops, princes, and nobles. In correspondence with such men, he expressed freely his views of reform. Especially great was his influence in the court of John III. of Cleve, who, under Erasmus' influence (1532 onward), yielded to the desire for reform that resulted from the presence of Lutheranism, and instituted a half-way reformation. With the legislation in favor of certain reforms was coupled the severest legislation against Lutheranism.

According to this reformatory scheme, Roman Catholic worship, ordinances, and officers were to remain undisturbed. But the gospel was to be preached clearly and intelligibly by the priests, who, however, were to confine themselves to the plainest moral and edificatory preaching and to refrain from everything calculated to cause tumult. All evangelical preaching by unordained men, and all innovations against the sacraments, singing, reading, and ceremonies of the church, were strictly forbidden.

The most immediate promoter of this scheme was Heresbach, a humanist of ability and learning, to whom was entrusted the education of John's son, William, and who, for many years, was privy counsellor to father and son. Yet he was guided by Erasmus. After Erasmus' death, Heresbach came under the influence of Melanchthon, and through the latter William was led to sign the Augsburg Confession. Luther spoke of Duke John's ordinance of reformation, as "bad German, bad gospel; everything that comes from Erasmus is as full of theology as my shank is of pepper."

Erasmus was, during his whole active life, earnestly desirous of reformation. Until Germany became involved in tumult, through what he regarded as the rashness of Luther, he favored and commended Luther. We shall see how he was brought to condemn him.

(2) *Erasmus' Idea of Reformation.* Erasmus was constitutionally and utterly averse to war and tumultuous or revolutionary proceedings of every sort. He was by

nature a peacemaker. His letters to civil and ecclesiastical rulers abound in pleas for peace. Personally, his health and temperament were such that he required the utmost quiet and care in order that he might be at all comfortable. The thought of Europe involved in a religious war was to him simply horrible. If the church could not be reformed without revolution, let it remain unreformed. He believed that the new learning properly applied in the study of the Scriptures and in the elevation of the standard of taste and propriety, would put an end to abuses. "These must be tolerated until an opportunity arises for correcting them without creating disorder."

3. *Erasmus as an Opponent of Lutheranism and Zwinglianism.*

Erasmus was at first favorable to Luther. He deprecated Luther's impetuosity, and strove in every way to induce him to be cautious. Although he tried to prevent the printing of Luther's works at Basel, he yet regarded Luther as a good man and as a friend of the new learning. The outcries against Luther he attributed to Luther's zeal for the new learning and his contempt for scholasticism.

In an epistle (1518), Erasmus wrote: "Luther has given many excellent thoughts. If in this he had only gone to work mildly, the number of his favorers would have been greater, and the religion of Christ would have gained more thereby. Nevertheless it would be unaccountable if one should not be favorable to him for the good he has done."

In an epistle to Cardinal Wolsey (1518): "It is certainly no small matter that even the enemies of Luther find him so irreproachable, that they cannot make the slightest charge against him. But if I had the utmost license, I would not arrogate so much to myself as to be willing to pronounce upon the writings of so great a man. . . Against Luther I have sometimes been too unjust, lest any odium should fall upon good letters, which I was unwilling should be further burdened. For neither did it escape me how odious a thing it is to interfere with those things whence a rich harvest is meted to priests or monks."

In 1519, in answer to a most adulatory letter in which Luther introduced himself to Erasmus, he informs Luther of the sensation that his books have created at Louvain and the difficulty that he himself has experienced in warding off the suspicion of having had to do with their composition. "Some supposed that a pretext was

given to them whereby they might oppress good letters, to which they bear deadly hatred, and me whom they suppose of some moment for arousing studies." He has testified that he does not know Luther, has not read his books, neither approves nor disapproves of anything, only he has admonished against condemning before the people books that have not been even read.

He writes to Luther: "In England you have those that favor greatly your writings, and that too of the greatest. There are also here (Louvain), those that favor your books, of whom one is a man of distinction. I keep myself neutral (*integrum*), as far as possible, in order that I may be of more profit to good letters now reviving. And to me civil modesty seems more profitable than impetuosity. So Christ brought the world under his sway. It is more expedient to cry out against those that abuse the authority of the popes, than against the popes themselves. The same concerning kings. The schools ought not to be spurned so much as recalled to more sober studies. Concerning things that are too firmly rooted to admit of being suddenly plucked out of the people's minds, we should dispute with close and efficacious arguments rather than asseverate. Everywhere we must take care not to speak or do anything arrogantly or factitiously. . . Meanwhile, the disposition (*animus*) must be preserved from becoming corrupted by anger, hatred, or glory." He has glanced at Luther's "Commentary on the Psalms." It pleases him exceedingly, and he hopes that it will do much good.

Up to June, 1519, therefore, Erasmus has not come to despair of Luther. He still hopes by gentle admonition to be able to keep him within due bounds. Yet we see even here how strongly he disapproves of Luther's impetuosity. Luther did not profit by Erasmus' admonition, but during the next few months published all the most revolutionary of his writings.

Though Erasmus was more guarded in his expressions of sympathy after Leo X. had issued his bull of excommunication against Luther (which Luther promptly burnt), yet even after this, he wrote to Spalatin, the secretary and court-preacher of the Elector Frederick:

> The best and most pious men are grieved, not through Luther's propositions, but through the severe bull of the pope, which is unbecoming to a vicar of Christ. Luther has been condemned by two universities; but he has not been refuted. . . The world is seized by an eagerness for evangelical truth, and neither must this be resisted with violence, nor is it well that the emperor should contaminate the inauguration of his reign with severe regulations."

He insists that this letter shall be keep private and returned to him; but greatly to his chagrin it was soon printed and scattered everywhere.

After the Diet at Worms, where Luther was put under the imperial ban (1521), Erasmus became more and more shy of the Lutherans. He was denounced by them as lacking the courage of his convictions. The abuse that he received from the Lutherans created in him a growing aversion to the party. The papists, on the other hand, complained of him because he would not come out boldly against Luther.

Even in 1524 he wrote to Melanchthon: "This I promise, that I will never knowingly take up arms against evangelical truth; and on this account I have feared up to this time to impugn what displeases me in Luther, lest I should also overthrow the true. Nay, I seek at every opportunity to bring it about, that by means of the bitter, strong medicine that Luther has given to the world, the life of the church may come to health."

The strife between Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists, was a great offense to Erasmus. The Peasants' War was also threatening Germany. Moreover, Erasmus was strongly urged by the papists to write against Luther. In 1524 he wrote his treatise on "Free Will" ("*De Libero Arbitrio*"). Luther replied in his treatise "Concerning the Enslaved Will" ("*De Servo Arbitrio*"). Erasmus had not been abusive in his polemics, but had attempted to point out the antinomian tendency of Luther's doctrine. Luther replied in the most abusive style. Erasmus, now thoroughly provoked, rejoined in the "*Hyperaspistes*" in a style almost as severe as Luther's own.

The estrangement between Luther and Erasmus was now complete. From this time forward, Luther speaks of Erasmus as a "disciple of Lucian"; a "disciple of Epicurus"; an "enemy of all religions, especially the Christian"; "the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth." Whenever he prays, he prays for a curse on Erasmus. Yet Erasmus never forsook entirely his middle position.

In conclusion, we may say that Erasmus was a man of extraordinary intellectual enlightenment and of generous impulses, a friend of civil and ecclesiastical reform, an apostle of culture, and a consistent advocate of peace. His peace-loving nature led him to abhor tumult, even when the end was religious reformation. Tumult he

thought was contrary to the spirit of Christ. Abuses were to be tolerated, until an opportunity should occur for abolishing them peacefully.

III. THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Works of Luther in various editions: Wittenberg, 12 vols. Germ. (1539–1559), 7 vols. Lat. (1545–1558); Jena, 8 vols. Germ., 4 vols. Lat. (1555–1558), and 2 supplem. vols., ed. Aurifaber (1564–1565); Halle, ed. Walch, 24 vols., Lat. works tr. into Germ., and many important writings of opponents added (1740–1753); Erlangen, ed. Irmischer *et al.*, 67 vols. Germ., 38 vols. Lat. (1826 onward); Weimar, ed. Knaake *et al.*, under the patronage of the German emperor, in process of publication and will surpass all others in completeness and typographical excellence (1883 onw.); "*Briefe*," ed. De Wette and Seidemann, 6 vols. (1825–1856); annotated popular ed. of select works, in Germ., Braunschweig (1889–1892); "The Ninety-five Theses and the Three Primary Works," Eng. tr., ed. Wace and Buchheim, 1883; Eng. tr. of "Table-Talk" and "Com. on Galatians," var. ed. Works of Melanchthon, Spalatin, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, Brentz, Amsdorf, Major, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Agricola, and other Lutheran reformers (see specifications in biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog and Schaff-Herzog). For biographies of the various reformers see bibliographies in articles in Hauck-Herzog and Schaff-Herzog. Contemporary controversial Roman Catholic writings of Eck, Faber, Emser, Witzel, Cochlæus, Prierias, Aleander, etc. Collections of documents by Gerdesius, Neudecker, Seidemann, Förstermann, etc., and by various editors in "*Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*," "*Historische Zeitschrift*," and other periodicals. Seebohm, "The Prot. Revolution"; Fisher, "Hist. of the Ref."; Beard, "The Ref. of the Sixteenth Cent." ("Hibbert Lectures," 1885); Häusser, "The Period of the Reformation," Eng. tr., 2 vols., 1873; Hagenbach, "History of the Reformation," 2 vols. (Eng. tr.), 1879; Schaff, "Hist. of the Chr. Ch.," Vol. VI. (the entire vol. is devoted to the Lutheran movement up to 1530 and is remarkably full of documentary and bibliographical materials); Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom"; Walker, "The Reformation," 1900; Bezold, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Ref.*," 1886 onw.; Hagen, "*Deutschlands lit. u. rel. Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter*," 3 *Bde.*, 1841–1844; Janssen, "*Deutsche Gesch. seit d. Ausgang d. M. A.*," *Bde.* II. *u.* III.; "Lives of Luther" by Cochlæus, Audin, Koestlin (Eng. tr.), Kolde (1884–1893), Rae (1884), Bayne (1887), Jacob (1898), Mitchell (1899); Döllinger, "*Die Reformation, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Wirkungen im Umfange des lutherishchen Bekenntnisses*," 3 *Bde.*, 1846–1848; Krauth, "The Conservative Reformation and its Theology"; Ranke, "*Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation*," 6 *Bde.*, 6th ed., 1881; Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol.," (Eng. tr.); Pertinent sections in the manuals of church history, especially those of Gieseler, Möller (ed. Kawerau), Sheldon, and Hurst. Monographs on special phases of the movement will be referred to from time to time.

1. *Preliminary Observations.*

(1) Whatever opinion may be held regarding the soundness and value of his reformatory work, Martin Luther is by common consent the central figure in the Protestant Revolution. In an important sense he was the product of the economic, social, political, ethical, and religious conditions that prevailed in Saxony during the closing years of the fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century; in an equally important sense his powerful personality gave shape and direction to the great politico-religious movement with which his name has become so closely associated. Luther was influenced by and partially embodied in his reformatory scheme all of the various reformatory forces that had been developed during the mediæval time. It was impracticable, with such a combination of influences and purposes, for the highest ideal to be reached, viz., the restoration of Christianity to its primitive purity and simplicity. The politico-ecclesiastical movement known as Lutheranism involved in itself many inconsistencies. It failed to produce among the people the high standard of Christian living that the leaders themselves considered desirable; it speedily became as openly intolerant and as atrocious in its persecuting measures as the Roman Catholic Church which it sought to supplant; and the principles and methods adopted at the beginning rendered inevitable the religious wars that so fearfully devastated Europe from 1545 to 1648.

(2) It was no accident that the leader of the Protestant Revolution should have been a Saxon; for we have seen that economic and social conditions, based primarily on the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country, had destroyed the equilibrium of the social classes and produced a strong and general desire for reform; while the wealth of the country had led the hierarchy to overreach itself in its practice of extortion.

(3) It was no accident that the leader should have been the son of a peasant; for the Saxon peasants, and especially the mining peasants, had become deeply conscious of their wrongs and aggressive in their demands for reform. That Luther's peasant father should

have had ambition enough to plan for the education of his son for a professional career shows that he was no common serf, but that he and his class had risen already to a feeling of manly dignity that did not belong to peasants always and everywhere.

(4) Neither was it accidental that the Elector of Saxony, whose wealth and wisdom placed him at the head of the German nobles and put the imperial dignity within his reach, and who had founded the university in which the great son of a peasant had for years been doing noble work, should have become the political leader of the revolt, and should thereby have made it appear to the interest of less powerful princes to join in the effort to throw off the Roman incubus.

(5) When we consider that the interests at stake were quite as much economic and political as religious, it is not to be wondered at that Luther was content with a measure of reform that fell far short of the restoration of primitive Christianity.

(6) Again, Luther's peasant origin, peasant sympathies, peasant simplicity, directness, and roughness (even coarseness) of speech; his earnest pleas for liberty and equality; his intimate relations with the Saxon rulers; his commanding powers of intellect, emotion, and will; his intense earnestness and zeal; his hearty championship of German rights over against foreign exploitation and oppression; and his apparent disposition, during the early years of his leadership, to adhere to the pure word of God without human additions, for which the old evangelicals of every type so earnestly contended, united nearly all classes of Germans in his support and made him a hero and champion. Different classes supported him from different motives and great crises were needed in order that each class might test the extent to which his interests and purposes coincided with theirs.

2. *Luther's Early Life to 1505.*

It does not seem best to occupy space here with a detailed sketch of Luther's life, the main facts of which are familiar and easily accessible in popular works. Born (probably Nov. 10, 1483) of hard-working mining peasants, of rather unusual force of character and of

deep piety, his early life was embittered by poverty and harsh domestic treatment that drove him at last, broken in spirit, into a convent. Ambitious for his advancement, his father had provided him with the best educational facilities within his reach and at a very early age he could read Latin. While pursuing his studies at Magdeburg and Eisenach he supported himself, at least in part, by singing from door to door. At the latter place, Ursula Cotta, attracted by his sweet voice and his devoutness, became his true friend and helper. In 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, where he not only pursued the ordinary studies of the mediæval curriculum, but came somewhat in touch with the new learning and read a number of the Latin classics. Luther never became so thoroughly imbued with humanism as did Melanchthon, Zwingli, OEcolampadius, and others, the superior attractiveness of Augustine and the German mystics, to whose writings and modes of thought the devout Staupitz introduced him, having secured the foremost place in his affection and interest. In 1502 he secured his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1505 that of Master of Arts. Shortly afterward (summer of the same year) he assumed monastic vows as a member of the Augustinian convent at Erfurt. His conversion followed almost immediately. The relations of Luther to Staupitz, because of the importance of Staupitz himself and of his influence on Luther demand treatment in a separate section.

3. *Staupitz and Luther.*

LITERATURE: "*Johannis Staupitii Opera*," ed. Knaake, 1867 onw.; Keller, "J. von Staupitz"; Kolde, "*J. von Staupitz ein Waldenser und Wiedertäufer*" (in answer to Keller, "*Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*," 1885); Dieckhoff, "*Die Theologie d. J. von Staupitz*," 1887; Kolde, "*Die deutsche Augustiner Congregation u. J. von Staupitz*," 1879.

(1) *Sketch of Johann von Staupitz.* Staupitz is commonly regarded as an evangelically disposed official of the Augustinian Order, who was able at a critical period in Luther's experience to give him the spiritual guidance that emancipated him from superstitious dependence on dead works as a means of salvation, and constituted him a free man in Christ; but little is popularly known re-

garding the personalty of the great Augustinian or his later relations to Luther.

Of noble lineage, he early became closely associated with the Saxon princes. At an early age he became a member of the Augustinian Order, which laid much stress on the study of the Scriptures and of the writings of Augustine, the great theological thinker of the fourth and fifth centuries. Under the influence of the new learning and of evangelical mysticism, many of the members of the order had already conceived a strong dislike for the dry and barren scholastic theology that still held sway in the universities, and for Aristotle, to whose influence the objectionable features of scholasticism were commonly attributed. In 1497 Staupitz was already Master of Arts and reader in theology. For some years after this he carried on conjointly, at Tübingen, theological study and teaching and the administration (as prior) of the Augustinian monastery there. In 1498 he became Biblical Bachelor (a degree attained on the completion of several years of Bible study), and in 1500 he attained to the degree of Doctor of Theology. By this time he had become greatly distinguished for learning, religious zeal, and administrative ability, and his services as teacher and monastic official were in great demand. His social gifts were likewise of a high order, and he was much sought after by the wealthy and the noble of the more evangelical and intellectual sort, whom he was able profoundly to influence in wholesome ways.

In 1503 he was appointed Vicar General of the German Congregation of the Observants, a reform party among the Augustinians, that laid special stress on strict living and inner Christian life. In this position he labored with great earnestness and zeal for the spiritual well-being of those committed to his care, and for their advancement in evangelical knowledge.

From 1502 onward, in addition to his official duties in connection with his order, he aided Frederick the Wise in establishing the University of Wittenberg, and, in compliance with his wishes, became Professor of Theology and Dean of the Theological Faculty of the new institution. Frederick was among the wealthiest and most enlightened princes of the time. The rich mines

of Saxony had filled his coffers to overflowing. He had become deeply conscious of the corruptions of papal administration, and along with many of the German princes was no doubt already beginning to resent the undue exploitation of Germany by the Roman Curia. That he should have called upon the earnest and spiritually minded Staupitz to impress his personality on the organization and work of the university, would in itself sufficiently attest the nobility of his motives in devoting his wealth to Christian education.

That evangelical Augustinianism should have been the dominant influence in the university from the beginning, was what might have been expected. Staupitz was not only a diligent and devout student of the Scriptures and of the writings of Augustine, but he had become deeply imbued with the evangelical mysticism of the mediæval time, that found its best literary expression in the sermons of Tauler and in the little work entitled "German Theology," and had been diffused very widely among old evangelical Christians of nearly every type, inside and outside of the dominant church. He had become profoundly convinced that religion is not a matter of forms and ceremonies, or even of formulated creed, but that it is a matter of direct communion between the individual soul and God; that salvation is not gained by outward works, but by inward transformation of character; that justification is by faith, by which he understood not a mere intellectual acceptation of the divine promises and provisions, but a complete surrender of the entire being to God and an inward appropriation of Christ, involving fellowship with his sufferings and his sacrificial life and death.

(2) *The Conversion of Luther.* In 1505, on the occasion of an official visitation to the monastery at Erfurt, his attention was called to a gifted young man named Martin Luther, who had become deeply conscious of his guilt in relation to a holy God, and who in sore distress was vainly striving by bodily mortifications and the observance of external forms to pacify his troubled soul. Staupitz's earnest spiritual words were to him "as a voice from heaven." He was taught to look upon God as a God of love, earnestly desirous of the salvation of fallen

men, and to this end making an infinite sacrifice in the person of his only begotten and well-beloved Son, and was enabled to see that this great salvation is to be appropriated by faith, involving, as already explained, not mere intellectual acceptance of a proposition or assurance regarding a fact, but a complete surrender of the being to God, and an inner appropriation of Christ as the controlling principle of the life.

(3) *Luther at Wittenberg.* It was through Staupitz's influence that Luther, already a Master of Arts in the University of Erfurt, was transferred to the Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg (1508), where he soon became Biblical Bachelor and Sententiary (1509), and after a further period of work at Erfurt and a visit to Rome, Professor of Theology and Doctor of Theology (1512). In 1510, or earlier, Staupitz had become involved in controversy with certain of his Augustinian brethren, and on his behalf Luther visited Rome (1510–1511), where he became intimately acquainted with the heathenish life of the Roman Curia. Luxury and license were everywhere in evidence, and he now realized, as never before, the uses that were being made of the vast sums of money that were being extorted year by year from the German people, who were yet held in contempt by the courtly Italians. He entered upon his professorial duties at Wittenberg, profoundly realizing the corrupt state of the ecclesiastical administration and the exploited and oppressed condition of the German people. He was earnestly desirous alike of ecclesiastical reform and of the alleviation of the burdens under which his people were groaning. Staupitz had introduced Luther to the study of the German mystics, as well as to that of Augustine and the Bible. The next few years of Luther's life were devoted largely to these studies.

(4) *Staupitz leaves Wittenberg.* Having established Luther in a Wittenberg chair, along with Carlstadt, also a devout student of the Bible, Augustine, and the mystics, Staupitz left the university, being, as he remarked, "thoroughly dissatisfied with the times." Educational work, under the conditions that prevailed, no longer satisfied the longings of his soul. He preferred to devote himself to visitation among the monasteries of Ger-

many, Austria, and the Netherlands, which offered a wide and fruitful field for the dissemination of his evangelical principles and for the inculcation of the type of spiritual life that he represented. Outside of the monasteries, he had access in his journeyings to circles of earnest, enlightened, evangelical men, who, being disgusted with the prevailing ignorance, superstition, and corruption, were eager for the guidance of a gifted man like Staupitz, who could speak to them in eloquent, soul-moving language, out of the depths of his own experience, of the things of God.

(5) *The Staupitzian Society of Nuremberg.* Nuremberg, which had long been a center of evangelical and humanistic life and thought, was one of his favorite resorts. Here he was always welcomed by a circle of devout and intelligent men, including some of the most distinguished people of the city, who formed themselves into a "Staupitzian Society," and as such discussed with the utmost freedom, under his guidance, the great questions of life and doctrine that were agitating men's minds.

Here Staupitz was looked upon, to use the language of one of the members of the society, "as a disciple, nay, as the very tongue of Paul," as "a herald of the gospel and a genuine divine." "The foremost people of Nuremberg," says this contemporary, regarded him as "the one who should free Israel," that is to say, should lead in a general and thorough reformation of the church. The Nuremberg Staupitzian Society embraced such distinguished men as Anton Tucher, Jerome Ebner, and Albert Dürer, the painter. Such societies abounded at this time, and it is probable that much of Staupitz's strength was devoted to the organization and development of these means of diffusing and intensifying spiritual life and light.

In turning aside from Wittenberg, where he had established able representatives of his principles, to these wider spheres of intellectual and spiritual influence, it is probable that Staupitz followed not only the bent of his own mind, but also the leadings of divine Providence, and that in this way he used to the best advantage his rich social gifts and his wonderful personal power.

From 1515 onward, Staupitz published a number of small works thoroughly imbued with the spirit of evangelical mysticism. Notable among these was his "Imitation of Christ," issued by a Nuremberg publisher, who

three years before had published a defense of the Waldenses. This devotional writing, as well as Staupitz's treatise on "The Love of God" (1518), received Luther's most cordial approval, and both were widely circulated.

(6) *Luther and the "German Theology."* In 1516 Luther published for the first time from a manuscript, with the warmest commendation, the "German Theology," an anonymous mystical work, written some two hundred years before, and long a favorite handbook among evangelical mystics.

In his preface to the second edition (1518), he wrote: "I will have every man warned who readeth this little book, that he should not take offense, to his own hurt, at its bad German, or its crabbed and uncouth words. For this noble book, though it be poor and rude in words, is so much the richer and more precious in knowledge and divine wisdom. And I will say, though it be boasting of myself, and 'I speak as a fool,' that next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands, whence I have learned, or would wish to learn, more of what God, and Christ, and man, and all things are; and now I first find the truth of what certain of the learned have said in scorn of us theologians of Wittenberg, that we would be thought to put forward new things, as though there had never been men elsewhere and before our time. Yea, verily, there have been men; but God's wrath, provoked by our sins, hath not judged us worthy to see and hear them. . . Let as many as will read this little book, and then say whether theology is a new or old thing among us: for this book is not new. . . I thank God that I have heard and found my God in the German tongue, as neither I nor they have found him in the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew tongue. God grant that this book may be spread abroad, then we shall find that the German theologians are without doubt the best theologians."

This work passed rapidly through ten editions (1516–1520). The circulation by Luther of this book, with his enthusiastic commendation, makes it abundantly evident that up to 1518 and later, Luther was in thorough accord with the earlier evangelical mystics and with Staupitz, and had not the least thought of innovation.

(7) *Luther a Standard-bearer of Evangelical Mysticism.* It is worthy of remark that when Luther posted his theses against the sale of indulgences in 1517, and thereby brought himself under ecclesiastical censure, and when he proceeded to publish a number of polemical tracts on indulgences, monastic vows, etc., he had the enthu

siastic support of Staupitz and his Nuremberg friends, and of evangelical mystics and evangelical humanists everywhere. It was Staupitz, as Luther claimed at this time, who had incited him against the pope. Scheurl, of Nuremberg, greeted Luther in 1518 as the one raised up of God to lead the people of Israel out of their captivity. The old evangelicals of the Waldensian type, including the Bohemian Brethren, with their multitude of adherents, rejoiced in Luther's bold and evangelical utterances, and hastened, in many cases, to array themselves among his followers. Many who had secretly entertained evangelical views, and had been quietly propagating them in and through secret societies, now became avowed evangelicals.

In his tract on "Indulgences," Luther expressed the highest admiration for Tauler, the mystic: "As regards Tauler's teachings," he writes, "although he is unknown by the theologians, and on this account held in contempt among them, yet I know, although he is through and through German, that I have found in his writings more of pure divine teaching than I have found in all the books of the schoolmen at all the universities, or may be found therein."

Thus, from 1517 to 1520, Luther was the standard-bearer of the older evangelical type of religious life and thought. In 1518 he wrote to Staupitz that his (Luther's own) name had become odious to many, yet he had only followed Tauler's theology and Staupitz's little book recently published, and he still regarded Staupitz as the means under God of his spiritual enlightenment.

(8) *Luther Drifts Away from Staupitz.* In October, 1519, when Staupitz had unduly delayed answering Luther's letter, he wrote: "Thou forsakest me all too much; on thine account I was very sad, longing as a weaned child longs for its mother. . . Last night I dreamed of thee. It seemed as if thou hadst abandoned me; but I wept bitterly and was troubled. Thou beckonedst with thy hand that thou wouldst return to me."

No doubt Luther's recent proceedings had called forth Staupitz's disapproval, and his failure to answer the letter promptly may have been due to Staupitz's realization of the fact that an ever-widening breach existed be-

tween him and Luther. Luther was becoming involved in errors, as Staupitz saw, that would destroy all possibility of fellowship with old evangelicals of every party.

By 1522 Luther had drifted so far from the old evangelical position of Staupitz as to be able to write: "Staupitz's letters I do not understand, except that I see that they are very empty in spirit; besides, he does not write to me as he used to do. May God bring him back." There is no evidence that Staupitz had changed in the slightest degree his attitude toward truth. Luther was steadily changing, and with childlike simplicity he affected to believe that he was the fixed point from which Staupitz was drifting away.

Luther's change of base can be easily accounted for. The iconoclastic proceedings of the Zwickau prophets and of Carlstadt had filled him with alarm, and he had reached a definite conclusion that the only way in which the papal power, backed up by the imperial, could be successfully resisted was by keeping the anti-papal movement in accord with the wishes of the German princes, whose interests led them to oppose pope and emperor, and by preventing, at whatever cost, any radical and revolutionary uprisings. He had broken definitely with the papacy and the imperial administration, and the armed support of the German princes he regarded as indispensable. The practical, political, militant side of the work in which he had become engaged no doubt tended to eliminate from his thinking the sweet reasonableness of the older mysticism, and to induce the harsher modes of thought and expression that characterized his later work.

By 1524 Luther had not only completely broken with the papacy, but had established a State-church system, in which he claimed and exercised a virtual dictatorship. He had driven Carlstadt, his great evangelical co-laborer and fellow-student of mysticism, from the university, and afterward from pillar to post, and was inciting the princes to violent persecuting measures. The Peasants' War was already imminent, and he was exhorting his noble patrons to stern repressive proceedings. In April of this year Staupitz wrote Luther that he was too stupid to comprehend the latter's actions, and begged forgiveness for passing them by in silence. "May Christ help that we may at last live according to the gospel, which now sounds in our ears and which many carry in the mouth; since I see that multitudes abuse the gospel

for the freedom of the flesh. May my prayers, seeing that I was once the forerunner of the holy evangelical teaching, still avail somewhat with thee."

(9) *Luther Openly Denounced by Staupitz.* By 1525 the Peasants' War had burst forth, and Luther had, by his sanguinary exhortations involving the utter repudiation of the principles of the old evangelical party, and by his declaration of war to the knife with evangelical dissent, fully demonstrated his quality. Staupitz, now nearing his end, being deeply disappointed and grieved by the later developments in Luther's teachings and reformatory measures, published his last writing on "Holy, True, Christian Faith."

In this work he handles his great disciple without gloves. He contrasts "title-Christians," or Christians in name and by profession, with "true Christians." Evidently Luther's teachings are meant when he speaks of those who promulgate among men "a foolish faith and separate evangelical life from faith. . . They divide and separate also works from faith, as if one might truly believe without being brought into harmony with the life of Christ. Oh, poison of the enemy! Oh, misguiding of the people! He believeth not at all in Christ who will not do as Christ has done. Hear the word of fools [meaning Luther and his followers]: 'He who believes in Christ needs no works.' Hear, on the other hand, the maxims of wisdom: 'Whosoever will serve me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me': 'Whosoever loveth me will keep my word'; 'He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me and is loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself to him.' Likewise, 'if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.' David asks, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place?' Answer: 'He that hath clean hands and a pure heart,' etc. But the evil spirit suggests to his carnal Christians [Lutherans], that men are justified without works, with the intimation that Paul preached in this way, as is falsely and lyingly imputed to him. Paul indeed preached against the works of the law, which spring from fear and not from love, from self-love and not from love to God, on which hypocrites base their confidence, putting man's salvation in external works. . . But works done in obedience to the heavenly commandments, in faith and love, Paul never thought evil and never said aught but the best about them; nay, he proclaims and preaches that they are needful and useful to blessedness, of which all his Epistles bear witness. Christ will have the law fulfilled; fools would blot it out. Paul praises the law that it is good; fools denounce it as evil, because they walk according to the forms of the flesh, and savor not the things of the Spirit."

Staupitz died before this work issued from the press,

and Luther regarded his death as a divine judgment because of his opposition to the truth!

From this time forth Luther gave no quarter to evangelical dissent in any form; but urged the princes on to the commission of every atrocity against all who could not accept his own views of doctrine and polity.

4. *Lutheranism as a Revolutionary Movement.*

The entire movement was, in its tendency and results, revolutionary; but during the earlier years alone was it such in its aim.

(1) *Characterization of Luther.* Luther was a man of profound religious nature, who had been led by overwhelming conviction of sin and experience of divine grace, through the study of the Scriptures, of the writings of Augustine and of the great German mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and through the influence of the revival of learning, to repudiate all efforts to secure salvation by outward observances, and to regard salvation as entirely a matter of grace, and the human means of attaining to justification as faith in Jesus Christ. He had become noted for his piety and learning long before 1517, and was already beginning to be widely known and honored for his writings.

As teacher in the new University of Wittenberg he had, since 1512, exerted a powerful influence in favor of biblical studies, and against scholasticism. Luther's letters from 1512–1517, show that he was constantly getting clearer views of evangelical truth, and was gradually coming to a state of preparedness for the work of an active reformer. Yet with all his evangelical views, he was still a strong believer in the hierarchical church, and would have been shocked at the very suggestion of schism.

Luther was, by nature, a man of strong passions and great energy of will. When he entered upon the work of reform, he was dominated by the conviction that his cause was the cause of God. Taking this for granted, he could brook no opposition. Those who opposed him were undoubtedly opponents of God and emissaries of Satan. The violence of his polemical language is almost without parallel. When aroused by opposition, he lost

all regard for decency, and sometimes, apparently, even for truth. Those who opposed him, and in him the cause of God, were *ipso facto*, shown to be utterly reprobate and capable of all sorts of iniquity. We can best understand Luther's work by regarding him as filled with the idea that he had a great mission to perform as an apostle of God, and that all opposition to his work was prompted by the devil.

It seems probable that at the beginning of his reformatory career, Luther's motives were pure, but that his character was seriously damaged by his experiences as a politico-ecclesiastical leader. Toward the close of his life, he became almost intolerable, even to his friends, so great was his bitterness and his intolerance of the least opposition.

He spent his life in trying to tear down papal authority; but he certainly tried to arrogate to himself almost equal supremacy—not for his own sake, perhaps, but because he regarded himself as the great representative of God's cause on earth.

(2) *Luther and Indulgences.* The Elector and Archbishop Albert of Mainz, had made an arrangement with Leo X. to raise a large sum of money by the sale of indulgences. The Fugger firm of bankers in Augsburg had made heavy advances to the elector and were largely interested in the indulgence traffic. An agent of the firm accompanied the indulgence preacher and took charge of the receipts. The pope was to have one-half of the proceeds for the building of St. Peter's Cathedral and the payment of his debts. Tetzel, who was said to have been previously condemned to death for crime, was appointed, among others, to preach the indulgences throughout the country. These preachers went forth with great pomp, entering cities accompanied by immense processions, with cross and banners and a papal Bull printed in large letters.

Among the directions given to the preachers were the following:

> The indulgence preachers are always to show the people how necessary indulgences are to one wishing to have eternal life; and to disclose and make manifest to the people the immense and inestimable fruit of indulgences for themselves, and for the souls of believers.

They are to relate to the people the fact that Julius II. demolished the church of St. Peter, with a view to rebuilding it, and that its rebuilding has been begun on such a grand scale that the entire revenues of the Roman See would not suffice for its completion; that the bones and relics of the martyrs are now exposed to rain and storm, and that those who bear regard to the martyrs, to St. Peter, and to Christ, ought to contribute to this end. But in order to incite them to perform their duty in this regard, the pope has granted plenary indulgence to all who will contribute. The first grace is the plenary remission of all sins. The second grace contains seven great privileges: that of choosing one's own confessor; that of changing vows into other works of piety (the building of St. Peter's, etc.); participation of all the good deeds of the universal church (prayers, alms, fasts, pilgrimages, etc.); the plenary remission of the sins of those in purgatory, etc. Then follows a large number of instructions, including compositions with simoniacs, with those irregularly ordained, with those married within prohibited degrees, with those that have wrongly got possession of property, and to whom it is inconvenient to restore it to the proper persons; and provisions for putting into the papal treasury all moneys with regard to the rightful possession of which there existed any doubt, etc.[1]

Tetzel probably went beyond this most liberal code of indulgences, and proposed to forgive all sins absolutely as soon as the money clinked in the chest, even if any one had deflowered the Virgin Mary. The Elector of Saxony had forbidden the sale of indulgences in his territory. Hence the preachers could not go to Wittenberg. But Tetzel came to a neighboring town and drew large numbers of people from Wittenberg. Luther saw the harm that was being done alike to the souls and to the purses of the people. His soul was stirred within him. He wrote to Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, etc., protesting against the indulgence traffic. But having no confidence in the result of the letter, as it would seem, he, on the same day (Oct. 31, 1517), posted ninety-five theses concerning indulgences on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg, and sent copies to the bishops of Brandenburg and Magdeburg, exhorting them to rise up against the abomination.

The ninety-five theses were in substance as follows: That God alone can bestow true absolution; that the pope, like any other bishop or pastor, can only dispense this divine absolution to penitents and believers. That priestly absolution might indeed be bene-

[1] See documents in Gerdesius, "*Hist. Evangelii Renovati*," Vol. I., p. 83 of "*Monumenta*," and extracts in Gieseler.

ficial, but could not be indispensable, nor should it be esteemed more highly than works of piety and mercy. That such absolution properly referred only to ecclesiastical penalties, and that it was then so much abused by traders in indulgences, and so misunderstood by the people, that if the pope knew what was going on, he would rather see St. Peter's Church go into ashes, than see it built of the skin and bones of his sheep. He represents laymen as arguing, "That if the pope has the power for a paltry sum of money to redeem souls from purgatory, he ought on account of most holy charity and the utmost need of souls, to empty purgatory." And even the learned theologians, he says, find it difficult to defend the reverence of the pope from such calumnies and questionings. He takes up one by one a large number of the extravagant claims of the indulgence preachers, and refutes them briefly, fortifying the statements with references to Councils and Fathers.

It is no wonder that such a document should have aroused the opposition of those who were interested in the indulgence traffic.

(3) *Luther's Theses Condemned by the Pope and Luther Summoned to Rome.* Tetzel and Prierias (Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome), wrote against Luther in favor of indulgences. Luther sent a copy of his theses to the pope, accompanied by a letter, in which he expresses a firm conviction that his position is true and orthodox, but submitting unconditionally to his superiors. He was summoned (Aug., 1518) to appear at Rome; but the Elector Frederick arranged that he should be examined at Augsburg by the Cardinal Legate Cajetan (Oct., 1518). Neither kindness nor threats, on the part of Cajetan, availed anything with Luther. His failure to render satisfaction to Cajetan involved his excommunication by the pope. He now appealed from the pope ill-informed, to the pope better informed; but soon afterward, feeling sure that he could get no justice from the Roman Curia, he appealed to a General Council.

(4) *The Attitude of the Elector Frederick toward Luther.* Frederick was a man of enlightened views, and was on the most friendly terms with Luther. As he was one of the most important men in the empire, his support of Luther was dreaded by the pope, who wrote to Frederick, exhorting him by no means to uphold Luther in his disobedience and heresy. After the Augsburg conference, Cajetan wrote to Frederick, giving him an account of Luther's conduct, and asking him either to send Luther

to Rom , or to banish him from his realm. Luther also wrote to the elector, giving his view of the conference, and replying to Cajetan. Cajetan had accused Luther of rejecting a decretal of Clement VI. with regard to indulgences. Luther replied that this decretal is clearly opposed to the historical sense of the passage of Scripture on which it claims to be based, and that while rejecting neither the decretal nor the Scripture, he is bound to give the preference to the latter. Nay, the popes and the Fathers have often tortured Scripture from its true sense. The attitude of Cajetan in the conference, according to both accounts, was that of a superior, who did not deign to argue with the miserable monk ; but in a paternal way demanded of him unconditional submission, and warned him to be solicitous for the salvation of his soul. Luther was willing to submit only when proved to be wrong. Frederick refused to banish Luther or to send him to Rome. He considered Luther's demand to be arraigned before an impartial tribunal in Germany nothing more than was reasonable.

The pope being anxious to secure the influence of Frederick, deputed Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman and chamberlain in the papal court, to go to Saxony and treat with Frederick and Luther. Miltitz's opinion, after traveling through Germany, was, that public opinion was so strongly in favor of Luther, that even if he had an army at his command he could not take Luther to Rome.

(5) *Luther's Conference with Miltitz.* Miltitz summoned Luther in a friendly manner to meet him at Altenberg (Jan., 1519). He acknowledged the evil of the indulgence traffic, and denounced Tetzel so strongly that he is said to have died of chagrin ; but he entreated Luther not to make of this abuse an occasion for schism. Luther agreed to keep silent as long as his opponents should do the same. Moreover, he would write to the pope, and assure him that he had been too warm and severe in his polemics ; but that he inveighed against abuses as a true child of the church. Moreover, he would publish a tract in which he would exhort everybody to follow the Roman Church, to be obedient and respectful to its dignitaries, to understand his writings, not to the dishonor, but rather to the honor of the holy Roman Church, and

to look upon some of his expressions as too warm and perhaps untimely. Again, he was willing to submit his cause to the Archbishop of Saltzburg, with other learned men, subject to appeal. In pursuance of this agreement, Luther wrote a most submissive letter to the pope.

We have here an instance, among many, of Luther's diplomatic skill. We have the letter to the pope, dated March 5, 1519, written in the most adulatory style,[1] and a letter to Spalatin, dated March 13, in which he declares that "he does not know whether the pope is Antichrist or his apostle, so miserably is Christ (*i. e.*, the truth) corrupted and crucified by him in his decretals."[2] Luther himself throws some light upon his duplicity in a letter to Spalatin bearing the same date with that to the pope: "It never was in my mind that I should wish to cut loose from the Apostolic Roman See. Finally, I am content that he [the pope] be called, and be lord of all things. What is this to me, who know that even a Turk must be honored and tolerated for the sake of his power? For I am certain that only by God's will (as Peter says), will any power stand. But this I do for my faith in Christ, that they may not drag down and contaminate his word by prohibition. Let the Roman decretals leave me the pure gospel, and they may seize upon all else."

This correspondence is important because it is characteristic, and because it throws light upon Luther's ethical position. He had not attained to the absolute and uncompromising veraciousness that characterizes evangelical Christianity at its best estate, but still allowed himself considerable liberty in prevarication. We must bear in mind that Luther was dealing with Italian diplomatists, who were notorious for their insincerity. It may have been a matter of some consolation to him to know that he was simply meeting them on their own ground, with their own weapons.

The general impression Luther's character makes upon one, is that of overmastering zeal and impetuosity. But we cannot fully appreciate his marvelous power unless we observe that he combined with his impetuosity a remarkable amount of shrewdness and diplomacy. This enabled him, in general, to make the most of his fiery zeal—to be impetuous when and where it was most advantageous to be so.

(6) *The Disputation at Leipzig (June and July, 1519).* Soon after the publication of Luther's theses, Carlstadt, rector of the University of Wittenberg, a man of great learning and remarkable religious earnestness, defended them in about four hundred theses in his university disputations, and became widely known as the ablest coadjutor of Luther.

Carlstadt's four hundred propositions were intended as a reply to Dr. John Eck, of Ingoldstadt. Luther pro-

[1] "*Ep.*," ed. De Wette, Vol. I., p. 233. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

posed that Eck and Carlstadt should settle their dispute by a debate at Leipzig. In January, 1519, Eck had published thirteen theses. Luther thought the promise of silence no longer binding, and replied in thirteen others. Luther was also drawn into the Leipzig debate, and was forced into a dispute on the primacy of the pope. Eck accused him of Hussite opinions, and Luther rejoined that several of Huss' opinions had been unjustly condemned and virtually aligned himself with the Bohemian reformer. Here Eck first pronounced Luther and his followers heretics, under the name of Lutherans. Eck was greatly superior to Luther in controversial skill; but the verdict of the public was clearly in favor of Luther and Carlstadt.

(7) *Luther's Activity, from the Leipzig Disputation till his Final Excommunication (Jan. 3, 1521).* This was a period of intense activity with Luther. Both he and Melanchthon, who was now at his side, as a most learned and faithful helper, wrote polemical treatises against Eck, etc.

Philip Melanchthon (born 1497), son of a weapon-maker, grandnephew and pupil of Reuchlin, studied for a number of years at Pforzheim, Heidelberg, and Tübingen, and by 1518 had become one of the most accomplished classical scholars of the time and a thorough-going humanist in his sympathies and purposes. On Reuchlin's recommendation he was appointed teacher of Greek in the University of Wittenberg (1518). In spite of Reuchlin's warnings, he was soon won over to the support of Luther and became deeply interested in biblical study and in evangelical theology. His accession to the Lutheran ranks was of fundamental importance. From this time onward he was Luther's chief helper, and it was largely due to his fame as a scholar and teacher that the university was so greatly prospered. In many respects he was the counterpart of Luther. Far more learned than Luther and far more moderate in his views, he tended to curb the extravagances of his great leader. He was able to put Luther's thoughts into consistent and intelligible form while he was himself inspired in his thinking and his work by the great personality of Luther. He was yielding and compromising in disposition and so was enabled to endure Luther's overbearing conduct and to conciliate many whom Luther would have hopelessly alienated. As he became more mature and influential he became more assertive, and long before Luther's death a marked difference in the type of their theological thinking was observable. After Luther's death his views became practically Calvinistic, only his Augustinianism was always of a far more moderate type than that of either Luther or Calvin. His theological masterpiece is the "*Loci Communes*," the successive editions of which show his pro-

gressive departure from ultra-Lutheranism. The type of his teaching is exemplified also in the "Augsburg Confession," which he drafted in consultation with Luther (1530), and in the "Apology" for the "Confession," and his modified views in the Augsburg "*Variata*" (1540). Many of his controversial works are of considerable value. His relation to later Lutheran controversies will be defined in a subsequent section.

In September, 1519, Luther published his "Commentary on Galatians," in the preface of which he distinguishes between the Roman Church, the bride of Christ, the mother of churches, the daughter of God, the terror of hell, absolutely pure, and the Roman Curia, which he condemns in the strongest terms. The former should be by no means resisted; to resist the latter is a work of far greater piety on the part of kings, princes, and whoever is able, than to resist the Turks themselves.

Early in 1520, when it was becoming evident that Luther would be excommunicated, he received assurances of protection from Ulrich von Hutten, Franz von Sickingen, and Sylvester of Schaumberg, knights. The last assured him that he and a hundred other nobles would protect him against violence at any cost until his matter should be settled by an impartial council. The elector still remained true to Luther, glorying in the fame that had come to his new university through Luther and Melanchthon.

In June (the same month in which the first Bull of excommunication was issued at Rome, but before it had reached Germany), emboldened by such assurances, Luther issued his writing: "To the Christian Nobles of Germany, with regard to the Bettering of the Christian Condition." This is one of the boldest of Luther's reformatory writings. He shows the hopelessness of reform in the church, from the fact that the Romanists have most dextrously drawn around them three walls: (1) When pursued by the secular power, they hold that the spiritual is above the secular. (2) When any one would rebuke them with the Scriptures, they reply that it belongs to the pope alone to interpret Scripture. (3) If threatened with a council, they pretend that no one but the pope can call a council.

He shows that there is properly no distinction in Scripture between spiritual and secular; that all Christians are spiritual, all priests. The secular authorities ought to defend the righteous and punish the evil, even if such be monks, nuns, priests, bishops, popes. Christ says that all Christians are taught of God. Now it may happen that popes, bishops, etc., are not true Christians; and a humble layman may have a truer understanding of Scripture than they. The third wall will fall down of itself if the others are demolished. Christ says, "If thy brother sin against thee tell it to the church." How can we tell it to the church without calling a council?

Now follows his plan for the reformation of the church, which he exhorts the nobles to carry out: Reduction of the luxurious extravagance of the papal court; abolition of annates and other papal exactions of money; bishops' palliums to be no longer brought from Rome; no secular cause to be carried to Rome for adjudication; all papal reservations to be abolished; no fiefs to be held at Rome; the emperor no more to kiss the pope's foot or to hold his stirrup; nobody to kiss the pope's foot; pilgrimages to be abolished; no more monasteries to be built; pastors to be allowed to marry; many ecclesiastical penalties to be abolished; all festivals to be abolished except Sunday; laws with regard to prohibited degrees of consanguinity in marriage to be changed; mendicancy to be abolished; the cause of the Bohemians to be taken up and union with them effected; the universities to be reformed and Aristotle scouted, etc., etc.

Eck, who had been from the beginning one of the foremost opponents of Luther, had gone to Rome and returned to Germany, charged with the proclamation of the Bull. He was supposed to have instigated the pope to this measure; and so great was the odium which he incurred, that he was obliged to conceal himself. A denunciatory song was written about him, which contributed to the popular feeling against him. The Bull was received in Germany with almost universal indignation. A handbill appeared at Erfurt, signed by the faculty and students, denouncing Luther's enemies and commending Luther. Eck had difficulty in getting the Bull published even in his own university.

In September, Luther published his admirable tract, "Concerning Christian Liberty," accompanied by a long dedicatory letter to Pope Leo X. The letter to Leo is a bold and fervid denunciation of the ecclesiastical administration tempered with flattery of the reigning pope.

"The court of Rome" is declared to be "more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom," "of an abandoned, desperate, and hopeless impiety," "the most lawless den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the very kingdom of sin, death, and hell; so that not even Antichrist, if he were to come, could devise any addition to its wickedness." Yet Leo is represented as "sitting like a lamb in the midst of wolves, like Daniel, in the midst of lions, and with Ezekiel dwelling among scorpions," as powerless in the face of "the monstrous evils." If he and a few cardinals should attempt reform, they would be poisoned. "It is all over with the court of Rome: the wrath of God has come upon it to the uttermost." Satan is declared to be more the ruler of the court than Leo, whom Luther would fain see living privately on his paternal inheritance out of reach of these fearful evils. He narrates the proceedings of Cajetan, Miltitz, and Eck, in their efforts to bring him to submission, justifying himself fully and scathingly denouncing these papal emissaries, whom he regards as abusing their commissions and only making bad worse. He points out the unreasonableness of the expectation that he should recant, unless he can be proved to be wrong. "Moreover, I cannot bear with laws for the interpretation of the word of God, since the word of God, which teaches liberty in all other things, ought not to be bound." Referring to the accompanying tract, he adds: "It is a small matter, if you look to its exterior, but, unless I mistake, it is a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass, if you apprehend its meaning."

The two propositions that he undertakes to establish in the treatise are: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one." Luther's elaboration of these propositions constitutes his very best exposition of the principles of evangelical Christianity. It is written with masterly skill, seraphic fervor, and convincing logic, and is so free from his later extravagances as to be universally acceptable to evangelical Christians always and everywhere. Justification by faith is earnestly insisted upon as opposed to justification by works, but not in so one-sided a manner as to make good works seem superfluous: "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works. Bad works do not make a bad man, but a bad man does bad works. Thus it is always necessary that the substance or person should be good before any good works can be done, and that good works should follow and proceed from a good person. . . We do not then reject good works; nay, we embrace them and teach them in the highest degree. It is not on their own account that we condemn them, but on account of this impious addition to them, and the perverse notion of seeking justification by them."

The treatise on "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church," published a few weeks later, is of almost equal value and importance.

In his dedication, he professes to have made within two years great advancement in the apprehension of the truth, under the stimulus and instruction of such teachers as Prierias, Eck, and Emser. He now extremely regrets having published the work on indulgences, in which he was still superstitious enough to judge that they were not to be wholly rejected. He had since reached the conviction that indulgences were "nothing but mere impostures of the flatterers of Rome, whereby to make away with the faith of God and the money of men." He would have all his previous writings on indulgences burned and have this one proposition put in their place: "Indulgences are wicked devices of the flatterers of Rome." Heretofore he had admitted that the pope had a human right to preside over Christendom. Now he is convinced that "the papacy is the kingdom of Babylon." He would have everything he has hitherto had published about the papacy burned and the following proposition substituted: "The papacy is the mighty hunting-ground of the Bishop of Rome." Heretofore he has thought it would be well for a General Council to determine in favor of administering both bread and wine to the laity. The effort of his opponents to prove communion in one kind to be scriptural by an appeal to the sixth chapter of John's Gospel has convinced him that a denial of the cup to the laity is a perversion of the ordinance. He must now deny "that there are seven sacraments, and must lay it down, for the time being, that there are only three, baptism, penance, and the bread, and that by the court of Rome all these have been brought into miserable bondage, and the church despoiled of all her liberty."

The treatise is devoted to a *critique* of the Romanist teaching regarding the seven sacraments, which are taken up one by one, and to the setting forth of Luther's own views on the Lord's Supper, baptism, etc. He places himself beside Wycliffe and Huss in rejecting transubstantiation, and beside the Bohemians in insisting on communion under both kinds. He insists that in the administration of the sacrament, everything be "put aside" "that has been added by the zeal or the notions of men to the primitive and simple institution; such as are vestments, ornaments, hymns, prayers, musical instruments, lamps, and all the pomp of visible things," and that we "must turn our eyes and our attention only to the pure institution of Christ, and set nothing else before us but those very words of Christ, with which he instituted and perfected that sacrament, and committed it to us." He rejoices that Christ has preserved baptism in his church uninjured and uncontaminated by the devices of men, and has made it free to all nations and to men of every class. . . doubtless having this purpose, that he would have little children, incapable of avarice and superstition, to be initiated into this sacrament, to be sanctified by perfectly simple faith in his word. To such, even at the present day, baptism is of the highest advantage. If this sacrament had been intended to be given to adults and those of full age, it seems as if it could hardly have preserved its efficacy and

glory in the presence of that tyranny of avarice and superstition which has supplanted all divine ordinances among us. . . Yet though Satan has not been able to extinguish the virtue of baptism in the case of little children, still he has had power to extinguish it in all adults, so that there is scarcely any one now-a-days who remembers that he has been baptized, much less glories in it, so many other ways having been found of obtaining remission of sins and going to heaven." "Man baptizes and does not baptize; he baptizes, because he performs the work of dipping the baptized person; he does not baptize, because in this work he does not act upon his own authority, but in the place of God. . . Consider the person of him who confers baptism in no other light than as the vicarious instrument of God, by means of which the Lord sitting in heaven dips thee in water with his own hands, and promises thee remission of sins upon earth, speaking to thee with the voice of a man through the mouth of his minister." Again: "Another thing which belongs to it is the sign or sacrament, which is that dipping into water whence it takes its name. For in Greek to baptize signifies to dip, and baptism is a dipping." Further: "It is not baptism that justifies any man, or is of any advantage; but faith in that word of promise to which baptism is added; for this justifies and fulfills the meaning of baptism. For faith is the submerging of the old man and the emerging of the new man. . . Baptism, then, signifies two things, death and resurrection; that is, full and complete justification. When the minister dips the child into the water, this signifies death; when he draws him out again, this signifies life. . . For this reason I could wish that the baptized child should be totally immersed, according to the meaning of the word and the signification of the mystery; not that I think it is necessary to do so, but that it would be well that so complete and perfect a thing as baptism should have its sign also in completeness and perfection, even as it was doubtless instituted by Christ."

There is no evidence that Luther ever had the slightest misgivings as to the propriety or importance of infant baptism.

(8) *The Diet of Worms.* A year after his election Charles V. was crowned at Aachen (Oct. 1520). He had not yet visited as Emperor his German domains and he seems to have shrunk from encountering the violently disturbed religious conditions that prevailed there. He was accompanied by two thousand handsomely equipped horsemen, but had no army available for his protection in case of a Lutheran uprising.

The Elector Frederick was urged by papal officials (Aleander, Eck, *et al.*) to proceed immediately with the execution of Luther or else to send him to Rome for punishment. The Elector expressed emphatically his confidence in the orthodoxy and integrity of Luther and bitterly complained of the attempt of Roman emissaries to interfere with religious affairs in his domain. In the meantime Luther's popularity was increasing by leaps and bounds, the assurance of the

knights mentioned above having greatly encouraged him and his already large following.

An agreement was finally reached between papal and imperial representatives and the Elector of Saxony and his friends that an imperial Diet should be held at Worms early in 1521, to which Luther should be summoned, with safe-conduct, to give an account of his anti-catholic activities.

Luther agreed to the arrangement. Erasmus, when consulted by representatives of the Emperor, spoke favorably of Luther and disparagingly of his Catholic opponents.

Luther had so far committed himself to the utter repudiation of priestly and prelatical authority, the assertion of the universal priesthood of believers, the independence of the local church, and the freedom of every individual believer to interpret the Scriptures for himself and to act upon his own understanding of Scripture that he could not hope for favor at the hands of the Diet controlled by imperial and hierarchical authorities, and of princes who could not be expected to be sympathetic toward his more radical views. To refuse to go to the Diet would probably have required more courage than to face the situation at the Diet, where he had the assurance of the willingness and ability of the knights to protect him. That he would positively refuse to recant and thus to discredit himself with his large and enthusiastic following was to be expected. It was also in the natural course of things that the Diet should condemn Luther's radical views.

Throughout the course of his long journey from Wittenberg to Worms great crowds of enthusiastic admirers gave him an ovation. Thousands gathered at Worms to greet him on his arrival and to follow him to his lodgings.

He was not given freedom to state and defend his views, but was required to answer "yes" or "no," whether he adhered to his published views or was prepared to recant. His refusal to recant might have been expected.

Representatives of the Roman Curia insisted that Luther should be executed forthwith and that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The young Emperor positively refused to ignore his safe-conduct and permitted him to leave Worms unmolested. The Edict of Worms involved a prohibition of the printing, sale, and reading of Luther's books, the burning of those printed and in circulation, and any kind of entertainment or personal favor for Luther himself. No regard was paid to the Edict in the territory of princes and people already favorable to Luther, and enthusiasm for him was intensified and spread.

On his journey he was seized by friends in disguise and conveyed to Wartburg Castle, near Eisenach (see p. 93 seq.).

(9) *The Diet of Nuremberg* (Dec. 1522), *and Luther's Assertion of the Autonomy of the Local Congregation* (1523), Pope Hadrian VI., who had recently succeeded Leo X., was a man of good character and was desirous of reforming and reuniting the church. He greatly underestimated

the strength of the evangelical protest and supposed that harmony could be restored by the redress of acknowledged grievances.

At the Diet of Nuremberg he admitted that for some years many abominations had existed in the holy See, "abuses in spiritual things, excesses in things commanded, and in fine, all things have been perverted; nor is it to be wondered at, if the disease has descended from the head into the members, from the supreme pontiffs into the other inferior prelates." He acknowledges that all the prelates and ecclesiastics have gone astray, and he urges that each one humiliate himself before God and seek to amend his ways, promising himself to look after the due reformation of the Roman court. Yet he is not so sanguine as to believe that a disease so inveterate, multiplex, and complicated can be eradicated all at once, and thinks that more harm than good would result from measures too drastic. He urges the Lutheran princes to execute the edict of Worms against Luther, his writings, and his followers, rebukes them for burning the papal law-books and decretals, and threatens or predicts the utter destruction of themselves and the devastation of their provinces if they persist in their contempt for holy things.

The estates in the Diet pointed out the fact that the great mass of the German people were with Luther in his protest, and that it would be impracticable to carry out the papal and imperial decrees against him; and they proceeded to present a long list of abuses and grievances, the redress of which was deemed absolutely essential to the peace of Germany. A free Christian Council meeting in Germany is declared to be the only effective means of settling the difficulties, and the sooner it is convened the better.

Hadrian died before he could carry out his proposed reforms (Sep., 1523), and his successor, Clement VII., agreed with the Roman court in rejecting the policy of concession.

The practical setting aside by the Diet of the Edict of Worms, which encouraged many communities to abolish papal forms and adopt evangelical organization and worship, was the occasion of one of Luther's most important reformatory writings (Easter, 1523): "That a Christian assembly or community has the right and power to judge all teaching, to call, institute, and depose teachers."

In respect to the judging of doctrine and the institution and the deposition of teachers "we must have absolutely no regard to human laws and ordinances, old tradition, usage, custom, and such like, whether instituted by pope or emperor, princes or bishop, even though half the world, or the whole world, have held to them, and even though they have been observed for a year or a thousand years.

For the soul of man is an eternal thing, above everything that is temporal; therefore it must be ruled and controlled by the eternal word. For it is a shameful thing to rule the conscience with human law and long usage in place of God . . . so we now conclude, that wherever there is a Christian community, which has the gospel, it has not only the right and power, but is under obligation by the salvation of souls . . . to avoid, flee from, depose, withdraw from the authority exercised by bishops, abbots, monasteries, foundations, and the like, such as now exist." He proceeds to show that since Christian communities must have teachers and preachers, since bishops and priests of the prevailing type are unsuitable, and since we have no ground for expecting God to send preachers from heaven, we must call and institute those that we find sent for this work and whom God has enlightened with understanding and adorned with gifts.

(10) *Luther's Polemic against Henry VIII. of England.* In response to Luther's "Babylonish Captivity of the Church," Henry VIII., zealous for papal doctrine and anxious for the favor of the pope and the title of "Defender of the Faith," published (1521) "An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Luther." Henry had urged Charles V. to use the most drastic measures against Lutheranism. His scholastic treatise was denunciatory in a high degree and breathed the spirit of intolerance. Luther was irritated beyond measure by the king's attack and hastened to reply, in both German and Latin, in the most vituperative language that even he could command. The king is addressed as "Henry, by God's disfavor king of England," he is denounced as "a crowned ass," as "a shameless liar and blasphemer," as "a miserable fool," as "that damnable rottenness and worm." A paragraph or two of this masterpiece of theological billingsgate will illustrate one side of the Reformer's character:

Not me, but himself, let King Henry blame, if he shall have experienced somewhat hard and rough treatment at my hands. For he does not betray a royal mind or any vein of royal blood, but shameless and meretricious impudence and poltroonery, proving all things only by curses, and what is most base in any man, above all in a man of exalted position, he openly and deliberately lies. . . Now that that damnable rottenness and worm deliberately and consciously concocts lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, it is right for me on behalf of my King to besprinkle his Anglican majesty with his own mire and ordure and to trample under foot that crown that blasphemes against Christ. . . If for Christ's sake I have trampled upon the idol of the Roman abomination which has

established itself in the place of God and hath made itself master and king of the whole world, who is this new Thomist Henry, a disciple merely of so cowardly a monster, that I should respect his virulent blasphemies. Grant that he is a "Defender of the Church" . . . yet it is of the purple clad harlot, drunken and mother of abominations.

In answer to Henry's charge that Luther often contradicts himself, he writes:

This impudent lie of his even against his own conscience he so urges and makes prominent throughout the entire book, that it is quite evident he wrote it not for the sake of teaching . . . or asserting the seven sacraments, but, being afflicted with a mental disease of the most virulent type and not being able otherwise to void the virus and pus of envy and malice formed within his mind, he found occasion to spew it out through his filthy mouth, having no other aim than to besmear with his lies the mouths of all and to arouse ill feeling against me. . . Base would it be for a filthy harlot, with shameless brow and disordered faculties, to lie and rage in this way; other things would have befitted a royal mind and royal blood. . . The other charge is, that I have made an onslaught on the pope and the church, that is, the pimp and bawd and see of Satan, whose defender he himself has recently been declared to be. . . The papacy is the most pestilential abomination of prince Satan that ever was or ever shall be. . . These are the arms by which heretics are vanquished now-a-days, the fire and the fury of these most silly asses and Thomist swine. But let these swine come on and burn me if they dare. Here I am and I will wait for them, and my ashes alone having been cast after my death into a thousand seas, I will persecute and harass this abominable crowd. While alive I will be the enemy of the papacy, burned, I will be twice an enemy. Do what you can, Thomist swine, you shall have Luther as a bear in your way.

Luther's utter contempt for constituted authority, as manifested in this writing, could not have failed to appeal powerfully to the social democracy throughout Europe and to encourage the oppressed classes to strike for liberty.

(9) *Luther's Translation of the New Testament.* During his seclusion at the Wartburg Luther spent a large part of his time in preparing his translation of the New Testament.

It would be a mistake to suppose that he was in any sense a pioneer in this field. Between the years 1462 and 1522 not less (probably considerably more) than seventeen editions of the Bible in German had issued from the presses of Strasburg, Augsburg, Nu-

remberg, Cologne, Lübeck, and Halberstadt. The earliest German Bible was printed from a version (represented by the *Codex Teplensis* of the fifteenth century) which was probably made in the fourteenth century by Bohemian or Austrian evangelicals. That during the later Middle Ages the Bible was studied with zeal throughout wide circles is evident from the fact that not only these numerous vernacular editions and unnumbered editions of vernacular Bible portions were called for; but that between 1450 and 1500 at least ninety-seven editions of the Latin Vulgate are known to have been published, besides vast numbers of Gospels, Epistles, and Psalters. The earlier versions of the German Bible were all made from the Vulgate. Luther was the first to make use of the Greek for this purpose. He was not an accomplished Greek scholar, but he drew to his aid the scholarship of Melanchthon, Amsdorf, *et al.*, and succeeded in making a version that was reasonably accurate, thoroughly idiomatic, simple, and vigorous.

Luther's first edition of the New Testament appeared in September, 1522, and it soon had a vast circulation and became an important means of diffusing evangelical light. His version of the Pentateuch appeared in 1523, of the Psalter, in 1524, and of the entire Bible, in 1534. In the translation of the prophets he made much use (unacknowledged) of the version of Hetzer and Denck, to be hereafter referred to. In the later stages of his work, including the revision of the New Testament, he had the co-operation of a Bible Club, made up of Melanchthon, Cruciger, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Aurogallus.

In the preface to his New Testament Luther indulged so freely in the subjective criticism of the inspired writings as to merit the appellation "father of modern subjective Bible criticism." He pronounced John's Gospel, Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Romans, and Peter's First Epistle, by far the best and the most valuable of the books, containing not many works and miracles of Christ, but showing in a masterly way how faith vanquishes sin, death, and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and blessedness. John's Gospel he placed far above the other three, because it deals chiefly with Christ's teaching, while the others are largely taken up with the works and very little with the words of Christ. So also he regarded Paul's Epistles and First Peter as superior to the three first Gospels. His disparagement of the Epistle of James and of the Apocalypse has already been noted.

(10) *Luther on Obedience to the Secular Magistracy.* Highly significant, in view of later developments, were Luther's utterances (early in 1523) in his writing "Concerning the Secular Magistracy and how far one is under

obligation to obey it." It constitutes a noble plea for the Christian treatment of subjects. Princes are warned that the times have changed, and that unless they rule justly, God will put an end to their authority as he has done in the case of the ecclesiastics. God will not suffer them to rule the souls of men, and in doing so they are bringing upon themselves the hatred of God and of men.

"Your tyranny and arbitrary proceedings cannot and will not long be endured. . . God will not longer have it so." The time is past when "you may hunt and harass the people like wild beasts. Is there heresy? It must be overcome, as is meet, with God's word."

In August, 1523, Luther wrote to the imperial authorities at Nuremberg: "I suppose that those who are now my bitterest enemies, if they knew what I daily learn from all parts of the country, would help me storm the monasteries to-morrow."

These utterances, to which many pages might be added, show how revolutionary Luther still was almost to the outbreak of the Peasants' War, and enable us to judge how important a factor his influence must have been in calling forth this widespread and well-organized uprising against tyranny.

5. *The Peasants' War in its Relations to the Protestant Revolution.*

LITERATURE: Baumann, "*Akten z. Gesch. d. deutschen Bauernkrieges aus Oberschwaben*," 1877; Fries, "*D. Gesch. d. Bauernkrieges in Ostfranken*," 1883; Kessler, "*Sabbata*;" Schreiber, "*D. deutsche Bauernkrieg*," 1863; Bezold, "*Der Bauernkrieg*," 1890 (in Onken's "*Weltgeschichte*"); Cornelius, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. Bauernkrieges*"; Janssen, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Volks*," *Bd.* II.; Jörg, "*Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode von 1522–1526*," 1851; Lehnert, "*Studien z. Gesch. d. 12 Artikel*," 1894; Zimmermann, "*Allgemeine Gesch. d. grossen Bauernkriegs*," 1854; Stern, "*Uber d. 12 Artikel d. Bauern*," 1858; Kautsky, "Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation," tr. by Mulliken, 1897.

Leonard Fries, who at the time of the Peasants' War was secretary of the city of Würzburg, and who, with commendable industry, compiled a documentary history of the movement which has only recently seen the light, forcibly characterizes the great popular uprising as a deluge. "The terrible deluge," writes he, in the spirit of his time, "which astronomers and astrologers foretold long before it occurred—a woful and lamentable del-

uge, not of water, as the astronomers and astrologers supposed, but a deluge of blood." "For," he proceeds, "in the German nation alone more than one hundred thousand men were overwhelmed and perished in this deluge in less than ten weeks."

(1) *Origin and Nature of Serfdom.* The Peasants' War of 1524–1525 was not the first of its kind. Throughout the later Middle Ages, and in almost every part of Europe, peasant uprisings of greater or less magnitude had taken place. The great mass of the Germanic peoples, who had from the earliest times been noted for their force of character and their love of liberty, had, as a result of the feudal system, been reduced to a state of serfdom. Captives of war doubtless formed the basis of serfdom; poverty and debt brought multitudes of free men into the same condition.

The feudal laws, as might be supposed, were strongly favorable to the proprietors of the soil. The peasant had few rights that the nobility were bound to respect. In many cases the peasantry were regarded as an inherent part of the property, and were bought and sold with the land. They must follow the lord in his warlike enterprises. The proprietor could impose any rents or taxes he might see fit. He could take the peasant's possessions without his consent, destroy his crops by riding over them with hunting parties without compensation. He could imprison, shoot, or hang him at his own sweet will. Cases are on record, apparently well authenticated, of noblemen on hunting excursions killing their serfs in order that they might warm their feet in their opened bodies. There is, I believe, one code of feudal laws in which this right is expressly recognized, but the number of serfs that may be thus used on any given excursion is limited. A story is told of a nobleman who wished to cross a swollen stream, and could think of no more feasible way of doing it than to force a large number of serfs into the flood, and to pass over on their struggling bodies as they drifted to destruction. It was the prerogative of the lords, very commonly exercised, to withhold from the peasant the right to fish in the streams, to shoot or entrap game, to cut wood or timber for fuel and building, to possess guns or cross-bows, or to marry whom he chose. One of the most unreasonable and unjust laws was the law of heriot, in accordance with which the lord had the right, on the death of one of his serfs, to go upon the premises and take the first or most valuable chattel he could lay hands upon. The theory doubtless was that the lord thus secured a certain compensation for the loss sustained in the death of his serf. A like basis doubtless had the law by virtue of which the lord could claim the entire property of a suicide. Most peasants would have been quite content to pay a large proportion of the grain produce as rent, but to be obliged to tithe the fowls, calves, lambs, hay, vegetables, etc., was highly vexatious and oppressive.

The ecclesiastical lords were little more considerate of the interests or the comfort of the peasants than the lay. In fact, some of the worst instances of oppression are furnished by the church. Most of the bishops, archbishops, and abbots were members of titled families, and their motives, in many cases, were purely secular. They usually had to pay a high price for their appointment, and it was natural that they should seek to recoup themselves by fleecing the peasants.

(2) *Earlier Uprisings of the Peasants.* The history of earlier struggles for freedom on the part of the peasants may be briefly summed up: Burdens too grievous to be borne; a more or less distinct hope of successful resistance, usually engendered or fostered by some sort of religious awakening, or by some enthusiastic individual or individuals who succeeded in catching the ear of the people, ready to listen to anything that promised relief from the galling yoke of serfdom; a fitful struggle for freedom; some deeds of outlawry on the part of the desperate peasants; a merciless massacre; the imposition of still more grievous burdens upon the survivors.

Yet the failure of the peasants in their struggles for freedom had by no means been universal or complete. In the Rhætian Alps and in the Swiss cantons rebellion had resulted in glorious freedom. In France serfdom had come to an end from a combination of circumstances. It seems never to have existed in the Netherlands. The region in which serfdom still reigned supreme at the beginning of the sixteenth century was Germany, and it was in Franconia, Alsace, and Swabia that it had assumed its most aggravated forms. A glance at a map of this region will make apparent its contiguity to those countries in which liberty had made the greatest strides. The intercourse between the peasantry of Alsace, Franconia, and Swabia with that of Switzerland on the one side, and that of the Netherlands on the other, was of the most intimate kind.

Let us look a little more particularly at the antecedents of the Peasants' War on the territory in which it arose and in which it raged most fiercely. It was in Franconia and Swabia that the rumblings of discontent first became distinctly audible and that the first revolutionary deeds were perpetrated. Here the hardships of the peasants were peculiarly great. The lives of the clergy were

shamelessly corrupt, and the princely style of living the prelates affected made it necessary to wring from the peasantry the last particle of marketable substance. The Hussite wars had drained the country of its resources. The bishop, John Bruno, is said to have lived, nevertheless, like an Oriental prince in Solomonic splendor. While the people starved and sighed, the court, which was a collection of flatterers and favorites, of mistresses and their children, upon whom he lavished most recklessly the income from the land, was a scene of feasting and revelry. His successor exhausted the impoverished people still more. The next bishop in order was a member of the arch-ducal house of Saxony, and was devoted to the sacred office by his father and brothers, as was well understood at the time, if not frankly avowed, "because of the feebleness and the unsoundness of his mind." "Through bad government, through manifold taxes, imposts, feuds, enmities, wars, conflagrations, murders, imprisonments and the like, land and people had already, in 1443, come into so great misery," relates an almost contemporary manuscript, "that nobody could either himself use for proper purposes what the Almighty vouchsafes to him, nor yet bestow anything suitably upon others. And the prospect of amelioration was exceedingly remote, for warring, burning, robbing, throttling, imprisoning, putting in stocks, pinioning, fining, were becoming worse and more violent than they had been before."

Religious influences were at work side by side with social and political. The contempt of the clergy, fully justified by what we have seen of their unworthiness, opened the hearts of the people to something better. It was precisely in this region that the old evangelical party of the later Middle Ages achieved its greatest success. The printing presses of the great commercial centers of this region—Bamberg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Strasburg, Basel, etc.—sent forth, from 1466 to 1518, edition after edition of the German Bible, together with multitudes of editions of Bible portions. The Waldenses were noted for their study of the Bible, and there can be little doubt but that the teachers of this party distributed these Bibles freely among the peasants, whom they

taught to read and interpret them. Apart from the sound evangelizing influences just mentioned, extreme and fanatical types of religious life appeared here, as they are sure to occur in times of dire oppression.

The case of Hans Boeheim is one out of many. In 1476 this young cowherd appeared as preacher and prophet. He had been notoriously irreligious and much given to the playing of the fife and other instruments for dancing parties, etc. The Virgin, in a vision, commanded him to burn his instrument, which he straightway did in the presence of the people. Under like supposed inspiration he began to proclaim the setting-up of a new kingdom of God. The Virgin prompted him to require the putting aside of all finery. Vast multitudes thronged his ministry, thirty or forty thousand having sometimes heard him on a single day. At length the Virgin revealed to him that there should be no emperor, no prince, no pope, no secular or spiritual magistracy. Instead, every man was to be brother to every other man, win his bread with his own hands, and no one was to have more than another. This, of course, involved the abolition of all property in land. Crowds of pilgrims came from all parts of the country and from the neighboring countries to hear this comforting doctrine, which claimed to come direct from the mother of God. After some months of such fanatical preaching Boeheim made up his mind that the time had come to reduce preaching to practice. He gave an invitation to all the males among his followers to meet him, armed for conflict, on a certain day. The bishop got wind of the revolutionary scheme. Boeheim was burned to ashes, and a vast number of peasants were slaughtered.

This same territory was covered by the great Bundschuh movement, 1499 to 1514. This was a vast secret organization, which derived its name from the peasant's clog adopted as a symbol. A well-concerted scheme for a simultaneous strike for liberty throughout an extended territory was rendered futile by the treachery of some member. Swift vengeance came upon the ringleaders, as was to have been expected. The free Switzers had aided and abetted the rebellion to such an extent as to exasperate the nobles. An attack on the Swiss resulted in the defeat of the troops of the nobles, and in the burning of many castles by the peasants. To give a history of the work of the Bundschuh from 1499 to 1514. under the leadership first of Jacob Wimpeling, who has been fittingly called a German Tiberius Gracchus, then of Joss Fritz, if possible a still more intrepid commander, and of Poor Cuntz of Wurtemberg, who fought a good fight against great odds, would require too much space.

Truth and righteousness were crushed to earth, to be sure, but they were destined to rise again, and that with increased energy in the not very distant future.

The platform of the Bundschuh may be briefly stated as follows: Recognition of no other lord than God, the emperor and the pope (the pope is omitted from one copy); abolition of all judicial tribunals except local courts—a protest against being dragged from their homes on vague charges and tried before unsympathizing judges; the limitation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to spiritual things; abolition of all tithes, except such as are recognized by the word of God; freedom of fishing, game, wood, forest, etc.; limitation of clergy to one benefice; reduction of the number of monasteries and like foundations and the use of the confiscated funds for the military purposes of the Bundschuh; the abolition of all obnoxious imposts and duties; the establishment of peace throughout Christendom, those who must fight being sent to fight the Turks; protection of all members of the Bundschuh and punishment of all who oppose its work; the acquisition of a good city as headquarters; members of the Bundschuh to appropriate their means for its purposes.

They succeeded in gaining the alliance of many of the gentry and of some of the nobility. Claiming as did the leaders that they were able to prove every demand both scriptural and reasonable, they gained multitudes of adherents. Yet the extreme poverty of the Bundschuh is shown by the difficulty with which funds could be secured for a banner, which was regarded as indispensable. The organization extended from Hungary to France, and from Switzerland to Saxony or beyond. The result was disastrous to the peasantry, but the spirit of freedom was not extinguished, as we shall soon have occasion to see.

The period from 1514 to 1524 was not one in which revolutionary zeal once kindled was likely to die out. Three years after the crushing of the Bundschuh the great Wittenberg monk attacked indulgences, and a little later (especially in 1519 and 1520) he stood forth as the champion of Christian liberty and equality.

In his address to the emperor, nobles, and people of Germany, Luther struck at the root of sacerdotalism and privileged classes. The unlettered peasant who has the spirit of God is a better interpreter of Scripture than pope or scholar who has not. An honest reader consulting the Bible can be impeached by no power below the sun. The Christian cobbler and the Christian king he puts upon an equality. Each has functions to perform—the one to rule for the benefit of others, the other to make shoes for the same purpose. All

believers are alike priests of God, and therefore equally exalted. All sorts of luxury and extravagance are denounced in a style that would go straight to the heart of the common man.

In his treatise on the "Liberty of a Christian Man," he gave utterance to as noble Christian sentiments as can be found in literature. "Every man is a free and fully competent judge of all those who will teach him, and is inwardly taught by God alone." He insisted that every one—man, woman, scholar, illiterate, man-servant, maid-servant—may and must attain to absolute certainty as to what is true Christian doctrine and what is heresy, by interpreting the Scriptures according to the light given by the Spirit of God. To the sheep, not to the preachers, does judgment belong. He would put the Bible into the hands of every one and say, "There now, let each one make a creed for himself."

In 1522, in a sermon against Carlstadt, he said: "I will preach, I will talk, I will write, but I will force and constrain no man with violence; for faith is by nature voluntary and uncompelled." Even as late as 1524, in a letter to the princes of Saxony, he wrote: "Your princely graces should not restrain the office of the word. Men should be allowed confidently and freshly to preach what they can and against whom they will, for, as I have said, there must be sects, and the word of God must lie afield and fight. . . If their spirit is right, it will not be afraid of us and will stand its ground. Is ours right, it will not be afraid of them nor of any. We should let the spirits have free course." Brave words are these, truly. We shall see hereafter how far he lived up to them.

The peasants of Germany, who had been for so long struggling against civil and ecclesiastical despotism, hailed the advent of this great son of a peasant as of one who combined thorough sympathy for the oppressed with learning, position, and influence, and as one under whose banner they might march on to victory. As has already been made manifest, the peasants of Germany were not indebted to any very large extent to Luther for evangelical teaching or impulse. It was only as his teaching corresponded with the biblical views they had imbibed from less eminent teachers that they rejoiced in his work. It has been proved beyond question that from 1517 to 1522 Luther's doctrinal views were almost identical with the old evangelical views with which the peasants had long been familiar, and that after the latter date a marked change for the worse appears in his teachings. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the bold evangelical utterances of Luther during these years constitute an important factor among the influences that led to the great revolt of the peasants.

The influence of the advanced democratic views of such knights as Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen was likewise very considerable. The moderately revolutionary preaching and writings of Carlstadt, and the violently insurrectionary preaching and prophesying of Thomas Münzer, one of the worst fanatics of the age and a successor along certain lines of Hans Boeheim, doubtless influenced the peasants in a considerable measure. But it would be doing grave injustice to the spirit of this great struggle for civil and religious liberty to suppose that it had the millenarian expectations of Münzer for its mainspring. The influence of Münzer, so far as it did extend, was wholly baneful and destructive.

It is remarkable that in proportion as the spirit of liberty was increasing through such influences as have been mentioned, the hardships of the peasants were becoming more and more unendurable. A number of instances of revolting cruelty occurred about this time.

A certain nobleman compelled his subordinate to drive away two peasants and their families because they had refused to give him their hens. Another nobleman procured the execution of a peasant for the crime of catching crabs out of a brook.

The peasants of the Count of Lippen complained that they were allowed no rest, but were compelled by the countess to hunt for snail-shells, wind yarn, gather strawberries, cherries, and sloes, and do other such like things on holidays; that they had to work for their lords and ladies in fine weather and for themselves in the rain. Moreover, huntsmen and their hounds ran about without regarding the damage they did.

The pestilence had a few years before destroyed vast numbers of the peasants, and many of the noblemen were inclined to compel the survivors to do the work of the dead, as well as their own.

In some cases the rents and taxes are said to have been increased twenty-told. Waste land that had formerly been exempted was now taxed to the utmost. Tithing had been extended to include almost every imaginable article of produce. The freedom to go on journeys and to meet in large numbers which had formerly been accorded to the peasants, had been withdrawn in consequence of the recent Bundschuh uprising.

Thus we see that, whether the immediate occasion of the outbreak was the exasperation of the peasants at being compelled to gather snail-shells and cherries on holidays, or the shooting of some peasants for poaching, or the merciless exaction of rent in Lipheim when the harvest had almost completely failed, all the conditions existed for the spread of the conflagration throughout Germany when once it had been kindled.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the nobles were uniformly cruel and unreasonable. A few instances are recorded of those who were noble not in name only, but in deed. Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, was a man of heart and conscience. A nobleman whose conscience was troubling him as to whether he ought to keep his peasants in bondage, wrote again and again to Luther for spiritual direction. The same Luther who could write the passionate pleas for liberty and equality, full of inconsistencies as he ever was, used all the influence and the sophistry he could command to induce his correspondent to keep the peasants in bondage and to quench the Spirit of God that was, we may suppose, prompting the man through his conscience to loose the bonds of his subjects. "The common man," he wrote, "must be laden with burdens, otherwise he will become too wanton." When, after all Luther's advice, the man's conscience continued to trouble him, he was taught to ascribe the compunction to Satanic influence.

(3) *Outbreak of the Insurrection.* It was in the territory of the Count of Lippen, where the peasants were compelled to gather snail shells, that the peasants first rose in rebellion in 1524. Hans Müller, an experienced warrior and popular orator, led one thousand and two hundred peasants to Waldshut on August 24th. Here they made common cause with the citizens, who, under the preaching of the great reformer, Balthasar Hubmaier (soon to be known to the world as a great Anabaptist leader), and from close contact with the free institutions of Switzerland, had become strongly democratic in sentiment. A union was formed under the name of the "Evangelical Brotherhood." They were resolved to obey no other lord than the emperor, and to destroy all castles, monasteries, and everything ecclesiastical. They knew full well that castles were a perpetual menace to liberty, and that monasteries could be maintained only at the expense of the tillers of the soil. They were thoroughly convinced that they could expect only taxation and oppression from the clergy. The Evangelical Brotherhood thus constituted formed a regular propaganda. Enthusiastic emissaries were sent at the common expense far and wide to organize the peasants

in every locality. The aim was to bring about a state of society in every respect righteous and consonant with the spirit of the gospel. The Swabian League, organized for the suppression of insurrection, was soon in a position to cope with the insurgents, but not until the movement had made great headway and almost the whole peasant population of Europe was in arms.

(4) *The Twelve Articles of the Peasants.* Let us look for a moment at the twelve articles of the peasants, which exhibit the spirit of the movement better than any words of the author can do.

The first article insists upon the right of the people to appoint and remove pastors, and to demand simple and clear preaching of the gospel without human additions. "Unless God's grace is formed in us we remain simply flesh and blood, which is of no use, for only through faith can we come to God, and only through his mercy can we attain to blessedness." Is there any heresy or fanaticism here?

In the second article the matter of tithes is discussed. While the peasants hold that tithes are an Old Testament institution fulfilled in the New, they yet agree to continue paying grain tithes. These, however, are to be employed for the suitable maintenance of pastors of their own choice and for assisting the poor under the direction of the church. They object to the minor tithes that had of late years been extorted from them as unjust and not even in accord with the Old Testament. This is sound evangelical teaching, is it not?

The third article repudiates the idea that the peasants are the property of their lords; for Christ has redeemed and purchased all alike, high and low, with his precious blood. Yet magistracy is an ordinance of God, and it is the duty of peasants to bear themselves in humility, not simply toward the magistracy, but toward all men. They are resolved in all things Christian to be obedient to the legally constituted magistracy. All will pronounce the teaching of this article above criticism, whether on religious or political grounds.

In the fourth article the peasants express the conviction that it is unseemly and unbrotherly, selfish, and contrary to the word of God, that no poor man should be allowed to kill game in the forests or catch fish in the streams; and they demand that what God has made for the use of man be left free. This is a demand persistently made throughout the entire course of peasant agitation, and one that commends itself to the Christian consciousness as eminently just and reasonable.

In the fifth article objection is made to the appropriation of the forests by the lords, and it is demanded that the poor man be accorded the privilege of getting firewood and timber.

In the sixth article the peasants complain that the labor required of them is becoming greater from day to day, and ask that their burdens be alleviated according to the word of God.

Articles seven to ten deal with mutual obligations of lords and peasants in the matters of wages, tenure of land, etc. The keenest

scrutiny would fail to discover an unjust or un-Christian demand in them.

In the eleventh article they demand the utter abolition of the heriot or death-gift. The wonder is that such a heartless practice should ever have been instituted, or should have been tolerated by the public opinion of any age.

In the twelfth article they make what seems an eminently fair proposition. If any of the foregoing articles is not according to the word of God, they promise to withdraw it so soon as the fact shall have been pointed out.

Thomas Carlyle pronounced these articles worthy of a Solon. An able German historian says: "It was a man of heart and intellect who composed or revised the articles, one who was familiar with the oppressions practised by the nobility and sympathized deeply with the people, one who aimed at no violent revolution and laid no claim to liberty in the sense of equality, but who aimed to provide a touchstone for lords and subjects drawn straight from holy Scripture and capable of being applied with safety and comfort."

With thorough organization and such a document as the basis of their demands, the peasants during the first quarter of 1525 swept everything before them. The cities and towns which had much to complain of in the conduct of lords, lay and ecclesiastical, and the artisan class, which had for generations been permeated with evangelical and democratic sentiments, usually received the peasant hosts with open arms. Castles, monasteries, and other religious houses in large numbers were stormed and sacked and burned. The lords were in many cases obliged to accept the terms of the peasants or to expect the worst. In some instances the peasants went too far in imitation of the lords and wreaked bloody vengeance on such as rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to them. Those of the peasants who were under the direct influence of the fanatical Münzer, were too much inclined to obey his hysterical exhortation to rush upon the enemies of the Lord, to slay, slay, and tire not. He claimed that the sword of Gideon was in his hand and that he would lead them on to victory. "On, on, on," shrieked he, "never mind the wail of the godless. Though they beg in friendly tones, though they cry and whimper like children, pity not. Was it not thus that God commanded his people to slay the Canaanites? On, on, while the fire is hot. Down with the castles and their inmates. God is with you, on, on." The nobility were dazed for a time by the magnitude of the insurrection. They

scarcely knew which way to turn, or whom to trust; for many of the soldiers had come from the ranks of the peasantry and sympathized with their cause.

(5) *The Slaughter of the Peasants.* The Swabian League soon had a strong force in the field, under one of the ablest and cruelest generals of the age. The tide soon turned. When disaster began it swept over the entire field as rapidly as victory had done before. Münzer, in his part of the field, proved a complete failure. He had provided himself with guns but had neglected a supply of ammunition. He wrought the poor peasants up into a state of frenzy, and led them to expect miraculous divine interposition. They were slaughtered like sheep. The rest of the peasants' armies were attacked in detail and overcome one by one. About one hundred thousand of the miserable people were butchered by the troops of the League.

(6) *Luther's Sanguinary Utterances.* Luther, who had at the beginning of the war counseled compromise, and who had urged the peasants to desist from their undertaking, soon began to rage against them with such fury as to bring upon himself the sharp rebuke of some of the nobles. The bloodthirstiness of his exhortations would lead one to suppose that he was as crazy as Münzer. His language, as has been well said, was more despotic than that of the despots themselves. He wrote against "the murderous and pillaging bands of the peasants." He urged that they be "crushed, strangled, and stabbed, privately and publicly, by whomsoever can do it, just as one would beat to death a mad dog." "The magistracy," he added, "that falters, commits sin; since it does not satisfy the peasants to belong to the devil themselves, but they constrain many pious people to their wickedness and damnation. Therefore, dear sirs, fire here, save here, stab, smite, strangle them, whoever can. If your death result, very well, you can never attain to a more blessed death."

It is needless to say that there were plenty of the nobles ready to carry out to the letter such exhortations.

(7) *Causes of the Failure of the Peasants.* What were the causes of the failure of this organized and well-concerted struggle for civil and religious liberty?

a. The twelve articles were too far in advance of the age. The social and political ideas of the author of the articles were just as far beyond the dominant social and political ideas of the age as were the religious and ecclesiastical ideas of the Anabaptists of that time in advance of those that prevailed among Roman Catholics and Protestants. The evangelical social reformers and the evangelical religious reformers both did a noble work during this generation; both alike had brilliant though brief careers; both alike drew to themselves the masses of the people, who were longing for deliverance from social and ecclesiastical bondage. They failed at the time because the great weight of public sentiment was against them; because they contended against vast vested interests that had their roots deeply implanted in the soil of Europe; because they stood up against the wealth, the learning, and the organized power of the world.

b. But this is not all. The bane of the peasants' movement, just as a little later it became the bane of the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century, and just as it is likely to prove to be the bane of any movement into which it may enter, was millenarianism. It is just as certain that no Christian or Christian body can entertain carnal expectations with reference to the setting up of the kingdom of God on earth without serious harm as it is that Christianity is essentially a spiritual religion, and that progress is from spiritual to more spiritual, rather than from spiritual to carnal. Alas, for the church of Christ if it should ever come to look upon the sword of Gideon as a fit instrument for the setting up of the kingdom of God, or to conceive of the Christ of God as leading a carnal host to the slaughter of the ungodly! Such thoughts are unspeakably revolting to the rightly instructed Christian consciousness, and the fact that they are entertained by earnest and zealous men does not make them one iota less objectionable. Hans Boeheim was earnest and was fairly consumed with zeal; Thomas Münzer was one of the most self-sacrificing and zealous of men. These and other errorists have held to much of precious truth and have had many admirable traits. And yet their work was vitiated by false and carnal views of Christ and his kingdom.

The peasants' movement failed at the time for the reasons that have been named, among others; but the great truths that were embodied in this movement, and in the closely allied Anti-pedobaptist movement, did not perish. The faith of Hubmaier, the great leader of the latter and possibly the author of the twelve articles, in the immortality of the truth has been abundantly justified by history. The principles contended for in these two movements have gone on and on from victory to victory, until most of them are now regarded as commonplaces. The public sentiment of Christendom today would accept the peasants' demands as reasonable and just.

6. *Luther in Conflict with Evangelical Parties (1521 onward).*

We shall be sure to do an injustice to Luther if we fail to make due allowance for the grave and multitudinous difficulties by which he found himself surrounded. That he should be mercilessly attacked and that the worst construction should be put upon his every word and act by the representatives of the hierarchical church was to be expected. That evangelical mystics like Staupitz and Schwenckfeldt should have been repelled alike by the drastic quality of his polemics against the Roman Catholic Church and by his gradual departure from their modes of thought, could not so readily have been foreseen, although their revulsion was involved in the very nature of the case. That humanists, whose interest centered in the advancement of the new learning and of freedom of thought and who looked with dismay upon anything that portended revolution as imperilling not only their personal security but whatever of liberty and intellectual advancement had already been achieved, should have been repelled by the harsh type of Augustinian doctrine that became ever more prominent in Luther's teaching, was inevitable. That in republican Switzerland, where humanism had become exceedingly influential and mysticism had little hold, practical reform should have taken on a wholly different aspect from that which it assumed in Saxony and modes of theological thought radically opposed to Luther's

should have there appeared, was a matter completely beyond the control of Luther or the Swiss. That old evangelical Christians of various types, who had been led by Luther's radically evangelical utterances of 1519–1520 to look upon him as the champion of evangelical liberty and had given him their cordial support, should have been repelled alike by the carnal character of his warfare, the exaggerated Augustinianism of his teaching, and his intolerance, and should have come forward with polemical zeal to attack Luther's teaching and proceedings as contrary to the "pure word of God," and to attempt the complete restoration of apostolical Christianity, could have been avoided only by Luther's putting himself squarely on their platform. That the social democracy, which had long been permeated with New Testament ideas of liberty and equality, involving the fair participation of all in the enjoyment of God-given nature and the fruits of labor, should have been greatly encouraged by Luther's reformatory writings of 1520 and should have counted on his support in their great uprising, was perfectly natural. Yet in view of all the circumstances his determined opposition to the rebellious peasants is not to be wondered at. It would have been absolutely impossible for any man to harmonize and lead all the elements of opposition to Rome that had been developed among the German-speaking peoples of Europe, or even among the Saxons. A born fighter, Luther sought to direct the struggle against Rome not by efforts at conciliating the anti-Catholic elements, but by remorselessly crushing all opposition. His life was embittered and his temper soured by controversy, and it would be difficult to find in all literature a parallel to the coarseness and uncharitableness of his polemics. During the earlier years his great buoyancy of spirits enabled him to be highly entertaining and agreeable to his friends and admirers; but his later years were shrouded in gloom, and even his most intimate friends were often sorely tried by his intolerance.

Sufficient has been said regarding Luther's later relations with the humanists who refused to follow his leadership and those evangelical mystics who resented his departure from their principles and became his bitter

opponents. His conflict with the old-evangelical types that reappeared under the name of "Anabaptist," can be best set forth in connection with the sketch of the Anabaptist movement. His controversy with Zwinglianism and Calvinism can be most advantageously described after the history of these movements has been given.

7. *Some Demoralizing Elements in Luther's Teachings and Life.*

LITERATURE: Besides Luther's own works, the writings of Cochlæus, Eck, Witzel, Prierias, Henry VIII. (of England), Sir Thomas More, and other contemporary Roman Catholic opponents; Döllinger, "*Die Reformation*" (consists chiefly of skillfully and critically made extracts from the writings of friends and foes of Lutheranism on a great variety of topics, tending to show the doctrinal and moral defects and harmful consequences of Luther's teachings, and constituting the most effective polemic against Lutheranism ever published); Bossuet, "*Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*," 1688; Janssen, "*Deutsche Gesch.*," *Bd.* II. *und* III., 1879–1881; Evers, "Martin Luther," 1883 onward; pertinent sections in the Roman Catholic Church histories of Alzog, Funk, Kraus, and Hergenröther. Most of the biographers of Luther and most of the German Protestant historians of the Reformation freely admit Luther's inconsistencies and extravagances.

The doctrinal inconsistencies in Luther's writings that led to the great doctrinal controversies within the Lutheran body and the doctrinal differences between Lutherans and Reformed will be considered elsewhere. In view of the frank admissions by Luther, Melanchthon, and other evangelical leaders, of the lamentable and uncontrollable license that prevailed throughout Lutheran Germany during the later years of Luther's career, and of the constantly reiterated assertions by Catholics of all types, Anabaptists, and others, that the prevailing immorality and irreligion were due directly to Luther's teachings, it seems incumbent upon the historian to undertake the disagreeable and perhaps ungracious task of setting forth the facts in the case without fear or favor. It may be truthfully said in advance that every objectionable statement here quoted or referred to could be offset by any number of quotations on the same topics that are completely free from immoral tendency or suggestion. It may be confidently stated that even

in the cases in which Luther's utterances are from a moral point of view most objectionable his own intentions were not immoral. In seeking to correct errors on the other side he often allowed himself to use language so extreme as to involve consequences that he did not foresee and against which he would have most earnestly protested.

(1) *On the Relations of the Sexes.* Luther's language in his popular discourses and in his more deliberate productions on sexual matters is unspeakably coarse. Some have attempted to exculpate him by reference to the prevailing freedom and unreserve in speaking of such matters. But his language is without parallel among theological writers of repute in the Reformation time.

a. On the Uncontrollableness of Sexual Appetite. It was his deep-seated conviction apparently, based no doubt upon his observation of monastic and priestly life as well as of that of the German people of his time, that the exercise of the sexual functions is for most people almost as necessary as the excretory functions on which life itself depends ; and that continence is a special gift limited to the few. "To beget children is just as deeply implanted in nature as to eat and to drink. . . Just as little as it stands within my control that I have a man's body, so little does it stand within my control that I be without a woman ; on the other hand also just as little as you can help having a woman's body, can you do without a man. . . For it is not a matter of free choice or counsel, but a necessary, natural thing, that everything that is a man must have a woman and whatever is woman must have a man. For this word that God speaks, 'Be fruitful and multiply,' is not a command, but more than a command, namely, a divine work, which it lies not in us to hinder or to neglect, but is just as much a necessity as having a man's body and more necessary than eating and drinking . . . sleeping and waking." He urges young people, in order to avoid unchastity, otherwise utterly inevitable, to marry at an early age, regardless of means of support. Far more objectionable language than that quoted might be given.

b. On Concubinage. In his "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*" (1520, unexpurgated editions), Luther makes

the following concession: In case the husband prove impotent, the wife may demand that he allow her to have commerce with his brother or other relative, and, if being physically capable, he refuse her, she is justifiable in stealing away and marrying another. In his sermon "*De Matrimonio*" (1522, "*Opera*," ed. *Vuitemberg.*, V., 123), Luther recommends, that if the wife be pertinacious in her refusal to render the marriage due, the husband call in the maidservant, and that if she refuse he discharge her and employ another. (See passages in the original Latin in Appendix, p. 714.)

c. On Bigamy. The case of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, is the celebrated one in this connection. Philip was one of the most zealous of the Protestant princes and one of Luther's most valuable supporters. By 1539 he had become weary of his wife, Christine of Saxony, and had contracted a loathsome disease through irregular excesses. At this time he became enamoured of a beautiful young gentlewoman, Margaretha von der Saal, whose mother refused to allow her to enter into illicit relations with him. He made up his mind that the possession of this young woman as his lawful wife was not only essential to his happiness, but a necessary means of amending his life and appeasing his conscience. He also determined to put the responsibility of his bigamous relationship on Bucer, Luther, and the other Protestant theologians, who were under heavy obligations to him for support. Bucer yielded the point without much hesitation in view of Philip's hint that in case the Protestant theologians should refuse needful co-operation he would be obliged to come into closer relations with the emperor and secure a papal dispensation. Afterward he laid the matter before Luther in the frankest way and asked him to solve the difficulty by granting him a dispensation for a second marriage and thus become a party to the transaction. Luther had already (see above) expressed himself in so compromising a way in favor of marital freedom, that refusal to comply with his request would have been difficult in any case. Philip had found that polygamy was practised with divine approval in the Old Testament times and he could find no definite requirement of monogamy for all in the New Testament. He made up his

mind that the requirement of monogamy was a priestly device that might be safely disregarded. While Luther admitted that such was the case, he earnestly sought to dissuade the landgrave from so scandalous a procedure, advising him rather to content himself with concubinal relations than to involve the Protestant cause in responsibility for a second marriage. But the landgrave was inexorable and the landgravine's consent having been obtained by guaranteeing the rights of her seven children, the marriage was secretly celebrated with the approval of Luther, Bucer, Melanchthon, *et al.* Melanchthon was heartbroken and was at the point of death, when Luther's courageous faith and earnest prayers were instrumental in raising him up. An effort was made to keep the transaction secret; but the interests of the bride and her family were too much involved to allow this, and its publication was the hardest blow the Protestant cause suffered during this age. When the shameful transaction began to be noised abroad, Luther was so fearful of its consequences as to urge Philip to save the situation by "a good strong lie." Philip very properly rebuked him by replying: "I will not lie, for lying is evil; no apostle ever taught it to any Christians, nay, Christ has indeed most emphatically forbidden it."[1] Luther afterward sought to exculpate himself by the plea of necessity. Philip's threat to secure the co-operation of emperor and pope seemed to Luther to necessitate extreme concessions on the part of the Protestant theologians.

See on this matter, besides Lenz, as above, Heppe, in "*Zeitsch. f. hist. Theol.*," *Bd.* XXII., *Seit.* 263, *seq.*; "*Th. Stud. u. Krit.*," 1891, *Seit.* 564, *seq.*; Koldewey, in "*St. u. Krit.*," 1884, *Seit.* 553, *seq.*, "*Argumenta Buceri pro et contra*," 1878; Kolde, "*Luther*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 488; Möller, "*Kirchengesch.*," ed. Kawerau, 1894, *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 131, *seq.*; Rommel, "*Phil. der Grossmuthige*"; Sir William Hamilton, "Disc. in Met. and Phil."; Bayne, "M. Luther," Vol. II., p. 560, *seq.*; Jacobs, "Martin Luther," p. 331, *seq.*; and Richard, "Philip Melanchthon," p. 272, *seq.*

(2) *On Good Works, Faith, Assurance, Justification, etc.* It was natural, perhaps, that in controversy with papists, who put undue emphasis on works in relation to

[1] See Lenz, "*Briefwechsel Landg. Phil. mit Bucer*," *Bd.* I., *Seit.* 373, 383.

salvation, Luther should have decried good works. He was not content, however, with holding up to contempt the ceremonial observances, pilgrimages, fastings, and other ascetical practices of the papists; but he constantly expressed just as strongly his disapproval of the scrupulous efforts of mystics and Anabaptists to imitate Christ and to carry out in their lives the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Of course his writings abound in passages in which good living is recognized as a necessary fruit of the regenerate life; but some specimens of utterances that tended to produce carelessness regarding conduct will be in place here:

In his "Church Postilla"[1] he writes: "Would to God I had a voice like a thunder-clap, that I might shout to all the world and might pluck the little word 'good works' out of all men's hearts, mouths, ears, and books." "God speaks through the law: 'This do, this leave undone, this will I have from thee.' But the gospel preaches not what we are to do or to leave undone, requires nothing of us," etc.

In 1523 he wrote: "Oh, it is much more necessary now to preach against the subtle, sanctimonious, plausible perversion of the world through the shorn people (monks) than to preach against public sinners, heathen, and Turks, against robbers and murderers, thieves and adulterers" (not certainly authentic).

In his Commentary on Genesis he wrote: "The life is far less important than the doctrine, so that even if the life be not so pure the doctrine may yet well remain pure and the life may be borne with. . . It is a high grace to be able to separate the life from the doctrine."

"Faith which does not include love justifies. Unless faith is without any, even the least, works, it does not justify, nay, is not faith." "This faith, without any antecedent love, justifies." "For if love is a form of faith, I am at once compelled to think that love itself is the principal and greatest part of the Christian religion." "Whatsoever sins I, thou, and all of us, have committed, or shall commit in the future, are just as much Christ's own as if he himself had committed them."

[1] Ed. Walch, *Bd.* XI., *Seit.* 26.

Luther insisted that the Christian should believe himself holy and glory in his holiness, however sinful his life might be. For a sinning Christian to say "he is a poor sinner is the same as to say: I do not believe that Christ has died for me and that I have been baptized, and that the blood of Christ has cleansed me."

Pangs of conscience for sins committed by a Christian he regarded as the temptation of Satan. "The true saints of Christ must be good, strong sinners," etc.

The following is perhaps one of the most ethically dangerous of Luther's utterances: "Thou owest God nothing save to believe and confess. In all things else he gives thee absolute freedom to do as thou wilt without any peril of conscience, so that he on his part does not even make any inquiry as to whether you put away your wife, run away from your master, and violate your covenant."[1] But he qualifies this statement by saying that since others are involved in such proceedings we are under obligation to do them no wrong. "God gives thee this freedom only in what is thine own, not in what is thy neighbor's. . . Before God it is a matter of indifference that a man should forsake his wife, for the body is not bound to God, but is made free by him with respect to all things external, and is only inwardly God's own through faith; but before men the obligation holds." It would seem to be implied in this passage that husbands and wives might freely separate by mutual consent. Other disastrous applications of the principle will readily suggest themselves.

(3) *Luther's Example.* Luther's personality was so strong that his own example was sure to be highly influential. His intemperate use of denunciatory language, his extreme coarseness of speech, his free indulgence in wine and beer, and his intolerance of opposition, co-operated with demoralizing elements in his teachings to produce an atmosphere in which strict morality and the gentler aspects of Christian piety could not be expected to thrive. The violent extrusion of the older types of Catholic ascetic and mystical piety and of the uncompromising zeal for the restoration of primitive Christi-

[1] Ed. Walch, *Bd.* VIII., *Seit.* 1127, *seq.*

anity represented by the Anabaptists, deprived Lutheran countries of influences that might have done much to stem the tide of immorality and irreligion before which Luther and his coadjutors were utterly powerless.

Luther indulged without restraint in wine and beer drinking, and trusted that the Lord God would excuse him for occasional excesses on the ground that for twenty years he had crucified and macerated his body. He is determined that when he lies in his coffin the worms shall have a good fat doctor to eat. In 1529 he, in company with Amsdorf, drank Malvasian wine so excessively as to bring on a catarrh that came near proving fatal.[1] The next year he attributed an affection of the throat either to the violence of the wine, the return of old troubles, or the buffeting of Satan. His conviviality and his frequent frivolity were scandalous to many of his friends, and were constantly urged against him and his movement by Catholics, Mystics, and Anabaptists. No doubt much of Luther's intemperate language was due to his drinking habit. "Sometimes we ought to drink, sport, trifle more largely, and so commit some sin in hatred and contempt of the devil, lest we leave him any place for troubling our consciences with matters of no moment; otherwise we are vanquished, if we are too much concerned to avoid sinning. Accordingly, if the devil should say 'Refuse to drink,' do you make response to him: 'But yet I will drink just because you prohibit, and so in Christ's name I will drink more largely.'"[2] "Whoever is able to drive out these Satanic thoughts by other thoughts, as concerning a pretty girl, avarice, drunkenness, etc., or by some vehement fit of anger, I advise that this course be pursued; although this is the supreme remedy, to believe in Jesus Christ and to invoke him."[3]

8. *Moral and Religious Deterioration as a Consequence of the Protestant Revolution.*

There is a consensus of contemporary opinion, Lutheran, Catholic, Mystical, and Anabaptist, that im-

[1] "*Briefe*," ed. De Wette, *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 442. [2] *Ibid.*, *Bd.* IV., *Seit.* 188.
[3] Luther's "*Colloquia, Meditationes*," etc., ed. Rubenstock, II., 225 b.

morality of every kind increased at a fearful rate after the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution. Many pages might be filled with detailed statements to this effect from all classes of religionists and from all parts of Germany. But Luther's own statements are so numerous, so explicit, and so unaccountable except on the supposition that they were terribly true and were uttered in an agony of despair that caused prudence to be discarded, that we may well content ourselves with a few specimens of these.

In 1525 Luther wrote:[1] "Now our evangelicals become seven times worse than they were before. For after we have learned the gospel, we steal, cheat, lie, gormandize, and drink, and commit all sorts of abominations. While one devil has been cast out of us seven worse have been brought into us again, as is to be seen in princes, lords, gentry, burgesses, and peasants, how they now do and conduct themselves without any scruple, in contempt of God," etc. The same year he wrote:[1] "Christians are not so common as that they should be gathered in a crowd; a Christian is a rare bird. Would God the greater part of us were good pious heathen who kept the natural law, to say nothing of the Christian law." At about the same time he said he would fain see two genuine Christians together, but he knows not even one.

As early as 1522 he wrote: "But now nobody disgusts me more than this people of ours, because having abandoned the word, faith, and love, they glory in this alone, that they are Christians, because they can eat flesh, eggs, and milk before the weak, communicate in both kinds, and abstain from fasting and prayer."

In one of his catechetical works Luther expressed the opinion that "if only adults were now baptized, not a tenth part would submit to baptism, nay, we would assuredly, as much as in us lies, speedily become simple Turks." He speaks of the utter contempt with which the people treat the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord. They approach it with as little reverence and chastening of spirit as swine approach the trough.

Again: "Such shameless swine are we graceless Germans, for the most part, that we have neither self-control nor reason, and if we hear of God it is much as if we heard of a clown's puppet." "We Germans are Germans and Germans we remain, that is, swine and senseless beasts." "Our German people are a lawless, wild people, nay, half devil, half man" (1529). In a sermon (1530) he said: "I pray God for a gracious hour in which he may take me hence and not let me see the calamity that must pass over Germany. For I hold that if ten Moseses were to stand up and pray for us they would accomplish nothing. So also I feel that if I would pray for my dear Germany my prayer rebounds upon me and will not mount up as it usually does when I pray for anything else."

[1] Ed. Walch, *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 2727. [2] *Ibid.*, *Bd.* XVI., *Seit.* 73.

In his commentary on Galatians he writes: "The more we know of the liberty that Christ obtained for us, the colder and more indolent we are in our office, whether it be to preach, to teach, or in any other way to do good and to suffer evil." In 1532, after setting forth his view of the results that might be expected from the preaching of the gospel, he adds: "Unfortunately the very opposite is the case, and from this teaching the world grows steadily worse and worse. This is the malignant devil himself, as one sees, that the people are now-a-days more avaricious, more unmerciful, more unchaste, more perverse, and wickeder, than before under the papacy."

Again: "It grieves us sorely when we are compelled to hear that all things were tranquil and at peace before the gospel; but that now since it has been promulgated all things are in confusion and the whole world is topsy-turvy. When a man without the Spirit hears this he is at once offended and judges that the disobedience of subjects toward magistrates, seditions, wars, pestilence, famine, the overthrow of commonwealths, regions, and kingdoms, sects, scandals, and numberless like evils, spring from the teaching of the gospel."[1]

In his "Commentary on Genesis" he remarks: "But do you ask, What good results have come from our teaching? Tell me first, What good came from Lot's preaching in Sodom? Fire from heaven overwhelmed and destroyed the inhabitants because they heard the word without fruit and in vain. Such a punishment will in its time befall our despisers also, and we see that from day to day they become continually more blinded and senseless . . . Since now the ingratitude and wickedness of citizens and peasants, and of people in all conditions, is indeed so great, that we are often compelled to think the whole world must be possessed by the devil."

Again: "Formerly, when we served the devil in the papacy, everybody was compassionate and gentle, then people gave with both hands, joyfully, and with great devotion for the maintenance of false worship. Now, when people should be fittingly gentle, should cheerfully give, and should show themselves thankful toward God for the holy gospel, everybody shows a disposition to destroy and starve it, no one gives anything, but they only take away. Formerly every city, in proportion to its size, generously supported some monasteries, to say nothing of parish clergy and rich foundations. Now, if only two or three persons are to be supported, who preach God's word, administer the sacraments, visit and console the sick, instruct the youth in an honorable and Christian way, and that not at their own expense but on property that has been left over by the papacy, there is general complaint."

Luther's writings abound in lamentations over the utter unwillingness of his followers, rich and poor, high and low, to contribute for the support of the local churches and of educational institutions, and their contempt of the clergy and of the preached word.

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[1] "Com. on Gal.," ed. of 1543.

In the following passage he bears testimony to the wonderful increase of the drinking habit in his own time:

When I was young, I think that the greater part even of the rich drank water and used the simplest and most easily obtainable foods. Some scarcely knew what it was to drink wine when thirty years of age. Nowadays, even children are accustomed to the use of wine, and indeed not simply weak, light wines, but strong and foreign wines, and even spirits and brandy.

His writings abound in similar complaints.

The last few years of his life were greatly embittered by the almost universal immorality of the people. He seems to have expected momentarily some great manifestation of the divine wrath.

In 1545 he prays that the "day of God's wrath and our redemption may speedily come and put an end to the great tribulation and to the diabolical mode of life" that prevailed. December, 1544, he wrote: "We live in Sodom and Babylon, everything grows daily worse and worse." In June, 1545, he wrote to his wife: "Only away from this Sodom! I will wander around and sooner eat a beggar's bread than torture and disquiet my poor old last days with the disorderly life that prevails at Wittenberg."

There is no sufficient evidence that Luther committed suicide, as some modern Catholic writers have asserted, but for months his condition was that of extreme mental depression, and he was able to take no satisfaction in the condition of Germany in the bringing about of which he had been so important a factor.

9. *Politico-Ecclesiastical Proceedings affecting the Progress of the Protestant Revolution.*

LITERATURE: Histories of Ranke, Janssen, Hagen, and Göbel, as above. See also Seebohm, "The Era of the Protestant Revolution"; Hellwig, "*Die pol. Beziehungen Clemens VII. zu Karl V. im J. 1526*"; Grethen, "*Die pol. Beziehungen Clemens VII. zu Karl V., 1523-1527*"; Gregorovius, "*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*," *Bd.* VIII.; Stoy, "*Erste Bündnissbestrebungen evang. Stände*"; Friedensburg, "*Zur Vorgesch. d. Gotha-Torgauischen Bundnisses*"; and "*D. Reichstag zu Speier, 1526*"; Baumgarten, "*Karl V.*"; Winckelmann, "*Der Schmalkald. Bund u. d. Nürnberger Relig. Friede*"; Möller (ed. Kawerau), "*Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* III., *Seit.* 36-148.

When the Edict of Worms went forth, putting Luther and his followers under the ban, prohibiting the printing,

sale, and reading of his books, and forbidding his entertainment and encouragement, many no doubt thought that the death-knell of Protestantism had been sounded. Few supposed that it would be possible for Luther's favorers to protect him and his cause against the combined power of pope and emperor thoroughly committed to his destruction and to the rooting out of all insubordination. For some time it was supposed by many of Luther's friends that he had been foully dealt with. If this had proved to be the case, it is probable that such knights as Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten would have sought to avenge him, and it may be that Frederick of Saxony would have taken the field against imperial and papal tyranny, with what result could not have been predicted. But fortunately for Luther and his cause Charles was from this time onward too much occupied with more urgent business to take earnestly in hand the enforcement of the execution of his edict.

(1) *War Between the Emperor and the King of France.* For a long time Spain and France had been rivals, and their interests were becoming more and more antagonistic. The accession of Charles V., the head of the Hapsburgers, to the imperial throne, to which Francis I. aspired, was particularly grievous to the latter. It was not simply disappointed ambition that prompted Francis to declare war against Charles, but quite as much a realization of the fact that the interests of France were seriously imperilled by this great political combination.

On May 8 a secret treaty had been entered into at Worms between the emperor and the pope against France. Henry VIII. of England soon afterward joined the papal and imperial alliance, hoping thereby to regain England's French possessions and relying on Charles' promise (?) to make Wolsey, his chief adviser, pope. On May 22, three days before the actual promulgation of the Edict of Worms, the French ambassadors took their departure from Worms, and a war between the emperor and France broke out that lasted with intermissions for many years and was of incalculable advantage to the Protestant cause. Italy was the chief bone of contention. France was weakened at an early stage and the imperial and papal cause strengthened by the withdrawal of Swiss mercenaries from the former and their going into the pay of the latter. Milan was taken from the French in November, 1521. The Duke of Bourbon rebelled against Francis and joined the imperial alliance. Francis I. was defeated and captured at the battle of Pavia (1524). Pope Clement

VII. had expected Francis to triumph at Pavia, and had entered into a secret alliance with him, Italians having become fearful of Spanish tyranny. Francis was imprisoned in Spain, but was released (1526) on making oaths in favor of the emperor from which the pope promptly absolved him. This angered Charles and ruptured his friendly relations with the pope. The marriage of Charles to the infanta of Portugal instead of to the Princess Mary of England had previously led Henry to withdraw from the imperial alliance and to make peace with France.

(2) *The Dessau and the Gotha-Torgau Leagues.* In July, 1525, Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the Archbishop-Elector Albert of Mainz, and the Dukes of Braunschweig met at Dessau and entered into an agreement to exterminate the accursed "Lutheran sect" from their territories. The peasants' uprising, which had just been suppressed with frightful carnage, was attributed by them to Luther's teachings and proceedings, and they believed the utter suppression of Lutheranism essential to the permanent peace and tranquillity of Germany. In February, 1526, the Elector John of Saxony (successor of Frederick) and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, entered into a similar covenant for the defense of Lutheranism. They were joined in June by seven other princes, and in September by Albert of Prussia (Gotha-Torgau alliance).

(3) *The Diet of Speier (1526).* The breach between the emperor and the pope and the manifest strength of the Protestant cause had changed the attitude of Charles in respect to the enforcement of the Edict of Worms, and had made him open-eyed to the grievances against the hierarchical administration that were constantly thrusting themselves upon his attention. A result of the deliberations of the Diet was a decree signed by Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, leaving each integral part of the empire "in matters of religion and of the Edict of Worms so to live, rule, and conduct itself as it thinks consonant with its obligations toward God and his Imperial Majesty." This was virtually an abrogation of the Edict of Worms and laid the basis of the territorialism that was afterward to find expression in the maxim: "Whose territory, his religion" (*Cujus regio, ejus religio*).

(4) *Sack of Rome and Imprisonment of the Pope* (1527). The conciliatory attitude of Charles toward the Lu-

therans and his hostility to the pope enabled him readily to raise a Lutheran army for the invasion of the pope's domains, led by Frundsberg, who went forth with the cry: "When I make my way to Rome, I will hang the pope." This sentiment had been expressed by Frundsberg and the whole army was eager for an opportunity to lay hands on the hated pope. With about eleven thousand of the most desperate of Lutheran adventurers Frundsberg crossed the Alps and joined a Spanish army of somewhat smaller size under the Duke of Bourbon. Before reaching Rome Frundsberg was prostrated by a paralytic stroke brought on by a mutiny among the troops. Bourbon now commanded the entire army, but was shot down as he was mounting a ladder at the commencement of the siege of Rome. The imperial army forced its way into the city, losing scarcely a hundred men and slaying from four to six thousand, and for eight days the soldiers did their terrible pleasure upon the people and their possessions.

Even the friends of the emperor were not spared. The pope escaped for the time to the castle of St. Angelo. Some of the cardinals were seized and dragged through the city and were compelled to pay heavy ransom. It was estimated that fifteen million ducats were appropriated. Churches, even St. Peter's, were turned into stables. The personal outrages were such as always attend a sack by a furious and desperate soldiery. The pope was the emperor's prisoner and was obliged to become his subservient instrument.

These proceedings, it is easy to see, gave security and political advantages to the Lutherans and still further cooled the Catholic ardor of the emperor; but they did not at all minister to the moral or religious advancement of the Germans.

(5) *Second War between the Emperor and the King of France* (1527–1529). A few days before the sack of Rome (April 30) an agreement had been reached between Francis I. and Henry VIII. to send ambassadors at once to Charles with the demand that he release the French princes held by him and that he pay certain financial claims of the English, and with instructions to declare war immediately on his refusal. Both were still good enough Catholics to resent the sacking of Rome and the imprisonment of the pope, especially as none of the spoils came

their way. Henry's desire for a divorce from Catharine of Aragon could, he hoped, be all the more successfully carried into effect if he should succor the pope against his great enemy and Catharine's great relative. By August a French army was in Lombardy. The emperor made haste to come to terms with the pope, liberating most of the papal cities that he had held and restoring to him most of his prerogatives, the pope promising in turn to call a General Council for the pacification of Christendom and the reformation of the church and to assist in paying off the soldiers. The wretched pope was now "between the devil and the deep sea." He was unwilling that Charles should have both Naples and Milan and thus be "lord of all," that is virtual master of Italy, and yet he dared not show favor to the enemies of Charles. Henry VIII. took advantage of his perplexing situation to extort from him promises of favorable action as to the desired divorce, promises that he could not fulfill without antagonizing the emperor and the king of France.

The situation of the emperor in 1528 was extremely precarious. The Duke of Bavaria, fired with ambition for the imperial dignity, sought to secure the co-operation of England, France, and Lorraine, for the deposition of Charles at the approaching Diet, on the ground of the heavy losses that the church and the empire had suffered under Hapsburg rule (Constantinople, Rhodes, Hungary, Basel, and Costnitz). Of course the co-operating powers were to have their suitable compensation and a Bavarian imperial administration would speedily exterminate the Lutheran heresy and pacify Europe. Philip of Hesse also, on the Protestant side, sent representatives to France, Silesia, Poland, etc., to treat for an anti-Hapsburg alliance, with the immediate purpose of depriving Ferdinand of his hereditary domains. A forged covenant of the Catholic powers for the speedy extermination of Lutheranism was palmed off upon the Protestant princes and they were on the point of taking the initiative and marshaling all their forces for a decisive conflict with the emperor and his Catholic supporters.

The success of the imperial arms in Italy (1528–1529) prepared the way for the Peace of Cambray (July, 1529), in which France surrendered her claims to Italian territory, to Flanders, and to Artois, while the emperor made slight concessions in the case of Peronne and Boulogne. Burgundy gained almost complete independence in relation to France. Emperor and king agreed to co-

operate in the suppression of heresy and the maintenance of the authority and dignity of the Holy See.

At about the same time (1529) the Swiss cantons that remained Catholic felt themselves driven to form an alliance with Austria against which for centuries they had contended so valiantly.

(6) *The Second Diet of Speier* (1529). Whether a formal compact had been made among the Catholic members of the Diet, with pope and emperor at their head, for the deposition of the Lutheran princes, the execution of Luther, and the extirpation of heresy, or not, it is certain that there was a definite understanding among the Catholics that the Diet of 1529 should be made the occasion of drastic measures for the restoration of religious uniformity on a Catholic basis. Pope, emperor, and French king were now at peace and all alike zealous for the rehabilitation of Catholicism in Germany and Switzerland. Moreover, the Turks were at the gates of Vienna and the estates of the empire must join with the Hapsburgers in driving them back. The defiant attitude of the Lutherans, who were on the point of declaring war against the emperor in view of the forged agreement referred to above, made the Catholic princes all the more urgent for prompt and stringent measures against them. The freedom given to the constituents of the Diet in 1526 was virtually abolished and the enforcement of the Edict of Worms was now again insisted upon. This enforcement was to be absolute in Catholic countries. In lands where it had been hitherto ignored no further innovations were to be made until the meeting of the General Council, which pope and emperor promised for the following year. Zwinglians and Anabaptists were absolutely excluded from toleration with the concurrence of the Lutheran members of the Diet. It was made obligatory on all to use every means for the destruction of the Anabaptists.

It was enacted "that rebaptizers and rebaptized, all and each, male and female, of intelligent age, be judged and brought from natural life to death, without antecedent inquisition of the spiritual judges." No one seems to have thought the measure too severe, and it was remorselessly executed.

A Lutheran member expressed the sentiments of his co-religionists

when he said: "Christ is again in the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate." On April 25 a protestation was presented against all the clauses of the decree of the majority that affected injuriously the interests of the Lutherans, signed by John of Saxony, George of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Philip of Hesse, and Wolfgang of Anhalt, and by the representatives of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Issny, St. Gall, Weissenborn, and Windesheim, imperial cities that had adopted the Reformation. From this protestation the name "Protestant" took its rise. It was becoming evident that the Protestants must fight for their existence; but Luther and Melanchthon, now as earlier, were strongly averse to armed resistance to the emperor, the latter especially foretelling disaster from astrological phenomena.

(7) *Turkish Invasion.* The Ottoman Turks who, in 1359, possessed only a narrow strip of western Asia Minor, bordering on the Bosphorus, had, by 1451, brought into subjection most of Asia Minor and the territory north of Greece as far as the Danube, extending to the Black Sea on the east and as far west as Orsowa on the Danube. From 1451 to 1481 not only had Constantinople fallen into their hands, but they had overrun the remainder of Asia Minor and of Greece, Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, and the Crimean peninsula with considerable territory to the north. By 1520, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt had been added. Suleiman I. (1520–1566) started upon his career the most powerful potentate in the world. With a thoroughly disciplined army of some two hundred and fifty thousand it was far easier for him to go forward in conquest than it would have been to pursue a policy of peace. To hold securely what he had acquired further conquest was in any case necessary. The Protestant Revolution and the wars among the great Catholic powers (the papacy, the empire, and France) furnished opportunity and incentive for the conquest of Hungary, Siebenbürgen, Bessarabia, etc., and the invasion of Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. These eastern European States were all the more vulnerable because of their internal divisions, due in large measure to racial jealousies and animosities. The German element in the population that had had a leading part in the Christianization and the civilization of these lands and by reason of its superiority had gained such an amount of wealth and power as to awaken the animosity of the Slavic and

Hunnic peoples, did not have their united and enthusiastic support in resisting the Turks. The German house of Luxemburg possessed Bohemia and Hungary. The heiress of Poland was betrothed to an Austrian prince. By a series of marriage arrangements the house of Hapsburg had by 1521 acquired a controlling influence over all these eastern countries. Before the Hapsburgers had had time to consolidate their eastern provinces and to subdue the rebellious elements Suleiman I. had entered upon his remarkable career.

In 1521 Suleiman I. captured Belgrade and occupied a considerable part of Croatia. Francis I., when a prisoner of the emperor at Madrid, had invited Suleiman to send a fleet against Spain and offered to him the co-operation of France. In 1526 the sultan had a vast army of about two hundred thousand men on the Hungarian borders. By great effort King Louis marshaled a poorly equipped and poorly disciplined army of less than twenty-four thousand, which was utterly overwhelmed by the sultan's forces at Mohacz (August 29, 1526). Louis was drowned while attempting to escape, and by his death Hungary and Bohemia came into the possession of Ferdinand of Austria.

Without further serious resistance the Turkish army occupied Ofen, and was for the time master of all Hungary. But it was not the policy of the sultan to attempt at once the administration of the territory that had been overrun. Ferdinand's claim to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia was not undisputed. Zapolya, who had long been at the head of the anti-German elements and who had withheld his assistance from Louis, was ready to fight for the Hungarian crown. He secured the alliance of Francis I. and the secret support of the pope in opposition to the Hapsburgers. The Duke of Bavaria claimed the Bohemian crown. By the end of 1527 Ferdinand's authority was generally recognized in both kingdoms, but opposition was far from being overcome.

Early in 1528 Zapolya made a firm alliance with Suleiman against the house of Austria. Suleiman regarded himself and was regarded by his followers as "next after Allah," and as "the only lord upon earth." Immediately after the declaration of war between the Catholics and Protestants (Diet of Speier and Protestation) he precipitated a vast army of one hundred and fifty thousand upon Hungary, where he was joined by Zapolya, who on his way to meet the sultan at Mohacz had the good fortune to smite the Hungarian troops of Ferdinand. Hungary offered almost no opposition to the allied forces. The mighty army, with twenty-two thousand camels, appeared with Oriental pomp before the walls of Vienna (September 26). Suleiman was confident that three years would suffice for the complete conquest of Europe and the destruction of Christianity. The time had come when Europe must unitedly oppose the Turk or all would be lost. France offered to put sixty thousand troops in the field and to seek the co-operation of England, on condition that the

war indemnity imposed by the emperor should be scaled one-half. The leading Netherlandish minister proposed that the pope agree to the secularization of the ecclesiastical estates, and that a third of the proceeds be used for combating the Turks. Many Lutherans and Zwinglians, and most Anabaptists, looked upon the Turkish invasion as a scourge of God against the emperor, the pope, and their coadjutors for their intolerant action at Speier, and were willing to let things take their course. But Luther, though he had again and again declared himself opposed to militant Christianity, insisted that it was the duty of the princes to assist the emperor in repelling the Turkish invasion.

Suleiman offered favorable terms for the surrender of the city; if these were refused he would on the third day eat his dinner within the walls, and would not even spare the unborn children. Several desperate assaults were successfully resisted and the invaders suffered fearful loss. At last (October 14) the sultan's troops became utterly discouraged, and deciding that it was not Allah's will that the city should fall into their hands, they raised the siege and withdrew from Austria.

There was general rejoicing throughout Christendom; but Ferdinand's troops that had so successfully and courageously defended the city and saved Europe could not be paid. They mutinied and many of them went over to the standard of Zapolya, the vassal of the sultan.

(8) *Protestant Defense and the Marburg Conference (1529).* After a number of fruitless efforts on the part of representatives of the Protestant estates to secure better terms from the emperor, representatives of Saxony, Hesse, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg came to a secret understanding (April 22, 1529) that they would unitedly resist any attack on the ground of the divine word, whether from the Swabian League, the judicial tribunal of the estates of the empire, or the imperial administration itself. It was arranged that the Protestant interests should hold a Diet at Rotach (in Coburg) for perfecting arrangements for self-defense in the following June. After much discussion, in which Lutherans and Zwinglians participated, on a footing of equality, a plan of union was completed and was ready for the signatures of those concerned. Luther defeated the project by protesting against any recognition of "Zwingli's godless views" (on the Lord's Supper). The cities of Ulm and Strasburg had adopted

Zwingli's teachings. The whole people might be destroyed for the sake of one Achan. For the Lutherans to unite with people who strive against God and the sacrament "would be to go to meet damnation with body and soul." The Elector of Saxony sustained Luther in this intolerant position. Philip of Hesse was extremely anxious to retain the co-operation of Strasburg and Ulm and to secure the co-operation of the Zwinglian cantons of Switzerland and looked upon Luther's attitude as sheer theological stubbornness. No agreement could be reached and the Diet proved ineffective. Philip of Hesse, in consultation with Melanchthon, Bucer, and others, realizing the supreme importance of evangelical union, and underestimating the fundamental differences between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, arranged for a conference between Lutheran and Zwinglian theologians and their political supporters, with a view to harmonizing their differences and reaching a basis of co-operation against the Roman Catholic powers that were seeking to crush all alike. This conference was held at Marburg, September 29 onward.

It must be borne in mind that Luther was still extremely averse to armed resistance to the emperor and his allies, and that through years of controversy he had become thoroughly embittered against Zwingli and his followers. It would have been exceedingly difficult, in view of the opprobrious language that he had used against Zwingli and his views on the Supper, for him to accept any sort of compromise with Zwinglianism. So intemperate had been his language as to provoke the moderate Capito to liken him to "a raving Orestes." In his writing, "Against Fanatics," he attributes Zwingli's peculiar teachings to the devil, who aimed thereby to destroy the evangelical cause through internal strife. The "fanatics" (Zwingli and his followers) were patricides, matricides, and fratricides. They had slain God, Luther's father, in his words, they had murdered Christianity, his mother, and his brethren. To love them or hold fellowship with them was out of the question. He denounced them, moreover, as "devils," "knaves," "heretics," "rioters," "dissemblers," "hypocrites," etc., sparing no offensive epithet that occurred to his fertile mind. Zwingli, Capito, Œcolampadius, etc., were far more moderate in their polemics, though they could not but feel indignant at the unbrotherly way in which Luther constantly treated them. Occasionally they were aroused to sharp retort; but in general they observed the proprieties of discussion and depended upon argument rather than raving.

Luther and Melanchthon had little faith in the success of the conference. In fact, Luther was resolved that harmony should be

reached, if at all, only through the unconditional surrender of the Zwinglians. Fourteen articles were drawn up in which the fundamentals of the evangelical faith were set forth in a way that was satisfactory to both parties. On the Lord's Supper there was a deadlock. Luther planted himself on the words: "This is my body," etc., and insisted that the real presence of the body and blood of Christ is their only allowable teaching. The Zwinglians insisted that the expression is to be interpreted symbolically. Melanchthon and Zwingli agreed on a statement that implied the spiritual partaking of Christ's body and blood. But Luther would hear of no compromise, and he refused to have any fellowship with Zwingli. The great majority of the members of the conference were for peace and co-operation, and for the mutual toleration of differences; but Luther's bitter and uncompromising attitude widened the breach between the two parties and made it irreparable. The irreconcilable hostility of Lutherans and Reformed constitutes a factor of the utmost importance in later European history.

The Marburg Conference was followed (November 29) by an evangelical congress at Schmalkalden. Philip of Hesse had his heart set on the admission of Ulm and Strasburg to the alliance. Lutherans were still uncompromising and a distinctly Lutheran basis of co-operation was submitted at Schwabach and finally adopted at Torgau. Luther still adhered firmly to his counsel of non-resistance. True Christians should bear the cross and not seek to avenge themselves. He had rather die ten times over than that his teaching should be the occasion of bloodshed.

(9) *The Diet of Augsburg (1530).* The emperor had entered into a treaty with the pope at Barcelona (June 20, 1529), and in the following December had received the imperial crown at his hands. Peace had been completed with France (treaty of Cambray) in August, 1529. The Turks had retired from Vienna, but were still menacing the eastern portions of the empire, and the co-operation of the constituents of the empire must be secured through another Diet. The protestation of the evangelical princes and cities and their manifest determination to resist any attempted enforcement of the decree of the recent Diet of Speier had convinced the emperor that drastic measures must for the time at least be abandoned and conciliation attempted. In January, 1530, the emperor summoned a Diet to be held in Augsburg the following April. The summons was couched in concilia-

tory language. Every one was to be at liberty to express his sentiments, opinions, and views, in order that unity and harmony in Christian truth might be reached, and that all unjust imputations on both sides might be set aside. He had evidently high hopes of bringing about a friendly settlement of the difficulties that for thirteen years had disquieted the empire. The Protestants were invited to present to the Diet an explicit statement of their tenets and to bring their leading theologians for the discussion of points of difference. The pope seems to have agreed with the emperor for the time in his policy of conciliation. The latter attended the Diet in person, entering the city with great pomp on June 15. The Diet was formally opened on June 20.

Melanchthon, in consultation with Luther, who for prudential reasons was not invited to Augsburg, but kept within reach at Coburg, presented the Lutheran creed in its most conciliatory form (Augsburg Confession) in German and in Latin. This statement was read before the Diet on June 25.

The Confession was in purpose an apology. Eck had in the preceding March presented to the emperor in four hundred and four propositions a violent attack upon the evangelicals in which Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists were confounded, and in which the most objectionable views to which any individual or party had given expression were attributed to the evangelical interest as a whole. It was the aim of Melanchthon to minimize the differences between Lutherans and Catholics and on crucial points to use language so ambiguous that it could be interpreted in a Catholic sense without excluding the Lutheran teaching. Luther seems to have shared with Melanchthon and the Lutheran princes in the hope that the Diet would give toleration and legitimacy to this moderate form of evangelical teaching. Melanchthon labored unceasingly in eliminating from the statement everything likely to offend the Catholics that could possibly be spared. Melanchthon was by this time as strenuous as Luther in repudiating the Zwinglians and excluding them from such advantages as the Lutherans might gain through their negotiations. He meant to prove that the evangelicals were good Catholics and went so far in his concessions as to elicit the remark of Philip of Hesse: "Master Philip goes backward like a crab." As a minimum he would have been willing to accept as tolerated reforms communion under both kinds, the marriage of the clergy, and the abolition of private masses. The Confession purports to contain "nothing that is at variance with the Scriptures, or the catholic church, or the Roman Church, so far as it is known from its writers." "All the dissension" is said to be "concerning certain abuses, few in number." The utmost pains is taken to

discriminate between Lutherans and Zwinglians and Anabaptists. The views of the former on the Supper and of the latter on infant baptism and infant salvation, are expressly condemned. The real corporeal presence in the Eucharist, partaken of indiscriminately by all communicants, is asserted and transubstantiation is not definitely excluded. No mention is made of the papacy.

A Confutation of the Confession, drafted by Eck, Faber, *et al.*, was promptly brought forward. It is a sharply controversial document. Its authors deny that the Confession is a straightforward and complete statement of the Lutheran teaching, the non-Catholic features of the system being studiously glossed over or ignored. It was a merited rebuke to the plasticity of Melanchthon, for which Luther and the other evangelicals were also largely responsible. The emperor declared the Confutation conclusive against the Protestants and demanded their unconditional submission to ecclesiastical authority, with threats of coercive measures. Melanchthon wished to make further concessions; but Philip of Hesse and John of Saxony resented the imperial threats and resolved to risk everything on behalf of the Confession. Seeing the increasing resoluteness of the evangelicals the emperor again grew conciliatory and certain temporary concessions were made pending the meeting of the General Council which emperor and pope agreed to summon at an early date.

As Melanchthon went on making concessions his influence with the more sturdy of the Lutheran princes waned and he was unable to prevent Bucer, who represented the four imperial Zwinglian cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, from securing some recognition at their hands. A Confession of Faith prepared by Bucer and Capito on behalf of the four cities (*Tetrapolitana*) was presented to the emperor on July 11. This also was confuted by the Catholic theologians to the satisfaction of the emperor. Ulm held aloof from the "four cities" and presented a statement in eighteen articles on the Supper, which, while protesting against the actual chewing (*manducatio oralis*) of the flesh and blood, conformed as closely as possible to the Lutheran mode of expression, insisting that the Supper is more than a mere memorial. The threatening attitude of the Turks and the need of the assistance of the Protestants prevented the emperor from proceeding rashly against them. Finding concessions unavailing and the Lutheran princes stalwart, Melanchthon prepared a defense of the Confession against the Catholic Confutation, which has since held its place side by side with the Confession as one of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. The em-

peror gave the Lutherans till April 15, 1531, to give in their adhesion to the articles in dispute that had not already been adjusted.

(10) *The Schmalkald League and the Peace of Nuremberg.* The emperor was exerting himself to the utmost for the calling of a General Council for the reunification of his subjects. To strengthen the Hapsburg influence he sought to have his brother Ferdinand chosen king of the Romans. This proceeding was opposed by the Elector of Saxony, while the other electors readily sold their votes. The difficulty could be overcome by excluding the Elector of Saxony as a heretic and a papal bull for this purpose was at hand to be used should it prove expedient. The other electors opposed such a proceeding; but the proposal was in itself sufficient to precipitate the organization of the Schmalkald League. The elector was at last convinced that he could not dispense with the upper-German cities of Zwinglian tendencies, nor disregard the policy of Philip of Hesse, Bucer, and Sturm, to unite all the evangelicals for defense against imperial and papal coercive measures. The formation of this league constituted the evangelicals a political party.

The evangelical princes met at Schmalkalden and protested against the election of Ferdinand as king of the Romans. The Elector of Saxony absented himself from the meeting at Cologne for the election of Ferdinand and the election was accomplished in the face of his protest and that of his evangelical associates (January 5, 1531). The Schmalkald League met on February 27 for the completion of its organization. It was composed of Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Braunschweig-Luneburg, Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. The league was to be in force for six years and new members might be admitted by unanimous consent.

The upper-German cities had been admitted to the league through Bucer's compromising measures and strict Zwinglianism lost its hold throughout this region. Zürich, under Zwingli's leadership, soon became involved in war with the five Catholic cantons which, powerfully supported from without, proved more than a match for the Swiss Protestant forces. At Kappel, Zürich and her allies suffered an overwhelming defeat (October, 1531). Zwingli was slain, and peace had to be made on terms wholly favorable to the Catholics. The Zwinglian cantons were obliged to give freedom to Catholic work and worship. Œcolampadius, already in feeble health, died in November. Thus the Zwinglian cause was almost completely prostrated.

In December, 1531, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were appointed heads of the league, and the cities of Goslar and Einbeck were admitted to membership. The Duke of Bavaria, though a Catholic, had entered into covenant with the evangelicals against Ferdinand. The league soon had the support of France, England, Denmark, King Zapolya of Hungary, and Duke Charles of Gelders. Thus the Lutheran cause had the support not only of all evangelical Germany, but of the Catholic enemies of the house of Hapsburg. The renewal of Turkish hostilities in Hungary still further embarrassed the emperor, who now, deeply humiliated, felt obliged to come to a good understanding with the Protestants and to leave them free until differences could be adjusted by a general council.

This freedom was guaranteed by the Diet of Nuremberg (July, 1532). After this proclamation of toleration the emperor returned to Spain and for nine years the Protestants had almost complete immunity from papal and imperial interference.

The emperor's chief hope of religious and political re-unification now lay in the calling of a general council; but here also he was beset with difficulties. If such a council should overrule the pope and in defiance of his authority attempt a thorough reformation of the church in its head and members so as measurably to satisfy the demands of the Protestants, the Ultramontane interests were sure to repudiate the council and a schism of another kind would ensue. If on the other hand the papal interests should be allowed to dominate the council, the Protestants would repudiate its decrees on the ground that it was not free. The co-operation of England and France was thought to be necessary to the success of the measure. The new Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, was approached by a papal nuncio regarding the council in June, 1533. The Schmalkald League, to which the proposal was submitted, expressed decided distrust and disapproval. Protestants were promised a free council and were asked to promise in advance implicit obedience to its decrees. They had little faith in the freedom of a council in which papal and imperial interests preponderated, and they could not in any case undertake to accept decisions that might militate against their consciences and their interests.

To demonstrate to the emperor the stalwartness of the Protestant cause and the hopelessness of inducing Protestants to surrender their principles to a council controlled by pope and emperor, Luther prepared the Schmalkald

Articles, in which he emphasized justification by faith alone. "There can be no yielding in respect to this article, though heaven and earth should fall, since on it depends everything that we teach and live against pope, devil, and the world."

The mass, purgatory, pilgrimages, brotherhoods, relics, indulgences, and the invocation of saints are repudiated with opprobrious language. Monastic institutions of all kinds are to be abolished or turned into schools. Luther was willing to discuss with Catholic theologians theories of sin, law, penance, sacraments, priestly marriage, and the like. Luther's doctrine of the Supper, little modified by the harmonizing efforts of Bucer, found expression in the articles. These articles were not formally subscribed by the League, but they were ultimately adopted (1544) among the symbolical documents of Lutheranism. A sharp polemical tract by Melanchthon on "The Power and Primacy of the Pope" was adopted by the League (1537).

War between the emperor and the King of France necessitated the indefinite postponement of the council, negotiations regarding which had evoked the Schmalkald Articles. Turkish invasion, moreover, tended to bring the emperor again into a more conciliatory state.

The years 1532-1546 were a time of great prosperity for political Lutheranism. The peace of Nuremberg gave the princes a freedom they had not enjoyed before to carry out the Lutheran reforms. Lutheranism triumphed in Anhalt, Würtemberg, Augsburg, and Pomerania in 1534. These, together with the cities of Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Hanover, became members of the League two years later (1536). During the latter year Denmark accepted Lutheranism as the State religion. After the death of Duke George (1539) Saxony and Brandenburg were opened to the propagation of Lutheranism, which was soon triumphant, though the Elector of Brandenburg did not enter the League and sought to occupy a mediating position. In the same year Lutheranism became widely accepted in Livonia. In 1542 Hermann von Wied, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, renounced Romanism and sought to carry his constituency into the Lutheran fold. The Duke of Jülich-Cleve adopted Lutheranism in 1543, but the emperor was able to suppress the movement and was greatly encouraged by his success

The Zwinglian cause had not yet recovered from its reverses, but a new type of evangelical teaching, which mediated between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, and was destined to a greater career than

either, had appeared in Geneva and was already, in 1546, a mighty religious force.

Luther died in 1546, in time to escape the humiliation that was soon to befall the Protestant cause.

(11) *The Schmalkald War and the Peace of Augsburg (1546-1555).* The general council, after long and repeated delays, had at last assembled at Trent. It had become more evident than ever to the Protestants that they could hope for no advantage from a council whose chief business it was to exterminate them, and that any reforms determined upon would be wholly inadequate. If the anti-papal and anti-Austrian forces of Europe had been at this time thoroughly united and dominated by a single mighty will, they would have been irresistible. Unfortunately there were almost as many distinct private interests as there were political units involved, and a comprehensive plan of defense and aggression, backed up by adequate financial provision and adequate troops under the best available leadership was, under the circumstances, impossible. Philip of Hesse, who more than any of the Protestant princes was fitted to lead, had crippled himself and inflicted irreparable injury upon the evangelical cause by his bigamous marriage. The Elector Joachim II. regarded this action as one of the most foolish things he had ever heard of, and thought it must have cost the devil much labor. Strange to say, Philip's loss of prestige among the evangelicals led him to draw nearer to the emperor, for he "must seek means to save body and goods, land and people." He was soon in closest alliance with the arch-enemy of the Protestant cause. In 1542 war broke out between the two Saxon houses over the collection of taxes for the Turkish war. Philip of Hesse acted as mediator and secured temporary peace; but Maurice (afterward elector) was deeply resentful and was ready at a critical moment to betray his evangelical confederates.

Duke Henry of Braunschweig, one of the most disreputable of the princes of the time, had severely punished the city of Goslar for its anti-Catholic measures. He was attacked (July, 1542) by the troops of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, under the leader-

ship of the latter. Wolfenbüttel, his stronghold, was besieged and captured, and the duke was driven out of his territory and forbidden to return. Roman Catholic altars and other sacred objects were stolen or destroyed, and measures were taken for the complete establishment of the evangelical system.

At the Diet of Speier (Feb., 1544) the emperor asked the estates for twenty-four thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry against the Turks and against France. The aid was granted. The case of Henry of Braunschweig was settled, the terms being that his lands should be restored to him, but the evangelical worship should continue. With the help of the English and the Germans the emperor gained such advantages over the King of France that the peace of Crespy (Sep. 14, 1544) was largely in his favor. The French undertook to join with the emperor in his campaign against the Turks and in procuring the meeting of a general council.

No doubt there was also an understanding that both should exert themselves for the extermination of Protestantism. The Jesuits were already beginning to make their influence felt in favor of drastic measures against the new faith. The refusal of the Protestants to recognize the council that met at Trent in 1545 as ecumenical, or Christian, dispelled the hope of the emperor that conciliation would result from such moderate reforms as would leave the pope at the head of the church and the hierarchical system as of old. The irreconcilableness of the Protestant demands with the preservation of church unity on a hierarchical basis appeared more clearly than ever at the Diet of Worms (May, 1545).

At this time the majority of the Protestant princes were in favor of immediate armed resistance; but John Frederick of Saxony still held out for peace. Meanwhile the emperor was secretly preparing himself for the irrepressible conflict.

A little later in the year Cologne was greatly disturbed by the protest of the university, the chapter, and a large proportion of the clergy against the defection of the archbishop. These had of course the hearty support and co-operation of the emperor.

By September Henry of Braunschweig was again in the field with an army of thirteen thousand five hundred men. He was met by Saxon and Hessian forces nearly twice

as strong. Henry's troops proved unreliable and he was taken prisoner before there had been much bloodshed.

The Elector of the Palatinate now showed a disposition to become a Protestant and to enter the League, and in January, 1546, his wife and part of his court received the communion under both kinds.

The Archbishop Elector Albert, of Mainz, died in September, 1545. The emperor promptly made a nomination for the position. The chapter insisted on making an independent choice, and Heusenstamm was appointed, through the influence of Philip of Hesse and other Protestant princes and with the understanding, it is probable, that he would use his office in the evangelical interest. He soon afterward declared in favor of free preaching, priestly marriage, and communion under both kinds. Thus the Protestants came to have a majority in the electoral body.

At about that time Henry of Braunschweig revealed to Philip of Hesse the design of the emperor to reduce all the princes of Germany, Protestant and Catholic alike, to beggary, and staked the salvation of his soul on the truthfulness of his information. Philip hoped on this ground to secure a union of princes of both religions against emperor, pope, and council.

A conference at Regensburg (January, 1546) between Catholics and Protestants demonstrated afresh the irreconcilable differences between the two parties.

John Diaz, a highly educated Spaniard, a Protestant convert who had spent some time with Bucer and others, made a noble defense of the faith. His brother, Alfonso, a member of the Roman Curia, labored earnestly for his conversion, and failing to move him procured his assassination. This showed the fanatical zeal that was coming to dominate the Catholic supporters of pope and emperor, and still further irritated the Protestants.

The Diet of Regensburg (June, 1546) was poorly attended. The Schmalkald allies sent a protest against the council and petitioned for the continuance of peace. The emperor treated their overtures with contempt, gave orders for extensive military preparations, and expressed his intention of vindicating his imperial authority. In July he pronounced the leaders of the league outlaws and thus declared war against them. The emperor

wished the war to be regarded as a purely political one. The pope on the other hand proclaimed a crusade against heretics and offered indulgences to all who would participate.

Just before the outbreak of hostilities, Maurice of Saxony had entered into alliance with the emperor against the Schmalkald League. His compensation was to be the electoral dignity and certain territorial advantages. He became the enthusiastic executor of the emperor's sentence of outlawry and hurriedly invaded electoral Saxony. After overrunning most of the country he was on the point of being conquered when the emperor with a Spanish army came to his aid. The emperor triumphed at the battle of Mühlberg and John Frederick was taken captive (April 24, 1547). Maurice had been made elector in October, 1546. Wittenberg was compelled to surrender soon afterward, having sustained with remarkable heroism a siege of many months. A sentence of death against John Frederick was commuted to indefinite imprisonment by the entreaty of the Elector of Brandenburg. Most of his lands were bestowed upon Maurice.

Philip of Hesse felt obliged to surrender to the emperor at Halle (June 19). He humiliated himself in the most abject way before the emperor and apologized for his rebellion. He was thrown into prison with the assurance that his imprisonment would not be perpetual.

The rebellious Archbishop Elector of Cologne was deprived of his electoral and archiepiscopal offices and allowed to retire to his family estates.

Thus the Schmalkald League was destroyed and the political power of Protestantism seemed to have come to an end.

The emperor was too well aware of the deep-seated convictions of the evangelicals of Germany in religious matters to suppose that he could at once bring the entire body into conformity with papal doctrine and practice. He felt that compromise would be necessary, at least for a time, to the securing of religious tranquillity. To reunite Catholics and Protestants a Confession of Faith was drawn up, under his direction, known as the Augsburg *Interim*, to which Melanchthon and many of the Luther-

ans gave in their adherence as a measure of necessity. Melanchthon, in a letter to Carlowitz, the Roman Catholic counsellor of Maurice, to whom the defection of the former was due, disclaimed all responsibility for the Lutheran schism and professed his willingness to allow pope and bishops to retain their authority and to have the mass restored to its Catholic form.

The *Interim* repudiated the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, gave full recognition to the Roman Catholic hierarchical system, including the papacy, as necessary to unity, recognized the seven sacraments, with the sacrificial view of the Supper, intercession and meritoriousness of the saints, prayers for the dead in connection with the mass, and ecclesiastical fasts and festivals. Marriage of the clergy and communion under both kinds were to be tolerated until they should have been finally pronounced upon by a general council. It was arranged that the document should be presented to the emperor in the Diet by two Protestant members, the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. The Protestants were at first the more inclined to accept the *Interim* because they supposed that it was to be binding upon the Catholics as well as the evangelical princes and cities; but it soon became apparent that there was no intention on the part of the emperor and the Catholic princes to concede to Protestants within their territory even the small measure of toleration provided for in this document.

Coercive measures, involving severe persecution, were at once entered upon in the South German cities, which had become utterly helpless through the fortunes of war. The threat of the emperor to the imperial cities, "You shall yet learn Spanish," was well understood to mean that they were to be deprived of all civil and religious liberty. Spanish soldiers occupied Constance, Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Regensburg, and all other important cities in this region. Protestant ministers fled for their lives. Roman Catholic services were everywhere introduced and the intimidated burghers were driven to mass by the soldiers.

Maurice of Saxony was still Protestant enough, or at least politic enough, to insist upon the modification of the *Interim* for North Germany. After much negotiation he gained certain concessions incorporated in the Leipzig *Interim*, a document which owed its form to Melanchthon.

It embraced a compromise statement of the doctrine of justification by faith, and a modification of the requirement of Friday fasting, of

the daily celebration of the mass, and of the form of the mass. The aim was to excuse the Protestants of this region from the most offensive aspects of Catholic practice. In some places a pretense was made of conforming to these regulations; in others efforts to reintroduce Catholic ceremonies were strenuously resisted by ministers, people, and municipal authorities. John Frederick, though a prisoner and in great peril, courageously repudiated the measure. Magdeburg became the center of opposition to the *Interim* and a city of refuge for the stanch Lutherans. Amsdorf, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Erasmus Albertus, Nicolas Gallus, *et al.*, waged fierce warfare against the *Interim* and against Melanchthon, Agricola, Major, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, *et al.*, who had had to do with the framing and the promulgation of the measure. (See later section on the Interimistic and Adiaphoristic Controversies.)

The pope and the Roman Curia were utterly opposed to the slight concessions made to the Protestants in the *Interim*, resented civil interference in religious matters, and had no faith in the success of these measures. The papal policy was to define rigorously the doctrines and practices of the church and to give no quarter to heretics. Any attempt to pacify Christendom by compromises was regarded as worse than useless.

By 1551 clouds began to appear in the imperial sky. The emperor and the pope were at cross purposes. Moreover, the inveterate hostility of many of the Catholic princes to the Hapsburgers was showing signs of reawakening. In March of this year Charles had expressed to Ferdinand his intention of having his son Philip succeed him in Germany to the exclusion of Ferdinand's son Maximilian, who had developed strong evangelical tendencies. Philip had been trained by the Jesuits and was known to be a religious fanatic of the deepest die, who would have no mercy on heresy.

Maurice of Saxony had been deeply chagrined by the continued imprisonment of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, and at the same time realized the impossibility of carrying out the *Interim* in his own domains.

Henry II., of France, though a zealous Catholic, was willing to join hands with the enemies of the emperor if thereby he could secure the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, in Lorraine. Maurice had for some time been negotiating a coalition against the emperor. After the capitulation of Magdeburg (November, 1551) he raised the war-cry against the emperor and with a rapidly

growing army attacked him unprepared at Innsbruck. At the same time France threw an army into the Netherlands. Even Ferdinand refused him succor.

The treaty of Passau (August, 1552) guaranteed amnesty to the emperor's opponents and religious toleration until differences could be settled.

The next two years brought nothing but misfortune to the aged and discouraged emperor. France triumphed in Lorraine. Albert of Brandenburg raided the imperial cities, Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Würzburg, and assisted France on the Rhine. Maurice gained a decisive victory at Sieverhausen (July, 1553), but lost his life in the battle. In 1554 Charles gave to Ferdinand full power to make peace between the empire and its foes on the best terms possible. He was unwilling to burden his conscience with personal concessions to heresy, although he realized that concessions must be made.

The Augsburg treaty (September 25, 1555) gave to the princes of the Lutheran and the Catholic communions respectively full power over the religious life of their territories (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). Subjects of the other faith were to have the right, without loss of honor or goods, to emigrate. The Ecclesiastical Reservation required that in case a Catholic prelate should change his faith, he should resign and give place to a duly elected successor recognized by the hierarchy. In cities where both faiths were already established side by side, provision was made for their continued toleration. The Augsburg Confession was the only form of Protestantism recognized in the treaty, Lutherans being as determined as Catholics to exclude from toleration Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Anabaptists. This was the first settlement of the religious troubles of the empire that gave any promise of permanence. It was repudiated from the beginning by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and there was no likelihood that either party would observe its provisions any further than policy should seem to require.

A few months later Charles V. abdicated and retired to a monastery (1556). Philip II. succeeded him as King of Spain, while his brother Ferdinand succeeded to the imperial dignity (1556–1564).

10. *Concluding Remarks on the Lutheran Reformation*

(1) In an earlier section[1] the problem of reform, as

[1] P. 21. *seq.*

we conceive it, was stated. Let us take *Lutheranism* as the most influential element in the Protestant Revolution, and as fairly representative of the entire politico-ecclesiastical movement, and test it by the categories that have been laid down. Did Lutheranism employ, to the best advantage, the pure elements of opposition to the hierarchy that had come down from the past, rejecting the vitiating elements? Did Lutheranism secure the ends whose accomplishment was indispensable to a pure reformation—the abolition of sacerdotalism, the abolition of the unhallowed union of Church and State, the reinstatement of the Scriptures as the guide of faith and practice?

We have seen[1] that in Lutheranism the five elements of opposition to the hierarchy were combined. Yet these elements could not possibly be combined harmoniously. The pure elements could not fail to be vitiated by combination with the impure. The final result could not be pure. If a given movement is purely biblical, it may be at the same time mystical, for there is a biblical mysticism; it may be at the same time biblical, mystical, and humanistic, in a measure; but biblical, mystical, humanistic, realistic, and political, it could not possibly be without inner contradictions. Hence we find in the character, the actions, and the writings of Luther,—his writings furnish an almost perfect index to his character,—all sorts of inconsistencies. Luther could be biblical when it suited his purpose. When he would refute the claims of the hierarchy no man could urge the supreme authority of Scripture more vigorously than he. But does he always so urge it? Let us see. When James is quoted against his favorite doctrine of justification by faith alone, with marvelous audacity he turns upon the luckless writing and denounces it as a "right strawy epistle." So, also, he contrasted the Gospel according to John with the other Gospels, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. So, also, the book of Revelation was not of such a character as divine inspiration would have given. Other books of Scripture fared no better. Again, when he came into controversy with

[1] P. 5, *seq.*

rigid adherents of the biblical principle, he no longer held that in ecclesiastical practice that only is allowable which is sanctioned by Scripture, but that it is sufficient if prevalent practices are not distinctly forbidden by Scripture. His Roman Catholic opponents were not slow to see Luther's inconsistencies, and they made vigorous use of them in their polemics.

Again, Luther apprehended the great biblical doctrine of the priesthood of believers, and the consequent right of every Christian to interpret the Scriptures according to his own judgment, enlightened by the Spirit. Yet, practically, he made his own interpretation the only admissible one, and did not hesitate to revile and persecute those who arrived at results different from his own.

Again, Luther apprehended that most important biblical doctrine, justification by faith. He saw in the failure to recognize this doctrine, the ground of all papal corruptions. Instead of tempering this doctrine by the complementary teachings of the Scriptures, he really made it the supreme criterion of truth. Whatever Scripture could not be made to teach justification by faith alone was for Luther no Scripture at all.

So, also, while professing to give the first place to Scripture, he practically put Augustine in the first place, interpreting Scripture by Augustinian dogma rather than Augustinian dogma by Scripture. It is evident, therefore, that Luther did not hold to the biblical principle purely and consistently.

How fared it with the mystical? There is no doubt that the writings of the German mystics had an important place in Luther's own individual development. There is no sufficient reason for calling in question the fact that he was a man of a profoundly spiritual life. But it is certain that the mystical element was almost entirely lost to his followers. The general effect of his preaching, so far as we can judge from his own statements and those of his most intimate friends, compared with those of his opponents, was not in the direction of personal religious experience, but rather of a dead faith and a blind assurance. The preaching and writings of Luther were destructive, rather than constructive. He could, by his denunciations, undermine papal authority, and bring the

doctrine of salvation by works into utmost contempt; but he failed signally to develop an apostolical in the place of a monkish piety in his followers. It may safely be affirmed, that the mystical element among the reformatory forces was not made the most of by Luther and his followers—certainly little of it appeared among his followers. It was almost supplanted by the doctrine of justification by faith alone, apprehended by many in a semi-antinomian way.

How far was the humanistic element utilized? Certainly Lutheranism would not have appeared when it did, nor as it did, without humanism. Certainly humanism had an important place in the personal development of Luther, and especially of Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin. It was humanism that led Luther, from 1512 onward, to combat with so much zeal Aristotle and the scholastic theology. It was humanism that led him to study the Scriptures in their original languages. It was humanism that furnished him with many of his ablest supporters. But this is an altogether different thing from saying that humanism here found its full utilization. Humanism was liberal and tolerant. Humanists thought for themselves, and were willing, for the most part, to accord to others the same privilege. True, this toleration sprang largely from religious indifferentism; but whatever its source, it was a thing sadly needed in that generation. The Reformers were, for the most part, intolerant. They believed that the truth should have free course; but then each one was perfectly confident that he had apprehended the entire scope of the knowable, and was far from recognizing the right of others to think and teach *perversely*—that is, contrary to his own views.

Again, humanists were averse to dogmatizing. Lutherans had no sooner thoroughly overthrown scholasticism than they introduced an era of Protestant scholasticism, with the same deadening and despiritualizing effect as had marked that of the Middle Ages.

Humanists believed in bringing about reformation through the sheer force of the truth. They did not object to reforms introduced by State authority, but neither did they urge such religious revolutions. The new learning, thought Erasmus, will clear away all supersti-

tion and darkness. This done, abuses will vanish in the face of enlightened public opinion. The Reformers had far more faith in external compulsion, far less in the inherent power of the truth. Thus we see that neither the biblical nor the mystical, nor yet the humanistic element, was fully apprehended and made to yield all the fruit that was in it, by Luther and his followers.

The fourth element, the realistic-hierarchical, is to be conceived of rather as a negative than as a positive force. Under this head may be included all the anti-scriptural and Romanizing elements that clogged the Protestant Revolution. In so far as this prevailed, the biblical, mystical, and humanistic were sure to suffer.

(2) *The maintenance of the union of Church and State* was the most vicious point in Luther's system. As the uniting of Church and State had done more than all other influences combined to corrupt the church, and as this union always furnished the most unyielding obstacle to reform, so its retention by Luther made it absolutely impossible that any thorough reformation of the Church should find place. The impossibility of a purely religious reformation of a State church lies in the following considerations :

a. The political relations of States are such that they rarely move without reference to temporal interests. Religion may furnish the ostensible motive, but when we are admitted into the confidence of the negotiators in politico-religious movements we shall almost always see that the matter of lands and dollars furnishes the decisive moment.

b. Admitting as a possibility the purely *religious* motives of the authorities in any politico-religious movement, the consciences of the people and their religious ideas are not the consciences and ideas of the authorities. The people, as a body, were at that time very likely to conform outwardly to the ecclesiastical arrangements of their rulers ; yet. who would be so credulous as to think that the entire spiritual status of a nation could be changed in a day or in a year? The Spirit of God worketh not in this wise.

c. The very process of transferring a people suddenly from one communion to another, without any exercise

of volition on their part, tends to foster in their minds the notion that religion is a mere matter of outward form. A sense of carnal security is thus engendered antagonistic to any earnest efforts for salvation.

The leaders of the Protestant Revolution made Protestants by States as far as possible. Temporal advantages furnished the chief motive to most of the rulers. A thoroughly corrupt Christianity could not fail to be the result.

It appears that all the possible ill effects of a politico-religious reformation were realized in the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century.

(3) *Infant baptism* has always gone hand in hand with State churches. It is difficult to conceive how an ecclesiastical establishment could be maintained without infant baptism or its equivalent. We should think, if the facts did not show us so plainly the contrary, that the doctrine of justification by faith alone would displace infant baptism. But no. The Establishment must be maintained. The rejection of infant baptism implies insistence on a baptism of believers. Only the baptized are properly members of the church. Even adults would not all receive baptism on professed faith unless they were actually compelled to do so. Infant baptism must, therefore, be retained as the necessary concomitant of a State church. But what becomes of justification by faith? Baptism, if it symbolizes anything, symbolizes regeneration. It would be ridiculous to make the symbol to forerun the fact by a series of years. Luther saw the difficulty; but he was sufficient for the emergency. "Yes," said he, "justification *is* by faith alone. No outward rite, apart from faith, has any efficacy." Why, it was against *opera operata* (works performed for merit) that he was laying out all his strength. Yet baptism is the symbol of regeneration, and baptism must be administered to infants, or else the State church falls. With an audacity truly sublime, the great Reformer declares that infants are regenerated in connection with baptism, and that they are simultaneously justified by personal faith. An infant eight days old believe? "Prove the contrary, if you can!" triumphantly exclaims Luther, and his point is gained. If this kind of personal faith is

said to justify infants, is it wonderful that those of maturer years learned to take a somewhat superficial view of the faith that justifies?

(4) In the very idea of a religious establishment is implied *the maintenance of the Establishment*. The toleration of dissent is antagonistic to the integrity—nay, to the very existence—of an Establishment. The idea that two forms of Christianity could, with any good results, exist side by side in a given State, seemed almost as preposterous to Luther as it did to Philip II. or to Catharine de Medici. Though schismatic themselves, the Reformers had a horror of schism almost as decided as that of the Romanists. The tendency of Protestantism to individualism and endless sectarianism was a reproach which Romanists delighted to heap upon Protestants; and the Reformers did not know enough to admit the fact, and to justify it. The necessity of uniformity in religion felt by civil and religious leaders alike, and the necessity of giving the lie to Roman Catholic reproaches, led the Protestant civil rulers, with the hearty co-operation of the Protestant religious leaders, to persecute to the death those that dared dissent from the established religion.

It was the most natural thing in the world, circumstances being as they were, that a Reformation should be attempted and carried out just as was the Lutheran. A political revolution seems to have been inevitable. Religious affairs were already so intermingled with political that we can hardly conceive of a great political revolution which should not involve the overthrow of the hierarchy. It was the most natural thing in the world that the movement should have begun from the religious side. Considering that the hierarchy was sure to make use of civil and ecclesiastical power combined for the suppression of any movement that threatened its overthrow, it was perfectly natural that the religious and the political reformers should have clung close together, or rather that the two elements should have been combined in the same individuals. Again, it was natural that the politico-religious reformers should have striven to retain full control of the movement, to keep the ranks solid. It was natural that the political elements during the times of outward

danger should have greatly preponderated over the religious. It was natural that deserters from the ranks on the one side or the other should be hunted down and slain. All this was natural, was to be expected. But in a religious movement we demand not what is *natural*, but what is *Christian*,—not the methods of the practical politician, but the methods appointed by Christ. We demand that the men to whom we pay homage as apostles of Christ be swayed not by worldly motives, but by purely Christian motives. We demand faith not in the arm of flesh, but in the Lord, such faith as does the right regardless of consequences, assured that God will take care of the consequences.

(5) The achievements of Luther may be thus summed up: *a*. He overthrew the papal authority in Germany. *b*. He secured recognition of the doctrine of justification by faith, and thereby overthrew a vast amount of the mediæval superstition, to a great extent sacerdotalism, on which the whole mediæval system rested. *c*. He greatly promoted individualism—freedom of thought on the part of individuals, although this was not his desire, and he fought against it with might and main.

These things he accomplished in part voluntarily, in part involuntarily.

What has been said of the Lutheran movement may be said, with some important modifications, of all the other politico-ecclesiastical movements of the sixteenth century. The needed modifications will sufficiently appear in the description of the various movements that is to follow.

IV. THE ZWINGLIAN REFORMATION.

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1. *Political, Social, and Economic Condition of the Swiss Cantons at the Beginning of the Protestant Revolution.*

The Swiss Republic was founded in 1291, when the three "forest cantons," Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, entered by an "eternal covenant" into a confederation. Lucerne entered the confederation in 1332, Zürich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, Bern in 1353, Freiburg and Solothurn in 1481, Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501, and Appenzell in 1513. Most of the cantons had acquired control over a considerable amount of adjoining territory. Aargau, Thurgau, Wallis, Geneva, Graubünden, Neuchatel, Valangin, and a number of cities, including Biel, Mühlhausen, Rotwell, and Locarno, were thus in close relations with the thirteen confederated cantons. Each canton was for most purposes independent. In the federal Diet each canton, regardless of its

population, had an equal number of representatives. This fact made it possible for a majority of the smaller cantons to defeat the efforts of a minority of the larger cantons, embracing a majority of the population of the confederacy, to introduce the Reformation as a federal measure.

The Swiss had become noted for extraordinary valor in the struggles through which they attained to independence. Though brave and noble-minded they were poor, and when their wars for independence had ceased, they were led by love of adventure and love of money to become mercenaries of foreign powers. By the time of the Reformation the mercenary system had already developed the worst results. The mode of life of the mercenaries was not such as to foster the simplicity and thrift for which the Swiss had been noted. They became habituated to luxury and license, and returning, corrupted the population. The best of the Swiss saw the corrupting and degrading tendency of the system and protested against it; but this naturally had little effect when the inducements to individuals were so strong. Men of influence, moreover, were pensioned by the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, etc., who were rivals in securing the Swiss troops, and thus their mouths were shut.

This corruption of the Swiss was attended with growing indifference and contempt for the church, and with freedom and enlightenment of thought, which made this the most favorable country in Europe for religious innovation. When in 1518 the pope required twelve thousand Swiss troops to fight against the Turks, the Swiss replied that they ought not to be called out before other nations; but they promised him ten thousand men, adding, that if he liked he could take in addition the two thousand priests.

The Swiss cantons may be classified as *urban* and *rural*, or "forest." The urban cantons, as a rule, readily adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, while the rural cantons for the most part remained true to their old faith. How are we to account for this fact? The following considerations furnish a partial explanation:

(1) The Swiss confederation had succeeded in greatly

limiting the financial exploitation of the country by the Roman Curia and the rural cantons had little to complain of on economic grounds. Moreover, they were profiting largely by the hiring of their young men to the Roman Catholic powers as soldiers. As their warlike sons constituted "the only valuable commodity which the peasants and petty nobility of Switzerland could at that time bring into the market,"[1] and as the population of these cantons were for the most part too ignorant to have come under the influence of humanistic modes of thought, it was not to be expected that they would hasten to break with Roman Catholicism.

(2) The wealthy towns were far more conscious of papal exploitation. The well-to-do middle class, that was chiefly influential, derived no benefit from the mercenary system, and regarded it as distinctly disadvantageous; for it "strengthened the power of their enemies, the nobility, and increased the warlike capacities of the lower classes, from whom they derived their wealth."[2] The aggrandizement of the house of Hapsburg was a perpetual menace to the independence of the city cantons, on which their territory bordered and which were coveted on account of their wealth and the advantageous position that they occupied in relation to Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. It is easy to see the enormous value that the Hapsburgers must have placed on the possession of Switzerland and to appreciate the heartiness with which the cantons most concerned welcomed whatever tended to weaken the Hapsburg rule and the papal power that was so largely identified with that of the empire.

(3) The New Learning had found ready acceptance in urban Switzerland, and the University of Basel had become one of its chief strongholds. Erasmus spent much of his time there (1514-1516 and 1521-1529) during the early years of the Protestant Revolution and many of the ablest young men of Switzerland, such as Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Capito, Pellican, Hedio, and Denck, came under his influence. Basel was already one of the great publishing centers of Europe, and from it streams

[1] Kautsky, "Communism in Central Europe," p. 155, *seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

of intellectual and spiritual influence went forth into the neighboring cantons and the contiguous Austrian and German districts. Thomas Wyttenbach, who taught theology at Basel (1505-1508), was an evangelical humanist of learning and spiritual power. Long before Luther he had attacked indulgences, the Roman Catholic view of the Supper, and the enforced celibacy of the priesthood. Several of Luther's early works were reprinted at Basel and given a wide circulation throughout Switzerland. Many of Erasmus' works, including his Greek New Testament, were published there.

(4) The old evangelical training was far more widely diffused in the urban than in the rural cantons. This form of Christianity flourished far more among the artisan classes that abounded and were thoroughly organized in urban Switzerland than among the rural classes. As the Waldenses and related parties were fundamentally opposed to warfare, even in self-defense, rural Switzerland, from almost every family of which recruits for Austria, France, Venice, Milan, and the pope went forth, must have been peculiarly uncongenial soil for this type of Christianity, and it would have been exceedingly difficult on this account for secret adherents to old evangelical types of teaching to escape detection.

2. *Characteristics of the Swiss Reformation.*

(1) Far more than the Lutheran the Zwinglian Reformation was a civil and moral reformation. While Lutheranism led many to license, Zwinglianism took measures for the moral amelioration of the people.

(2) The Zwinglian Reformation was at the same time far more *quiet* and far more *thorough* than the Lutheran.

a More *quiet* because: (*a*) Contempt for Rome had come to be looked upon in Switzerland as a matter of course, and preaching against abuses here excited little astonishment on the spot or at Rome. (*b*) No man arose in Switzerland of Luther's vehemence and zeal. The Swiss reformers were more philosophical and cool. What they said, as a general thing, they could adhere to, and they were far less frequently than Luther obliged to withdraw from untenable positions.

b. More *thorough*, because: (*a*) Humanism was more

predominant in the Swiss than in the German reformers. Zwingli was free from the realistic views with regard to the church that dominated Luther's thinking and acting and hesitated less to become a schismatic. (*b*) The government was popular, and no rulers with extensive political relations had to be consulted. The confederation of the cantons and treaties with foreign powers caused considerable embarrassment from time to time, but were by no means so obstructive as the imperial relations in Germany. (*c*) A higher degree of enlightenment and freedom from superstition characterized the Swiss as a people.

3. *Zwingli's Reformatory Work to 1525.*

(1) *Sketch of Zwingli up to 1519.* Ulrich Zwingli was born in 1484, at Wildhaus. His father was a bailiff, and his maternal uncle a priest. Ulrich was early taken charge of by the latter, who sent him to school first in Basel, then in Bern, then to the University of Vienna. In 1502 he returned to Basel as teacher in the St. Martin school. In 1505 Wyttenbach, a man of learning and eloquence, lectured in Basel. He foresaw and foretold the overthrow of indulgences and many other papal abuses. Zwingli had heretofore occupied himself with philosophy and general culture. He was now led to devote himself rigorously to the study of theology. From 1506 he was pastor at Glarus. Here he devoted a great part of his time to the study of Latin classics and philosophy. He preached eloquently, condemning to some extent the mercenary spirit, the evil effects of which he saw; yet he received a pension from the pope, and maintained that the Swiss ought to assist the Holy See with troops. In 1513 he felt the necessity of a knowledge of Greek, for the sure understanding of the New Testament, and applied himself industriously to the study of this language. He always regarded this study as one of the most important steps in his preparation for the career of a reformer. New light seemed to him thence to dawn upon the sacred word. The influence of Erasmus, who about this time took up his residence in Basel, was of fundamental importance in Zwingli's development.

From the beginning of 1516, his preaching assumed a

thoroughly simple and biblical form. About the same time, in accordance with the words of St. Paul, "that it is good for a man not to touch a woman," he proposed to himself to abandon his unchaste mode of life (which had previously been carried on so modestly and secretly that even his familiar friends scarcely knew of it); but having no companion of the same turn of mind, alas! he fell and returned as "a dog to his vomit," having persisted in his resolution only six months. In view of the extreme laxity of morals that prevailed among the clergy at this time, it is to Zwingli's honor that he even formed such a resolution. Yet this was far from being the last of his irregularities, since the woman he married was his mistress long before she was his wife.

These facts are candidly given by Zwingli in his extant writings.

From 1516–1519 he was pastor at Einsiedeln, where he continued to study with all diligence. He had come to see the need of reformation, and had aided quietly in the suppression of some abuses; but as he was not yet reformed himself, it is easy to understand why he was not more active in reformation.

In 1518 an indulgence preacher of extraordinary effrontery, Bernard Samson, by name, appeared in Switzerland. Zwingli, among others, preached against him, and he was driven away. In this he had the support of the Bishop of Constance, who was at the time selling indulgences for diocesan purposes. The pope advised Samson to withdraw from Switzerland.

In the latter part of 1518, Zwingli was appointed to become chief preacher in Zürich. A report gained currency at Zürich that he had seduced the daughter of a respectable citizen of Einsiedeln. In a letter in answer to an inquiry from a friend in Zürich, he acknowledges that he has sustained unchaste relations with a young woman, but palliates the guilt by alleging that she was not a virgin, but a common harlot. While showing some contrition for the sin, he congratulates himself on having always adhered rigidly to a purpose early formed, never to seduce a virgin or a nun.

(2) *Zwingli at Zürich until the First Disputation.* Here,

Zwingli, with a view to promoting pure scriptural doctrine, at once deviated from the customary mode of preaching from passages of Scripture arranged authoritatively throughout the year, and began expounding in regular order entire books of the Bible. This method of preaching was exceedingly popular. His preaching was very practical, being directed against superstition, hypocrisy, idleness, and inordinate eating and drinking, and insisting on repentance, amendment of life, love, and fidelity. He urged the rulers to be just, to protect widows and orphans, to maintain the independence of the confederacy, etc.

Zwingli was accused by the monks (whose hostility he had excited) of being a follower of Luther. He indignantly rejected the imputation, claiming that he was a follower of Christ; but acknowledging that so far as he had read Luther's writings he had found his teachings so well fortified and grounded in the word of God that it was not possible for any creature to refute them.

In 1520, in order to put an end to the clamoring of the monks against Zwingli, the Council of Zürich enacted that henceforth all the preachers should preach freely from the Old and New Testaments, but should refrain from discussing human innovations. Zwingli probably advised this action, desiring nothing for himself but liberty to expound the Scriptures. He felt that abuses would vanish of themselves, if true doctrine, *i. e.*, a correct understanding of the Scriptures, should have become diffused (Erasmic influence).

Zwingli aimed not simply at an ecclesiastical, but also at a moral and civil reformation. He was highly patriotic, and after he had in 1520 given up his papal pension, he was unsparing in his denunciation of the mercenary system.

Yet even now, in fulfillment of an earlier agreement, Zürich sent military aid to the pope. It is worthy of note that instead of excommunicating Zwingli at this time, the pope sought in every way to win him back to his allegiance. Even as late as 1526 the pope had not wholly despaired of Zürich and could address the council as "beloved sons" and promise to pay the debts of which he was continually being reminded.

The preaching of Zwingli was far more wholesome in

its influence than that of Luther. While he preached justification by faith, he did not make upon his hearers the impression that good works were not worth performing.

Zwingli had preached quietly in Zürich for three years, when, in 1522, some Zürich citizens ate meat on a fast day. This made a great sensation, and the men were thrown into prison. Zwingli defended them before a commission from the bishop of Constance, and soon after published his first polemical writing, "On Choice and Freedom in Eating."

In this he defends evangelical freedom in all things that God has not forbidden.

It is forbidden in the Old Testament not only to take from, but to add to divine ordinances; how much more in the New Testament, which is meant to be the only perpetual law for Christians. Paul urges Christians to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, etc. Those that insist on the observance of fasts virtually condemn Paul. The general assembly has a right to set apart days for fasting, but conformity or non-conformity is a matter that belongs to the individual conscience.

In May, 1522, the bishop of Constance issued a pastoral letter warning against innovations, and the Diet of Lucerne forbade all preaching likely to cause disquiet.

In July following, Zwingli, in the name of ten other clergy, addressed to the Diet a "Friendly Petition and Exhortation." In this writing the unscripturalness and the unrighteousness of clerical celibacy are set forth, and the Diet is exhorted to remove obstructions to marriage. In August, a somewhat similar petition, abounding in sarcasm, was addressed to the bishop of Constance.[1] In this writing he set forth with great clearness the sole authority of Scripture over against all ecclesiastical authority.

At this time (1522) he entered into relations with Anna Reinhart, a young and beautiful widow, which is commonly spoken of as a secret marriage; but the marriage relation was not avowed till April, 1524. His reputation has suffered to some extent from this connection; but there is no sufficient reason for doubting his good faith

[1] "*Apologeticus Architeles*" (Zwingli's Works, Vol. III., pp. 17, 26, etc.).

in the matter. The secrecy was due to prudential considerations.

(3) *The First Disputation at Zürich (January 23, 1523).* The foregoing occurrences had caused a great ferment of popular feeling, and it seemed best to the council to appoint a public disputation for the thorough discussion of such subjects as were agitating men's minds, in the German tongue and with the Scriptures as the authoritative standard. For this disputation Zwingli arranged his reformatory views in sixty-seven articles. His arguments were so convincing to the council that it charged him to persevere in his evangelical methods, and all the other preachers to follow his example. This was a complete triumph for Zwingli.

The sixty-seven articles, which Zwingli afterward expanded into a book, which constitutes one of the completest expositions of his views, and which constituted at the time a sort of text-book of Zwinglianism, are, in substance, as follows:

1. The assertion of the right to preach the gospel regardless of church authority.
2. Christ is the only way to blessedness, and is the only head of the church, which consists of all true believers.
3. Hence the gospel, through which men are brought to a knowledge of Christ, and are taught to put no reliance in human doctrines and ordinances, should be everywhere preached.
4. The mass is not a sacrifice, for Christ was sacrificed once for all for the sins of believers, but only the memorial of the sacrifice.
5. The church universal is invisible, and consists of the whole company of the elect.
6. The highest tribunal on earth is the Christian church in any particular place; hence, the papacy has no claim to obedience.
7. Mediation of saints and of priests is rejected.
8. Celibacy of the clergy is declared to be a great evil.
9. The mass is rejected as idolatry, and the Lord's Supper is declared to be a simple memorial. In a word, all post-apostolic additions to Christian doctrine and practice (except infant baptism and the unregenerate church-membership that it involves), are rejected. He even calls in question the propriety and expediency of infant baptism; but leaves the question to be settled at a later stage

It was with considerable difficulty that any one could be found to dispute with Zwingli. His chief opponent was Faber, vicar of the bishop of Constance, who was no match for the Zürich Reformer.

More decided steps toward reformation followed upon this disputation. Clergy married, convents were thrown

open, and the baptismal service was translated, many ceremonies being omitted. The cathedral chapter, which had supported a considerable number of worthless clergy, was reformed according to Zwingli's ideas, and the public schools under its control were greatly improved.

Through this disputation, and especially through a writing of Louis Hetzer's (a learned Hebraist, who afterward became noted as an anti-pedobaptist) on "Images and Pictures," and a writing of Zwingli's on the mass, the sentiment against images and pictures in the churches and against the mass became almost universal.

A reformer named Hottinger, with a band of citizens, threw down the great cross on the public square (1523). Many approved and many disapproved of this proceeding, and much excitement followed. Zwingli condemned the act, not as criminal in itself, but as an act of wantonness against the magistracy. The perpetrators were arrested; but the popular unrest was so marked that it was thought necessary to appoint another disputation on images and the mass. All the clergy of the confederacy were invited. The bishops of Constance, Basel and Chur, and the University of Basel, were pressed to send their scholars. Only Schaffhausen and St. Gall were represented.

(4) *The Second Disputation at Zürich (October 26, 1523).* On this occasion no champion appeared for the papal party; but the matters were thoroughly discussed by Zwingli, Leo Judæus (Zwingli's Melanchthon), Conrad Grebel (a highly educated man, who soon afterward became an Anabaptist), Balthazar Hubmaier (soon to become a zealous Anabaptist leader), and the burgomasters themselves. Here also the Scriptures were made the sole criterion.

All present agreed that there were great abuses in the matters under discussion, and that these abuses ought to be removed. There was difference of opinion as to whether or not the reform ought to be carried out at once. It was decided that the ignorance of clergy and people, especially in the country, was so gross that it would be best to leave matters as they were until some instruction could be imparted. For this purpose Zwingli, the abbot of Cappel, and Conrad Schmidt, commander of the Knights of St. John at Küsnacht, were to preach throughout the country districts.

Zwingli was also directed to publish an "Introduction," setting

forth in a popular way the meaning and object of the Reformation. Meanwhile, all excess of zeal was held in check, and disturbers of the peace were punished.

The council had the shrined pictures in the churches shut up, and proclaimed that every one was free to celebrate the mass or not; and the mass was almost abandoned in the city by clergy and people.

Zwingli's "Introduction" was sent (January 24, 1524) to the representatives of the cantons of the confederacy at Lucerne. The twelve cantons were unanimous in deprecating innovation, and sent a deputation to Zürich to remonstrate with the council and to insist upon the restoration of the old order in ecclesiastical matters. The council answered (March 21) that while Zürich would remain true to the confederacy, the word of God and the salvation of souls alike demanded reform, and that a return to the old position was impossible.

Many were impatient of any delay, and wished to see the reformation carried out at once. So strong had public opinion become against pictures and mass, that the council gave orders, in June, 1524, to destroy images. As to the mass, it should remain a short time till measures could be devised for abolishing it.

The monasteries were suppressed and changed into schools and almshouses. The council secured the assent of its subjects by a public invitation to declare their opinion on these proceedings.

In April, 1525, the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the great minster at Zürich, under both kinds, and without the liturgy. This completed the Reformation at Zürich. From 1524, onward, a number of Zwingli's ablest supporters, carrying out Zwingli's view that every practice and principle not enjoined or taught in the New Testament should be unconditionally rejected, had come to reject infant baptism; to insist on a regenerate membership in the churches; and to deny the right of the magistracy to dictate in matters of religion. These men soon gained a large following, and were a source of the utmost discomfiture to Zwingli.

At the time of the abolition of the mass and the restoration of the Lord's Supper, Zwingli had designed to vest all disciplinary power, including the power of excommunication, in the local church. He was also disposed to question the propriety of retaining infant baptism. But the separation of the Anabaptists convinced him of the impracticability of these positions, and he felt the necessity of defending infant baptism, and of vesting all church authority in the civil council under the advice of the preachers.

Zwingli published, in 1525, his "Commentary on True and False Religion." In this he sets forth his own views in their most complete form, and combats Roman Catholicism and Anabaptism. He was influential in securing the inauguration of a system of public moral regulations, and thus morality was not only preached but enforced.

4. *Zwinglianism in the Other Cantons.*

(1) *The Reformation in Bern.* At Bern a number of men of high social standing early showed themselves favorable to the Reformation.

John Haller had begun to denounce the corruptions of the church before Luther and Zwingli came forward. He entered into a correspondence with Zwingli soon after his (Zwingli's) reformatory activity began, and was greatly influenced by Zwingli's and Luther's writings. In 1521 he married a lady of high social position, and his friends were influential enough to protect him.

Far abler and more influential was *Berthold Haller*, who came to Bern in 1518 as a teacher, and in 1521 became preacher in the minster (chief church). Haller was neither learned nor enthusiastic, yet his eloquence and geniality, together with his cool persistency, gained him many friends and enabled him under the inspiration and guidance of Zwingli, to accomplish much for the Reformation.

His chief helper was the eloquent and enthusiastic *Sebastian Meyer*. Both preached the simple gospel after the example of Zwingli and Luther, and the latter was bold in his denunciation of monks and clergy. Many of the aristocracy favored the Reformation, but the monks opposed it with all their might.

Nicholas Manuel, a poet and painter, was a member of an ancient family. As a member of the council he protected the preachers against their enemies. From 1520 onward he published satirical poems against popes, clergy, and monks. In 1522 he published three farces, which were acted on the streets and in which the whole hierarchy was unmercifully ridiculed.

The authorities, though on the whole favorable to reformation, dreaded agitation; and while they permitted evangelical preaching they forbade controversy. Sebastian Meyer became involved in controversy and was banished. Haller and others of milder disposition were allowed to remain.

The sentiment in favor of reformation was continually growing, and after a public disputation, in 1528, the Reformation was carried out on the Zwinglian plan.

(2) *The Reformation in Basel.* Basel was the most important city in Switzerland. Its university, endowed by the popes, and its numerous publishing houses, made it a great literary center. Humanism was gaining considerable ground.

Erasmus was there, and was the idol of the learned and the noble and enjoyed the friendship of the bishop.

Wyttenbach had long been denouncing indulgences and the like, and foretelling a great change.

The works of *Luther*, from 1517, were republished in Basel, and from there circulated all over Europe.

The *bishop of Basel* read Luther's earlier writings and greatly admired him. When Luther was supposed to be in want and in danger, the bishop and some others were ready not only to aid him with money, but also to give him a secure place of refuge.

Capito, a learned Greek and Hebrew scholar, drew large crowds by his expository sermons. Evangelical views were widely diffused by 1520. Capito was at heart a Lutheran, but would not yet acknowledge it. Greatly against the wishes of the evangelical party, and probably with a view to escaping the difficult task of becoming a party leader, he left Basel in 1520 for Mainz. This was a great blow to the Reformation in Basel.

Hedio, who, under the influence of Zwingli, had been aroused to considerable activity in the cause, carried on Capito's work for a while, but soon followed him to Mainz.

In 1521, *William Reublin*, who afterward became an Anabaptist, took up the cause thus deserted, and carried it forward with wonderful energy. As preacher at St. Alban's Church, "he interpreted the Scriptures so well," writes a contemporary, "that the like had never been heard before." He confronted popes, bishops, clergy, and various ecclesiastical usages, such as the mass, festivals, etc., with Scripture. In a procession, in place of the usual relics, he carried a beautifully bound Bible, saying: "This is the right holy Scripture, the rest are only dead bones." The rush to his preaching was so great, that he is said to have often preached to four thousand people. Reublin thus preached for about a year. His great popularity shielded him from his enemies, but in 1522 a company of humanists indulged in a pork-feast on Palm Sunday, in order to show their contempt for church feasts. Reublin was held responsible for this outrage, and was, perhaps, a participant in the feast. Erasmus, though he regularly ate meat secretly on fast days,

condemned this manifestation of contempt for the church Reublin was banished, and again reformation received a check. The banishment of Reublin came near causing an uprising of the people.

Œcolampadius (born 1482), was one of the most thoroughly educated men of his time. He possessed considerable means and studied at Heidelberg, receiving his master's degree at the age of fourteen. Next he studied law at Bologna, returning thence to Heidelberg, where he studied theology. During a residence at Tübingen, he came in contact with Melanchthon. At Stuttgart, he formed the acquaintance of Reuchlin. He then returned to Heidelberg, where he remained until 1512, dividing his time between theology and classical studies. He learned Hebrew from a converted Jew, and was, perhaps, the best Hebraist among the Reformers. His Greek learning was probably second only to Melanchthon's. He seems to have had an insatiable desire for knowledge for its own sake, and to have been almost destitute of ambition for eminence or leadership. After preaching at Basel, Nuremberg, and Basel again (1515–1518), he entered a cloister where he remained for some months ; but coming under suspicion of being a Lutheran, he fled to the castle of Franz von Sickengen, where he preached about six months. He returned to Basel in 1522, and took up the Reformation. He always acknowledged Zwingli as his superior, and consulted him about every important movement. Under OEcolampadius' careful management, notwithstanding the opposition of the members of the university and the monks, the Reformation in the Zwinglian form was gradually set up with the sanction of the civil authorities.

(3) *The Reformation in St. Gall and Appenzell.* St. Gall, where a disciple of Columba, St. Gallus by name, had established a monastic mission station (c. 613), was at the beginning of the Protestant Revolution a prosperous manufacturing city. Clergy and monks had controlled the city and were notoriously vicious. The trade guilds had become highly influential and grew restive under corrupt ecclesiastical rule. Zwingli's reformatory efforts at Zürich were applauded by many. Among his earliest and most influential supporters in this community was

Vadianus (Von Watt), one of the most eminent humanists of the time. Born in 1484 of wealthy and noble parents, he had enjoyed the best educational advantages that the time afforded. He entered the University of Vienna in 1502, studied philosophy, theology, law, and medicine, was crowned poet and orator by the Emperor Maximilian (March, 1514), and was made rector of the university in 1516. He returned to St. Gall in 1518, where he practised medicine and led in public affairs till his death in 1551. His efforts to introduce Zwinglian reformatory measures were seconded by Joh. Kessler, a saddler, who had studied at Wittenberg, but declined to enter the ministry. To him we are indebted for a faithful chronicle ("*Sabbatha*," see Literature). The enthusiastic Anabaptist movement that swept over St. Gall in 1525 no doubt occasioned the postponement of the full introduction of Zwinglian reform, which did not take place till 1527–1528.

Appenzell, which had been under the jurisdiction of the abbot of St. Gall, voted for reform in 1523. Here also the Anabaptist movement led to a reaction and a partial restoration of Roman Catholic worship.

(4) *The Schaffhausen Movement.* Zwingli's views found influential adherents in the canton as early as 1520, when he was highly commended by Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, a Franciscan monk and professor of theology. Under his leadership and that of Sebastian Meyer, another Franciscan, the canton became permeated with Zwinglian teaching. Hofmeister took part in the Zürich disputations and was regarded as one of the foremost representatives of the cause of reform. The more enthusiastic and popular Anabaptist movement of 1525, under the influence of which Hofmeister himself for a time came to reject infant baptism, so disturbed the canton that the authorities felt compelled to banish not only the Anabaptists, but also Hofmeister and Meyer, who were held responsible for the disorder. Hofmeister had great difficulty in purging himself from the suspicion of being an Anabaptist, but at last he went to Zürich and pusillanimously renounced all sympathy with Anabaptist teaching and secured from the Zürich leaders letters of commendation that enabled him to return to his home.

The commotion caused by the Anabaptist propaganda led to the postponement of the full introduction of Zwinglianism until 1529.

(5) *The Graubünden (Grisons) and the Reformation.* The Graubünden was a semi-independent republic, which did not enjoy full cantonal rights (until 1803), but was in alliance with the confederation and in a measure subject to Zürich and Bern. It was far larger than the cantons and embraced German, Italian, and Romanic populations. Nowhere was the democratic spirit more pronounced. "Next to God and the sun, the poorest inhabitant is chief magistrate" (ancient proverb). Individual communities were freer than in most parts of Switzerland to follow their convictions in religious matters. Large numbers early adopted Zwingli's views, but there was little disposition to coerce the Catholics. The Anabaptist movement found this a fruitful field and it required all the pressure that Zürich, Bern, and the other Zwinglian cantons could exert to induce the authorities to persecute its adherents. The chief Zwinglian leader was John Comander, an ex-priest, through whose influence freedom to choose between the Reformed and the Catholic faith was accorded to all the inhabitants (1526) and "the whole heresy of the Anabaptists was strenuously inhibited and its adherents threatened with banishment."

From the contiguity of the Graubünden with the portions of Italy and Austria where Waldenses and related parties were numerous and persistent during the Middle Ages, and from the spirit of freedom that was so marked in this region, it is highly probable that multitudes of those who so readily adopted Zwinglian and Anabaptist views had been previously under old evangelical influence.

5. *The Zwinglian Movement from 1525 Onward.*

It is worthy of remark, that just as Zwinglianism was assuming definite shape in Zürich as a reformatory movement, and the other cantons that sympathized with Zürich were about to follow in her footsteps, two related but widely differing popular movements emerged, that were greatly to modify the future development of Swiss Prot-

estantism. The first was the social democratic uprising that culminated in the Peasants' War. The other was the revival of the old evangelical type of Christian doctrine and life in the form known as Anabaptist. The former has already occupied our attention. The latter demands separate consideration at a later stage of our inquiry. Switzerland was to a great extent free from the worst features of the feudal system, and serfdom no longer existed in the sense in which it prevailed in Germany. But the poor and oppressed still found many inequalities in the distribution and enjoyment of nature's provisions, even in republican Switzerland, and early in the Reformation time the rumblings of discontent, involving demand for agrarian reform, caught the ear of Zwingli and his associates and elicited their sympathy. The Swiss proletariat sympathized deeply with the German and Austrian peasants in their great strike for liberty and a fair share in the products of the soil. Zwingli never went so far as did Luther in his revolutionary attitude toward the social democracy. On the other hand, he had compromised himself, as Luther had never done, in relation to infant baptism, which he had admitted to be neither scriptural nor useful, and yet he felt himself obliged to defend this practice with all his energy, when he saw that its rejection involved the setting up of churches of professed believers only and the complete overthrow of the existing State-Church system that seemed to him essential to the maintenance of civil and religious order. The extreme antipathy of Zwingli and his civil and religious associates to radicalism in social and religious matters was due quite as much to the fact that the toleration of such radicalism would injure the reputation of the evangelical cantons with the German, Austrian, and French authorities and endanger their continued independence, as to their fear of local disorder.

From 1525 to his death, in 1531, Zwingli's time was occupied with literary and political efforts to suppress the great popular Anabaptist movement, literary and political controversy with Lutheranism, efforts to harmonize and secure the co-operation of Lutherans and Zwinglians against politico-ecclesiastical Roman Catholicism, and literary, political, and military conflict

with Swiss Roman Catholicism. His life must have been a very laborious and strenuous one. His correspondence with the evangelical leaders of Switzerland, Southern Germany, etc., was very extensive, and shows that he was the recognized and trusted leader of a widespread movement. His controversial writings, which are numerous and some of them elaborate, show him to have been a master of argumentation and a scholar of high rank. By political sagacity he was able to dominate and lead not only the Zürich Council and the entire religious government of the canton, and also to a great extent the politico-ecclesiastical authorities of Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, and other Swiss evangelical communities, but also to exert a molding influence on the religious development of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Memmingen, Lindau, and other cities and towns of Southern Germany. These cities, reformed in a Zwinglian or semi-Zwinglian way, brought to the support of the Zwinglian cause wealth and influence.

The attitude of Catholic and Protestant parties in Switzerland toward each other depended in some measure on the fortunes of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism on the larger European arena that have already been sketched.

(1) *The Conference at Baden (May, 1526).* The Swiss Diet, in which the nobility and aristocracy alone had seats and in which each canton voted as a unit, had repeatedly taken cognizance of the innovations and had resisted every effort on the part of the evangelicals to secure its endorsement of reformatory measures. If the canton of Bern had been actuated more by religious than by political considerations the evangelical cause would have had greater strength in the confederacy. The nobles were led to believe that religious innovations would be followed by political innovations, to the overthrow of their class privileges. "The priests are attacked at present," said Faber, "the nobles' turn will come next." For some years a conference between Catholic and evangelical theologians was under consideration as the best means of settling the difficulties. This was advocated by Dr. John Eck, the great Catholic disputant, and Dr. John Faber, of Constance. This conference was at last

brought about (May 21, 1526) at Baden, a Catholic city in Aargau. Zwingli felt that his life was in danger and remained at home. OEcolampadius, the learned Basel pastor and professor, ably sustained the evangelical cause, while Eck, the fiery, stormy, controversialist, who rested everything on ecclesiastical authority, upheld the Catholic side. Berthold Haller represented the Bern evangelicals, but played an insignificant part in the disputation.

The Catholics were victorious in the opinion of the Diet, and it was resolved that innovations should cease throughout the confederacy. Zwingli was declared excommunicated, and the deposition of OEcolampadius by the Basel Council was demanded. Faber insisted upon the burning of all Protestant versions of the Bible, along with heretical works of all kinds. Thomas Murner used all sorts of opprobrious language in relation to Zwingli.

This check to the Reformation was only temporary. The more popular legislative bodies (greater councils) were able in some cases to overrule the aristocratic bodies (smaller councils) and to prevent any serious interference with the progress of Zwinglianism, and after some further hesitation Zwinglianism was authoritatively introduced in Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, etc. (1528).

(2) *The First Cappel War* (*1529*). The lines were now very closely drawn between Protestants and Catholics, and there was little disposition on either side to tolerate the other. The parties were so evenly divided, however, in Glarus and the Graubünden, that mutual toleration was a necessity. In November, 1528, the five Forest cantons formed a league for mutual defense against Zwinglian aggression and for the re-establishment of Catholicism throughout Switzerland. A few months later (April, 1529, just as the Diet at Speier was placing Zwinglianism, along with Anabaptism, under the ban), they entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Austria, against whose ancestors the confederates had defended themselves so nobly for generations past, and who had every reason to encourage the breaking up of the confederation. The Forest cantons secured the support of Freiburg, Solothurn, and Wallis. The Zwinglian (city)

cantons had formed an alliance among themselves (Burgrecht). Constance joined with them (December, 1527), Biel and Mühlhausen (1529), and Strasburg (January, 1530). By 1529 the feeling between the Zwinglians and Catholics had become so embittered that war was imminent. The burning at Schwyz of a Zwinglian preacher from Zürich (Jacob Kaiser), who was evangelizing in Catholic territory, led the Protestants, under Zwingli's leadership, to take the field at once. Zwingli was far more militant than Luther, and during the struggles that followed he was always on the side of military promptitude and aggressiveness and against compromising measures. He insisted on taking his place side by side with the soldiers, prepared military instructions, planned the campaign, and was recognized as the military chieftain. He was indeed "first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Zürich had four thousand men promptly on the frontier. Bern sent five thousand, and smaller numbers were furnished by Basel, St. Gall, and Mühlhausen. Conflict was averted through the mediation of the Landammann Aebli, of Glarus, who, weeping, plead for delay in order that by negotiations the difficulties might be amicably adjusted and the confederation saved. The hostile armies meanwhile exchanged provisions and established friendly relations with each other, and it became evident that at heart the Swiss were one people and were averse to shedding each other's blood. The peace negotiations were furthered by Jacob Sturm, of Strasburg, and by representatives of Glarus, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, Graubünden, Sargans, and Constance, which had taken no active part in the warlike demonstrations.

The Catholic cantons agreed to abandon the alliance with Austria and both parties agreed to mutual toleration. No canton was to seek to coerce another, and the confederation was not to interfere with individual cantons in religious matters. In the allied and dependent territories that did not form constituent parts of the confederated cantons a majority might determine whether Protestant or Catholic worship should prevail. The Catholic cantons were to pay the expenses of the war and to indemnify the family of the martyred preacher.

Zwingli regarded the peace as a triumph for truth and righteousness, and returned to Zürich rejoicing. He composed in the camp a patriotic hymn, which became almost as popular as Luther's "A Mighty Fortress is our God."

(3) *Zwingli in International Politics* (*1529-1530*). By this time Zwingli had become profoundly interested in international politics. He had come to realize that evangelicals of neither party could expect anything but continued hostility and harassment at the hands of the allied forces of the pope and the Hapsburgers, and that their only security lay in a firmly cemented alliance in which differences of doctrine and practice should be tolerated. Zwingli regarded Luther and his views with an aversion almost equal to that of the Saxon reformer for the Swiss. Neither was able to see in the views of his opponent anything but perverseness and folly. As a matter of fact, their differences of opinion on the Supper and related matters were based upon differences of fundamental philosophical conceptions that divided Christian thinkers in the early centuries, as well as later; but they knew it not and could simply hate each other. Yet Zwingli realized far more completely than did Luther the necessity of a united militant Protestantism, and did not share in the least Luther's reverence for the empire or his aversion to war for the faith. We have seen that at the Marburg Conference (1529) Zwingli was far more conciliatory than Luther and was anxious for union on the basis of a mutual toleration of differences, while Luther would countenance no politico-religious alliance with those whom he refused to recognize as Christian brethren.

At the Marburg Conference Zwingli formed the acquaintance of Philip of Hesse and his correspondence with the Landgrave during the next two years reveals his anxiety to overcome all obstacles to evangelical union against emperor and pope. He also made an earnest effort to win France and Venice to the support of the evangelical cause.

At the Diet of Augsburg (1530) he sent a carefully prepared Confession of Faith to the emperor, which was treated with contempt. In 1531 he sought to conciliate

the king of France by a similar Confession, in which he carefully distinguishes his position on leading doctrines from those of Catholics, Lutherans, and Anabaptists. In this document he expresses the confident expectation that he will meet in heaven good men of all ages and nations without regard to their relations to the Old and New Dispensations. This was Zwingli's last literary work.

(4) *The Second Cappel War (1531).* Zwingli's policy for Switzerland was the overthrow of the constitution of the confederation that gave a majority of the votes in the Diet to a minority of the population, and to reconstitute the confederation on the basis of representation in proportion to numbers. The Catholic cantons were jealous of the rights that they enjoyed under the constitution by reason of their majority in the Diet. Almost from the beginning it was evident that both parties misunderstood or deliberately sought to misinterpret the provisions of the treaty of Cappel. Catholics showed no disposition to tolerate Zwinglianism in the cantons under their control, and the Zwinglian cantons were equally disinclined to tolerate Catholics. Zwingli and his associates began at once to labor with consuming zeal for the establishment of the new doctrine in doubtful places, where evangelical sentiment was strong, but the decisive step had not yet been taken. Zwingli conducted a synod in Thurgau and secured the formal adoption of his programme of reform (1529). St. Gall, the abbot of whose great monastery still sought to rule the territory attached to it, had long been essentially evangelical. The city of St. Gall had long since become Zwinglian and the Reformation was now carried out in the abbot's territory. As the abbot was a prince of the empire, this step involved considerable daring. The abbacies of Wettingen, Hitzkirch, and Baden were brought to renounce Roman Catholicism and to accept the new teaching. Zwinglians were at this time fired with a fresh enthusiasm and were determined to make hay while the sun shone. Catholics regarded this enthusiastic propagandism as a violation of the spirit of the treaty of Cappel and were soon negotiating again with the emperor and Ferdinand of Austria. The great bitterness of the Catholics of the

Forest cantons against Zwingli and his followers is manifest from the defamatory language that was freely used and allowed by the authorities. The Zürichers and the Bernese were denounced as traitors and as heretical trades-people. Their preachers were stigmatized as cup-thieves and soul-murderers. Zwingli figured in their discourses as a Lutheran god. Savoy attacked Geneva in 1530, but was repelled. The Castellan of Musso occupied a portion of Graubünden, but was compelled to withdraw. There had been much wrangling in the Diet over religious questions. The Catholic cantons had refused their aid in driving the Castellan of Musso from Graubünden.

Zwingli was deeply distressed because of the dangers that beset the confederacy and the evangelical cause; but advised immediate resort to arms as the less of evils. Bern proposed to destroy the trade of the Forest cantons and thus bring them to terms. This plan was adopted against Zwingli's counsel. Zürich and Bern united in refusing supplies to the Catholic cantons, which by reason of crop failure and epidemic were soon in dire distress. On July 26, 1531, Zwingli appeared before the Great Council of Zürich and resigned his leadership because of their following the counsel of the Bernese against his own. His resignation was rejected and he was induced to withdraw it. A great comet (Halley's) was visible in August and September. Zwingli interpreted it as portending disaster to the evangelical cause and his own death.

Driven to desperation the Forest cantons raised an army of eight thousand and assumed the offensive (October 9, 1531). The Zürichers and their allies were demoralized by dissension, discontent, and superstitious forebodings, and could muster only fifteen hundred men as compared with the five thousand enthusiastic soldiers that they had sent to Cappel two years before. Zwingli, discouraged and despondent, led the pitiful army to battle. Five hundred of the faithful fifteen hundred, who of course represented the stanchest element in the city and canton, were slain, including Zwingli, seven members of the Small Council, nineteen members of the other councils, and a number of pastors who had led their

flocks to battle. The Forest cantons lost only about eighty men. Their victory was complete. Zwingli's body was cut to pieces and burned, and his ashes mingled with those of swine, were scattered to the wind. Zwingli's widow was bereft at the same time of a son, a brother, a son-in-law, and a brother-in-law. Œcolampadius died a few weeks later. The Zwinglian cause had met with an irreparable catastrophe.

The peace of Cappel (November 20, 1531), between Zürich and the Forest cantons, approved three days later by Bern, Glarus, Freiburg, and Appenzell, provided that the Five cantons and their associates should be left undisturbed in the Catholic faith, and that the Zürichers and their associates, with the exceptions of Bremgarten, Mellingen, Rapperschwil, Toggenburg, and Wesen, should be free to continue in their new faith. Each party agreed to abstain from opprobrious language. The principle of parity, or equal rights under the constitution, was thus established. In the common bailiwicks those who had accepted Zwinglianism should be free to retain it or to return to the old faith and restore the mass, images, etc. Zürich agreed to give up her alliances with foreign cities. The settlement was naturally almost wholly in the interest of Catholicism. Catholics became at once thoroughly aggressive, and the Counter-Reformation was carried out as fully as the treaty allowed. Catholic rites were re-established in Rapperschwil and Gaster. The abbot of St. Gall received back his convent with indemnity from the city and regained his authority over Toggenburg. Convents were restored in Thurgau and Rheinthau. In Glarus, where Zwinglians were in the majority, the Catholics got possession of several churches and gained the ascendency in the government of the canton. Zwinglianism was suppressed in Solothurn, though in the majority, and many Zwinglians were obliged to emigrate. Einsiedeln, where Zwingli, Leo Judæus, and Myconius had labored, became a great center of Roman Catholic influence. The convent of St. Mary, with its "Black Madonna," attracted multitudes of pilgrims, while its printing press became one of the most prolific in Europe.

Aggressive work for the evangelization of Switzerland

as a whole was now out of the question. All that the Zwinglians could hope for, so far as Switzerland was concerned, was to hold what they had acquired, and had been guaranteed to them in the peace. Zürich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen have persisted in their Zwinglian faith. Glarus, St. Gall, Appenzell, Thurgau, and Aargau, have remained almost equally divided between the old and the new faiths. Of twenty-three dependent towns and provinces only two became exclusively Zwinglian, Morat and Granson, sixteen remained Catholic, and five supported the two systems side by side. About two-thirds of the people of Graubünden became Zwinglian; but Roman Catholicism has regained most of the inhabitants of the Italian districts. The French cantons, Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel, became Protestant later on, through the labors of Farel, Calvin, and others.

The peace of Cappel thus left Zwinglianism in an exceedingly depressed condition. Henry Bullinger (b. 1504, d. 1575), son of Dean Bullinger, a priest, who accepted the Reformation in 1529, after completing his education as a Catholic in the University of Cologne (1523) and laboring as teacher in a Cistercian convent at Cappel (1523-1529), accepted Zwingli's doctrine, married a nun, and after Zwingli's death became a leader of the party. He carried forward the work at Zürich in Zwingli's own spirit, gave much attention to the organization and consolidation of the Zwinglian churches, took an active and influential part in general ecclesiastical politics, and was a zealous persecutor of the Anabaptists, against whom he wrote several works. He co-operated to a considerable extent with Calvin and Beza and took an active interest in the English Reformation, especially in the time of Edward VI. Beza spoke of him as "the common shepherd of all Christian churches." He harbored persecuted evangelicals from Italy, France, Germany, and England, and carried on an extensive correspondence with leading theologians and statesmen throughout Europe. Many of his practical writings were translated into English and widely circulated. He is the author of the Second Helvetic Confession (1566), which represents an approach to the views of Calvin.

In Basel, Oswald Myconius (b. 1488, d. 1552) suc-

ceeded OEcolampadius as chief pastor. He had been educated under influences similar to those that molded the character of Zwingli and OEcolampadius, and had enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus at Basel. He had devoted himself almost exclusively to classical teaching at Basel, Zürich, Einsiedeln, and Lucerne. He refused ordination and would bear no academic degree. His type of doctrine was essentially like that of Bucer and Bullinger, being intermediate between Zwingli's and Luther's and free from the harsher aspects of Calvinism. He was Zwingli's first biographer (1532).

It remained for Calvin to bring the Reformed theology to a rigorous consistency and to impart to it a burning enthusiasm that was to constitute it by far the most aggressive and successful type of Protestantism.

V. THE ANTI-PEDOBAPTIST REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Writings of Anabaptist leaders, especially those of Hubmaier, Denck, Hetzer, Grebel, Hofmann, Riedemann, Philips, Menno, Bünderlin, and Czechowitz (most of this literature is excessively rare. The best American collection of *Anabaptistica* is probably that collected by Dr. Howard Osgood and deposited in the library of the Rochester Theological Seminary); writings of such Protestant leaders as Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, OEcolampadius, Vadianus, Bucer, and Amsdorf; Füssli, "*Beyträge*"; Bullinger, "*Der Widertöufferen Ursprung, Fürgang, Secten*," etc., 1561, and "*Von dem unverschampten Fräfel, . . der selbstgesandten Widertöuffern*," 1531; Cornelius, "*Gesch. d. Münsterischen Aufruhrs*," 1855–1860; Röhrich, "*Zur Gesch. d. Strassburgischen Wiedertäufer in d. J. 1527–1543*" in "*Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol.*," 1860, and *Gesch. d. Ref. in Elsass*," 3 vols.; Erbkam, "*Protestanten Sekten*"; Beck, "*Geschichtsbücher d. Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn von 1526 bis 1785*," 1883; Benrath, "*Wiedertäufer im Venetianischen um Mitte d. XVI. Jahrh.*" ("*Studien u. Kritiken*," 1885); Bouterwek, "*Zur Literatur u. Geschichte d. Wiedertäufer*," 1864; Brons, "*Ursprung, Entwicklung, u. Schicksale d. Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*," 1884; Calgary, "*Mittheilungen aus dem Antiquariate*" (contains portrait, sketch, and bibliography of Hubmaier and his treatise on the Supper, and Riedemann's "*Rechenschaft unserer Religion*," a full exposition of the doctrines and practices of the Moravian Anabaptists); Cornelius, "*Berichte d. Augenzeugen über d. Münsterischen Wiedertäufer*," 1853, "*D. Niederländischen Wiedertäufer*," 1869, "*Studien zur Gesch. d. Bauernkriegs*," and "*D. Geschichtsquellen d. Bisthums Münster*," 1851–1856; Czechowitz, "*De Pædobaptistarum Errorum Origine*," 1575; De Hoop-Scheffer, "*Geschiedenis d. Kerkhervorming in Nederland*," 1873 (also in German 1886); Egli, "*Die Zürcher Wiedertäufer*," 1878, "*Actensammlung zur Gesch. d. Züricher Reformation*," 1879, and "*D. St. Galler Täufer*," 1887; Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassburger Sectenbewegung zur Zeit d. Re-*

formation," 1889; Göbel, "*Gesch. d. Chr. Leben in d. rhenisch-westphälischen Kirche*," 1849–1860; Hagen, "*Deutschlands rel. u. lit. Verhältnisse in Reformation-Zeitalter*," 1869; Heath, "Anabaptism from its Rise at Zwickau to its Fall at Munster," 1895; Heberle, "*D. Anfänger d. Anabaptismus in d. Schweiz*" ("*Jahrh. f. deutsche Theol.*," 1858), "*J. Denck u. d. Ausbreitung seiner Lehre*" ("*Stud. u. Krit.*," 1858), "*J. Denck u. sein Büchlein vom Gesetz Gottes*" ("*Stud. u. Krit.*," 1851), "*W. Capitos Verhältniss zum Anabaptismus*" ("*Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*," 1857); Hochhut, "*D. Landgr. Phil. u. d. Wiedertäufer*" ("*Z. f. d. hist. Th.*," 1858–1859), "*D. Wiedertäufer unter d. Söhnen Landgr. Phil.*" ("*Z. f. d. hist. Th.*," 1859–1861); Hosek, "Bal. Hubmaier" (Eng. Tr. in "Texas Hist. and Biog. Mag.," Vol. I., II.); Keim, "*L. Hetzer*" ("*Jahrh. f. d. deutsch. Th.*," 1856); Keller, "*Ein Apostel d. Wiedertäufer*," 1882, "*Gesch. d. Wiedert. u. ihr. Reichs zu Münster*," 1880, "*Zur Gesch. d. Wiedertäufer nach d. Untergang d. Münsterischen Königreichs*," "*D. Anfänge d. Ref. u. d. Ketzerschulen*," 1897, and "*Grundfragen d. Reformationsgesch.*," 1897; Kolde, "*Hans Denck*" (in "*Kirchengesch. Studien*," 1886); Leendertz, "*Melchior Hofmann*," 1883; Zur Linden, "*Melchior Hofmann*," 1883; Loserth, "*D. Anabaptismus in Tirol*," 1892, "*Communismus d. mährischen Wiedertäufer*," 1894, "*D. Stadt Waldshut u. d. Vorderösterreich. Regierung in d. Jahren 1623–1626*," "*Dr. Balth. Hubmaier u. d. Anfänge d. Wiedertäufer in Mähren*," 1893; Meyer, "*Wiedertäufer in Schwaben*" ("*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* XVII., *Sett.* 248, *seq.*); Müller, "*Gesch. d. Bernischen Täufer*, 1895; Ottii, "*Annales Anabaptistici*," 1672; Rembert, "*D. Weidertäufer im Herzogthum Jülich*," 1899; Roth, "*D. Einführung d. Ref. in Nürnberg*," 1885, "*Ref.-Gesch. Augsburgs*," 1881; Schreiber, "*Balt. Hubmaier*," 1839; Usteri, "*Darstellung d. Tauflehre Zwinglis*" ("*Stud. u. Krit.*," 1882), "*Zwinglis Correspondenz mit d. Berner Reformatoren über d. Tauffrage*" (*ibid.*, 1882), "*Zu Zwinglis Elenchus*" ("*Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* XI., *Sett.* 161, *seq.*); Kautsky, "Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation," 1897 (Eng. tr.); Strasser, "*D. Schweiz. Anabaptismus*" (in Nippold's "*Berner Beiträgen*," 1884); Nitsche, "*Gesch. d. Wiedertäufer in d. Schweiz*," 1885. For fuller bibliography see the author's "A History of Anti-pedobaptism," 1897.

1. *Preliminary Observations.*

(1) *Difficulties of Classification.* A scientific classification of the radical evangelicals of the sixteenth century that were popularly known as "Anabaptists," "Catabaptists, or "Baptists" ("Wiedertäufer," "Widertäufer," "Täufer"—"rebaptizers," "perverters of baptism," and "baptizers," the latter with the implication of laying undue stress on believers' baptism), is hedged about with difficulties. These terms of reproach were applied by Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Catholics to all radicals indiscriminately who would own allegiance to none of these communions, repudiated any sort of

connection of Church and State, and rejected infant baptism as unscriptural, inconsistent with their ideas of the purpose and significance of the ordinance, and radically opposed to their conceptions of the church as made up exclusively of baptized believers voluntarily associated for mutual edification and the propagation of the gospel.

(2) *Relation of Anabaptists to Mediæval Parties.* The remarkable diversity of views that appeared at an early date among the Anti-pedobaptist opponents of the dominant forms of religion was due in part to the survival of mediæval modes of thought with which individual leaders were imbued, and in part to the mental and moral idiosyncrasies of individuals influenced by the revolutionary spirit of the time. Such Anabaptist leaders as had been under the influence of mediæval chiliastic enthusiasm, whether of the Taboritic or the Franciscan type, when encouraged by the Protestant Revolution to come forward boldly with their reformatory schemes, were sure, along with their insistence on believers' baptism as the divinely appointed initiatory rite into churches of the regenerate, to emphasize the eschatological views that had long been normative in their religious thinking. Such Anabaptist leaders as had been brought up in the atmosphere of the soundly biblical teaching of the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren could not fail, when they had been led by the revolutionary spirit of the age, to seek to form churches according to their own ideals, to perpetuate in their doctrines and practices the leading features of their earlier beliefs. Such Anabaptist leaders as had been brought under the influence of evangelical mysticism might have been expected, when they had reached the conviction that infant baptism is incompatible with regenerate church-membership, to remain mystical in their conceptions of truth. Men who had become imbued with the pantheistic modes of thought of the Beghards and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, if they adopted Anti-pedobaptist views, could not easily escape from the pantheistic conceptions that vitiated these mediæval parties.

(3) *Confusion of Types.* Again, it is not claimed that the different types of Anabaptist teaching were kept rigorously distinct. Several different types are known

to have coexisted in the same community and to have been in close fellowship with each other, and bodies of Anti-pedobaptists fundamentally sound, were sometimes led into fanaticism by unsound teachers who came among them.

It is not denied that most of the phenomena of the Anabaptist movement could be accounted for without the supposition of the persistence in it of mediæval types of evangelical life and thought; but it seems more reasonable to postulate the perpetuity of the older types than to suppose that so many varieties of teaching had independent origin in the two periods and that the older types that can be traced to the Reformation time should have suddenly become extinct to give place to similar parties newly originated.

(4) *Relation of the Anti-pedobaptists to the Lutheran and Zwinglian Movements.* In an important sense the Anti-pedobaptist movement was little more than a consistent carrying-out of the principles that lay at the basis of Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, both of which, repudiating tradition and all human authority, made the Bible the only rule of faith and practice and aimed at the restoration of evangelical Christianity in its primitive and unadulterated form. Men of deep religious earnestness, mastered by this idea, came to see the inconsistency of the State-Church movements of Luther and Zwingli, in which the godly and the ungodly mingled in church-fellowship and participated in all Christian ordinances, with the church purity and the separation of believers from the ungodly exemplified by apostolic practice and required by apostolic precept. They longed for a church of the regenerate, where brethren and sisters in Christ could associate together in true Christian love.

Many who, under the influence of the older evangelical life and thought had longed for a general revival of evangelical religion, hailed with delight the appearing of Luther and Zwingli as evangelical reformers; and trusting that in these their highest expectations would be realized, heartily joined with them in their conflict with papal corruption and oppression. It was only after they had become convinced that no adequate reformation could be hoped for in connection with these politico-ecclesiastical strivings, that they felt an irresistible impulse to organize churches of the regenerate and to enter upon an enthusiastic propaganda of the pure gospel without human additions. It soon became clear to them that churches of the regenerate could only be secured by restricting their membership to such as made a credible profession of saving faith in the Lord Jesus

Christ and by voluntarily submitting themselves to baptism proclaimed their death to sin and their resurrection to newness of life, and who thus assumed the obligation to live, suffer, and die, if need be, in their Master's cause.

(5) *Views of Leading Reformers on Infant Baptism.* Luther was as uncompromising as the Anabaptists in making personal faith a prerequisite to valid baptism.

He reproached the Waldenses for baptizing infants, and yet denying that such infants have faith, thus taking the name of the Lord in vain. Not baptism, Luther held, but personal faith, justifies. If the infant has not personal faith, parents lie when they say for it "I believe." But Luther maintained that through the prayers of the church the infant does have faith, and he defied his adversaries to prove the contrary. This was more than the average man could believe. Hence, he would be likely to accept the former part of the doctrine and to reject the latter.

Luther attached great importance to baptism; Zwingli very little. Hubmaier and Grebel both asserted that in private conversation with them Zwingli had expressed himself against infant baptism. In the interpretation of the eighteenth article of the sixty-seven,[1] Zwingli asserts that in the earlier church the baptism of infants was not so common as at present, but those to be baptized were instructed as catechumens for a considerable time previously, and were only baptized after they had firm faith in the heart, and had confessed with the mouth. He shows, without expressly saying so, that he prefers this method. Elsewhere he writes: "The error also misled me some years ago, so that I thought it would be much more suitable to baptize children after they had arrived at a good age." Yet in 1530 Zwingli denied that any one had ever heard him say anything against infant baptism.

OEcolampadius, Capito, and Bucer agreed with Zwingli in making baptism like the Supper, a mere sign, and were disposed, for a time, to think it needless in the case of infants. OEcolampadius was almost convinced by Carlstadt (Nov., 1524) that infant baptism ought to be abolished, but was at last led by the influence of Zwingli and the confusion that was arising from the Anti-pedo-

[1] Zwingli's "Works," Vol. I., pp. 239, 240.

baptist separation, to defend this practice. Capito, under the influence of Carlstadt, Reublin, and Cellarius, was for years (1525–1527) disinclined to insist upon infant baptism and was on the friendliest terms with Anabaptist leaders. Bucer early recognized with Zwingli the necessity of infant baptism to the maintenance of a State-Church system, and did not hesitate to counsel rigorous persecuting measures. In fact, nearly all of the leading reformers were for a time brought face to face with the fact that infant baptism is without clear scriptural authorization, but were ultimately led to defend it as a practical necessity.

(6) *Characteristics of the Anabaptists.* As already suggested, there were many varieties of Anabaptists, each leader in general having marked idiosyncrasies. The following principles were common to nearly all of the Anabaptists and, with slight exceptions, to the evangelical teachers of the mediæval time:

a. Resting on the New Testament principle of self-denial and brotherhood, and following as they supposed the example of the apostolic churches, they tended strongly toward communism, some insisting upon absolute community of goods, while others were content with regarding their possessions as at all times subject to the demands of Christian charity. It was undoubtedly the strong emphasis placed upon this principle that made the Anabaptist teaching so popular.

b. They insisted upon churches composed exclusively of professed believers and so of the truly regenerate. That the ungodly should participate in Christian ordinances and in church privileges in general was to them an abomination.

c. They were profoundly convinced that the practice of infant baptism was not only unscriptural and antiscriptural, but was also absolutely incompatible with the maintenance of churches of the regenerate. Accordingly, they were never weary of denouncing this practice as "the pope's first and highest abomination," and as a device of Satan for the corruption of Christianity. The earnestness and vigor of their protest against infant baptism constitutes one of the most marked features of the Anabaptist movement.

d. They repudiated absolutely any sort of connection between Church and State, regarding the State as an institution outside of and apart from the gospel of Christ, whose authority was to be obeyed in all things lawful, but which had no right to interfere in matters of conscience. Hence also the doctrine of absolute liberty of conscience was a fundamental tenet of the Anabaptists as it had been of the mediæval evangelicals.

e. In consistency with their views on Church and State, they denied the right of a Christian to exercise magistracy, which seemed to them to involve a violation of Christ's precept and example. Christ refused to sit in judgment in the dispute of the two brothers regarding an inheritance, and he contrasted the kings of the earth who exercised lordship with the humility of his disciples whose Master had not where to lay his head.

f. They regarded oaths as expressly prohibited by Christ and so inadmissible for his disciples. Yet they distinguished between testimony regarding known facts and promises regarding future conduct.

g. Carnal warfare, even in self-defense or in defense of country, they regarded as completely contrary to the spirit of the gospel, and would passively suffer even unto death rather than bear arms.

h. Capital punishment they regarded as antichristian, and its infliction by civil governments was one of the reasons why a Christian could not exercise magistracy.

i. The fact that some Anabaptist parties, led away by chiliastic enthusiasm, supposed that they had been divinely commissioned to set up a theocratic kingdom, in which the saints should gloriously reign and should be the instruments of God in the destruction of the ungodly, is not strictly inconsistent with the above principles, which were fully approved even by the enthusiasts who led in the efforts to establish a millennial kingdom.

k. They were almost without exception opposed to the Augustinian system of doctrine, especially in its Lutheran and Calvinistic forms, insisting upon the freedom of the will and the necessity of good works as the fruit of faith, and regarding faith as a great transforming process whereby we are brought not simply to participate in Christ's merits, but to enter into the completest union

with him in a life of utter self-abnegation. They were unanimous in regarding Luther's teachings regarding the will and good works as in the highest degree immoral and opposed to the spirit of the gospel.

l. From what has preceded it is evident that the type of Christian life fostered by the teachings of the Anabaptists, like that of the mediæval evangelicals, bordered on the ascetical.

Great stress was laid on the imitation of Christ in his life of self-denying toil and suffering and the Anabaptists gloried in being counted worthy to suffer for and with Christ. The idea of earthly comfort and enjoyment most of them utterly renounced. Luxurious living, personal adornment, social amusements, the accumulation of wealth, nearly all of them regarded as inconsistent with the Christian profession; and it was only under the influence of chiliastic hopes that some of them ventured to expect, in a miraculously established theocratic kingdom, the carnal enjoyments that, under the existing dispensation, they realized were not for them.

m. They were unanimous in regarding the Lord's Supper as the most solemn act in which a Christian can participate, involving the renewal of the believer's covenant to devote his life unreservedly to Christ's service renouncing all selfish and secular interests.

Such being their conception of the ordinance, they sought to guard it most sacredly against all desecration by unworthy participants. Only baptized believers were admitted to communion, and discipline was rigorously exercised upon the brethren before the celebration of the Supper in order that none by partaking unworthily might eat and drink damnation unto themselves.

n. Owing to their extremely rigorous principles and the harsh treatment to which they were everywhere subjected by the dominant Christian parties, they carried their separatism to an extreme, not only refusing to join with others in religious acts, but utterly repudiating their right to be regarded as Christian.

The narrowness and bigotry of many of the Anabaptists was at once the product and the cause of the fierce hatred with which they were everywhere regarded. Their pronounced hostility to the systems of civil government under which they lived and to the means employed by these governments for the enforcement of their authority, caused them to be looked upon as the incendiaries of commonwealths. When we consider the bitterness of their antagonism

to all that was deemed most valuable in Church and State, and their uncompromising hostility to the existing social order, including the private ownership of the means of production, the persecution that they suffered at the hands of Church and State, Catholic and Protestant, can be readily accounted for. And yet in most things the Anabaptists were right and their opponents wrong.

o. Wherever the Anabaptists enjoyed sufficient freedom from persecution to enable them to carry out with any completeness their ecclesiological ideas, they never failed to institute, after the example of the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren, a system of connectional church government, with a general superintendency, an itinerant ministry, and a clearly defined interdependency of the local congregations. It is reasonable to suppose that this form of organization was due not wholly to the existing needs, but quite as much to the example of the earlier evangelical parties.

2. *Anabaptist Parties.*

In an earlier work the writer has attempted a geographical treatment of the Anabaptist movement, with due regard to genetic relationships. It seems more in accord with the purpose of the present work to form a classification based upon the types of life and thought exemplified. It must be borne in mind, as pointed out above, that the parties here indicated were not rigorously separated from each other in organization or in fellowship, and that the transition from one type to another was easy and frequent. The following classification will, it is thought, prove a convenient one: (1) The Chiliastic Anabaptists; (2) The Soundly Biblical Anabaptists; (3) The Mystical Anabaptists; (4) The Pantheistic Anabaptists; (5) The Anti-trinitarian Anabaptists.

(1) *The Chiliastic Anabaptists.* The earlier of these appeared in close connection with the Lutheran Reformation, but were, no doubt, in an important sense a result of mediæval modes of thought. The Franciscan enthusiasm, with its fondness for biblical types and symbols, its despair of the essential betterment of the world through the agencies available under the present dispensation, and its persistent efforts by the interpretation of prophetical Scriptures to fix the date of the ushering in

of millennial glories, was widespread at the beginning of this period and was highly attractive to many of the most zealous opponents of the standing order. It had assumed among the Taborites of Bohemia a radically anti-Catholic and a violently fanatical form, which had persisted in considerable strength in a section of the Bohemian Brethren.

a. Thomas Münzer and the Zwickau Prophets.[1] Thomas Münzer was never really an Anabaptist. Though he rejected infant baptism in theory, he held to it in practice, and seems never to have submitted to believers' baptism himself nor to have re-baptized others. Yet he is usually regarded as the forerunner of the movement and his influence upon it was highly important. Born about 1490 and educated at Halle and Leipzig, he early came into close relationship with Luther, whom for a time he regarded as "the example and light of the friends of God" (July, 1520). With Luther's approval, he was called to Zwickau (1520), where he soon became involved in controversy with priests and monks, in which he had Luther's cordial support.

The working people, especially the weavers, who constituted a considerable part of the population, took sides with Münzer. Chief among these was Nicholas Storch, a master weaver, who had lived in Bohemia, where he probably came into close relations with the Taborite Bohemian Brethren.

Münzer was naturally inclined to undue enthusiasm, and the zealous support which he received from the common people in his crusade against the corrupt lives and teachings of monks and clergy greatly stimulated his unsound tendencies. He soon became dissatisfied with Luther's politic and half-way measures of reform and demanded the establishment of pure churches regardless of consequences. He denounced Luther as a temporizer, who allowed the people to continue in their old sins, taught them the uselessness of works, and preached a dead faith more contradictory to the gospel than the teachings of the papists. While he held to the divine authority of the Scriptures, he maintained that the letter is useless without the enlightenment of the Spirit, and that to true believers God communicates truth directly alike in connection with and apart from the Scriptures.

[1] See Cornelius, "*Münst. Auf.*"; Merx, "*Th. Münzer u. H. Pfeiffer*"; Seidemann, "*T. Münzer*"; Förstemann, "*Neues Urkundenbuch*"; Strobel, "*T. Münzer*"; Arnold, "*Kirchen-und-Ketzerhistorie*"; Bachmann, "*N. Storch*"; and Kautsky, "Communism in Cen. Eur. in the Time of the Ref."

The excitement among the common people soon became intense. Under Münzer's encouragement, Storch organized a congregation of professed believers and is said to have considered himself appointed by God to lead in the setting up of the kingdom of Christ on earth.

Storch's influence on Münzer was greater than that of Münzer on him. Even before the appearance of Münzer it is probable that he had been secretly propagating the Taborite enthusiasm among his fellow-workmen. He seems at this time to have rejected infant baptism, oaths, magistracy, and warfare, and to have insisted on the separation of a believing husband or wife from an unbelieving partner and on community of goods among Christians.

Partly because of local disturbances resulting from the new enthusiasm and partly in response to what he regarded as a divine call to proclaim to the Bohemians the setting up of the kingdom of Christ on earth and to secure their co-operation, Münzer left Zwickau (April, 1521) and journeyed to Prague, where he proclaimed as a prophet of God the ushering in of a new dispensation in which all social inequalities should be abolished and in which righteousness should universally prevail, and he threatened the vengeance of God, through a Turkish invasion, in case they refused to hearken.

Meeting with little encouragement, he returned to Germany early in 1522. About Easter, 1523, he became pastor at Alstedt, in Thuringia, where he married a nun and attempted to carry out a radical reformation. Here he prepared an elaborate church service in German, and his eloquent preaching attracted vast congregations. Although he had expressed himself against infant baptism he made provision for it in his liturgy.

Returning to Zwickau we find Storch and his followers arraigned before the authorities (December, 1521) charged with repudiating infant baptism. He persisted in his opposition to this practice and was required to submit to an examination at a later date on "some erroneous Bohemian articles."

Accompanied by Marcus Stübner, who had studied at Wittenberg, and another weaver, he visited Wittenberg in order to win the professors to the support of his cause. Carlstadt, rector of the university, accepted their views and attempted to abolish at once all unscriptural objects

and practices in the university and its church. He abandoned his scholastic dress, renounced his doctor's degree, and sought to conform his private life to apostolic simplicity. The learned Cellarius attempted to oppose Storch and Stübner, but was readily won over by their enthusiasm. Melanchthon was greatly impressed by their prophetic claims and was unable to answer their arguments against infant baptism; but he appealed to Luther, who was absent at the Wartburg, and rested on his authority.

Learning of the disturbances at Wittenberg and Zwickau, Luther insisted on leaving the Wartburg, and for some weeks devoted himself with the utmost enthusiasm and determination to the suppression of this radical movement. He sought to bring the prophets into contempt by requiring of them the working of miracles in attestation of their mission. He demanded of them proof that unconscious infants do not exercise saving faith, restored the ceremonies in the university and churches, and drove Storch and his followers from Zwickau. Later Carlstadt and Cellarius felt obliged to retire from the university.

Carlstadt became pastor at Orlamünde (1523), where he attempted to carry out a radical reformation, but refused to join with Münzer in his violent measures. Driven from his position by Luther's influence, he suffered great hardship until 1534, when he secured a professorship in the University of Basel, which he held until his death, in 1541. During his later years, while he did not abandon his Anti-pedobaptist views, he seems to have kept them in the background. Cellarius became well known in Strasburg as an Anti-pedobaptist and an ardent millennialist, but he refused to ally himself with the Anabaptists, and in 1546 became professor in the University of Basel.

Storch traveled widely in Germany and Silesia. At Hof he labored for some months, gaining the support of the burgomaster, Simon Klinger, and was regarded by his followers as a prophet of God, while his enemies, recognizing his marvelous power, attributed it to satanic agency. At Glogau, in Silesia, his teachings met with marked acceptance, but when the enthusiasm had reached

a certain height he was compelled to retire. He seems to have propagated his millenarian views in a quiet way in many localities. His movements during the early months of 1525 in connection with Münzer's agitation is obscure, but it seems probable that he sympathized with Münzer and aided in his propaganda. He died at Munich in 1525.

We left Münzer at Alstedt about the middle of 1523. From this time onward he became more and more violent in his denunciation of priestly and monastic corruption and advised workingmen to withold the payment of tithes and rents for the support of these idle and vicious classes. Monastic institutions were plundered and their inmates maltreated. Luther and the Lutheran preachers came in for their share of condemnation. Lutheran and Catholic princes were declared to be the enemies of God and as worthy of being strangled like dogs if they opposed the doctrine. He insisted that Christians should all be equal, and that private property should be utterly abolished, and he represented himself as divinely commissioned to proclaim the setting-up of the kingdom of Christ on a socialistic basis. Under his inspiration secret societies were formed among the peasants in many communities.

Banished from Alstedt (August, 1524) by the Saxon princes, through Luther's instigation, Münzer betook himself to Mühlhausen, where Heinrich Pfeiffer, an ex-monk, had for some months been leading the social democracy in the spirit of Münzer. Under the joint leadership of Münzer and Pfeiffer the old council was abolished and a new government was established on a theocratic basis. A reaction led to the banishment of Münzer and Pfeiffer (Sep., 1524). During his absence Münzer published at Nuremberg a violent polemic against Luther and the Saxon princes in which he set forth without reserve his radical revolutionary ideas. He says in conclusion, "The people shall become free and God will be the only Lord over them." He afterward visited Switzerland, where he was kindly received by OEcolampadius and where he seems to have met a number of those who afterward became Anabaptist leaders, and Waldshut, where he no doubt conferred with Hubmaier.

Pfeiffer was able to return to Mühlhausen in December, having secured the support of the neighboring villages. Münzer returned about January, 1525, where with Pfeiffer he was able to control the government and to reform the city according to his own ideas. The Peasants' War, which Münzer and Pfeiffer had encouraged but not caused, was already in progress and reached Mühlhausen in May, 1525.

The Peasants' War and the harmful effect of Münzer's fanaticism on the just cause of the peasantry have been fully treated in an earlier section.

b. Hans Hut.[1] Born some time before the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hut was for some years sacristan to the knight Hans von Bibra. He early came under the influence of Münzer, and, refusing to have his child baptized, was driven from the community (1524). He sought in Wittenberg to secure the removal of his doubts regarding infant baptism, supporting himself as an itinerant bookseller. He spent some time in Nuremburg, where he learned book-binding and probably came into contact with Hans Denck, by whom he was baptized in Augsburg (1526). He was in Münzer's army at the battle of Frankenhausen and was taken prisoner, but was released on the ground that he was only a bookseller. It is probable, however, that he was already in thorough sympathy with Münzer's socialistic and millenarian views. We find him soon afterward at Bibra recommending the slaughter of magistrates by their subjects. He claimed to understand the meaning of the prophetical Scriptures beyond any other man, and being filled with enthusiasm and possessed of remarkable personal magnetism, he was able to sway the masses according to his will. Making Augsburg his home, where after Denck's departure his influence was paramount, he labored with consuming zeal in Bavaria, Moravia, Bohemia, Upper and Lower Austria, etc.

So irresistible was his influence, that a few hours' stay in a place often sufficed for the gathering of a church devoted to his principles.

[1] See Cornelius, "*G. d. Munst Aufr.*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 39, *seq.*, 251, *seq.*, and 279, *seq.*; Jörg, "*Deutschland in d. Revolutionsperiode*," *Seit.* 677, *seq.*; Roth, "*Augsburg's Reformationsgesch.*," *Seit.* 199, *seq.*; Nicoladoni, "*J. Bunderlin*"; Hegler, in "*Herzog-Hauck*," 3rd ed., *Bd.* VII., *Seit.* 489, *seq.*

While he seems not to have urged the people to take up the sword and proceed immediately to slay the ungodly he led them to expect a divine summons to arms at an early date. Like other enthusiasts of the time, he expected that the Turks, who were invading Europe, would be used of God as a scourge for the destruction of corrupted Christendom. He conceived of the reign of the saints as a socialistic theocracy.

In Moravia he sought to win to his views the Nikolsburg church which Hubmaier had founded, and gained many adherents; but he was driven away as a disturber of the peace by the Lichtenstein lords. In October, 1527, he was seized by the Augsburg authorities, made a full confession under torture, was thrown into prison, and burned to death by a fire in his cell supposed to have been kindled by himself (December, 1527). The corrupting influence of Hut on the Anabaptist movement can hardly be overestimated.

In a great assembly of Anabaptist leaders in Augsburg (August, 1527), Hut's chiliastic propaganda, with its revolutionary tendencies, was probably the chief matter discussed, and Denck is supposed to have made a final effort to save the Anabaptist movement from the disaster that awaited it.

c. Melchior Rinck.[1] Born near the end of the fifteenth century, highly educated (he was sometimes called "the Greek" because of his Greek learning), we find him in 1523 engaged as schoolmaster and chaplain in Hersfeld, where he successfully combated the disreputable pastor of the church. At this time he came under the influence of Münzer, with whom he co-operated heartily in the socialistic agitations of 1524–1525. Escaping with his life from the battle of Frankenhausen, he was for some time a fugitive. About 1527 he settled down in the neighborhood of Hersfeld as pastor of an Anabaptist church. For six years he exerted a strong influence throughout Hesse and the neighboring regions. The Landgrave Philip persistently refused to destroy him as he was urged by Luther and others to do. Rinck seems to have been particularly severe in his denunciation of Luther's teachings, maintaining that all who receive the sacrament ac-

[1] See Hochhut, "*D. Landgr. Philip u. d. Wiedertäufer*" ("*Zeitsch. f. d. hist. Theol.*," 1858, *seq.*); and Zur Linden, "*Melch. Hofmann*," *Seit.* 171, *seq.*

cording to Luther's view, receive a devil, denying predestination, denouncing infant baptism as a sacrifice to the devil, etc.

No mention is made of his millenarian views in the contemporary accounts of his teaching. As he is said to have been in Münster a short time before the outbreak of fanaticism there, it is probable that he never escaped from this feature of Münzer' teaching.

d. Melchior Hofmann.[1] Born in Schwabisch-Hall about 1490, a leather dresser by trade, we find him in 1523 in Livonia, an enthusiastic Lutheran agitator. However much he may have been influenced by the millenarianism of Münzer and Storch, he seems to have kept clear of the revolutionary movements in which the former figured so prominently. He seems at this early date to have been fully equipped with a knowledge of the letter of Scripture and with a system of allegorical interpretation, whereby he was able to astonish the unlearned and to gain for himself great credit as possessing a key to the divine mysteries. Banished by the head of the Teutonic Knights, he labored for a while in Dorpat, where his teachings gave rise to disturbances that resulted in his expulsion. In June, 1525, he visited Wittenberg, where he published an address to the church at Dorpat and secured Luther's endorsement. Returning to Dorpat he came into controversy with the other Lutheran preachers.

Banished from Dorpat, he labored in Sweden (1526), where he published a number of wildly allegorical writings and attacked Luther's view of the Supper. By this time he had adopted many of the peculiar views of the Anabaptists, and by a computation from prophetic data had fixed upon 1533 as the date for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. Here also his preaching was attended with disorderly and iconoclastic procedures and he was driven from Stockholm early in 1527. Like riotous demonstrations attended his brief ministry in Lübeck.

Invited to Denmark by King Frederick I., he labored for about two years as a general evangelist. Here he

[1] See monographs on Hofmann by Krohn, Zur Linden, and Leendertz: Rembert, "*D. Wiedertäufer in Herzogtum Jülich,*" *passim*; Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassburger Sektenbewegung zur Zeit d. Ref.*"; and Hegler, in Hauck-Herzog, third ed., *Bd.* VIII., *Seit.* 222, *seq.*

purchased a printing plant with his earnings as a mechanic and scattered broadcast his allegorical interpretations and his anti-Lutheran views. At this time he came in contact with Carlstadt, who no doubt influenced his views on the Supper and on infant baptism. Here also his preaching aroused antagonism. Plundered of his goods he left Holstein for East Friesland accompanied by Carlstadt. Here they found Lutherans and Zwinglians in conflict and aided in giving a deathblow to Lutheranism in this region.

Hofmann soon proceeded to Strasburg, where he was heartily received because of his sufferings in defense of the Zwinglian view of the Supper.

By this time he had reached the conviction that the human nature of Christ was not derived from Mary, but was a direct divine creation. This view he continued to the end to emphasize and it was to become a leading feature of Menno's teaching. Strasburg was at this time a great Anabaptist center. Hofmann soon entered into relations with the more fanatical Anabaptists, especially with some who claimed to possess prophetic powers.

Returning to the Netherlands as an Anabaptist and claiming to be fully assured that the end of the age would occur three years later, he was able to influence great multitudes throughout the Netherlands and the lower Rhenish provinces. Through his writings, which were widely dispersed, and through the many missionaries that he sent forth, communities of enthusiasts who eagerly awaited the speedy establishment of the kingdom of Christ were organized.

By this time the cause of the Anabaptists had become most desperate. The edict of Speyer (1529) had outlawed them everywhere, making it not only lawful but obligatory upon Protestants and Catholics alike to seize them wherever found and put them to death without elaborate forms of trial. Most of their ablest leaders had already been destroyed. Free cities, where they had found a measure of toleration, were being forced to adopt rigorous measures for their exclusion. Earthly hope for an amelioration of their condition there was none. If ever conditions were favorable for the propagation of a millenarian type of Christianity, with its catastrophic solution of the difficulties that humanly speaking seemed insuperable, it was now.

Hofmann returned to Strasburg early in 1533, an aged brother having prophesied that he must suffer six months' imprisonment there and then lead the children of God to universal victory. He was

thrown into prison (May, 1533) where he languished for ten years, never abandoning his expectation of the speedy end of the age, but by fresh calculations moving the date forward from stage to stage as the necessity of the case demanded.

About the end of 1531 Hofmann had ordered the suspension of believers' baptism for two years and from this time on had placed all stress on the propagation of his millennial views. He had wrought great multitudes into a state of unwholesome excitement that made them an easy prey to the fierce fanaticism of Jan Matthys.

e. Jan Matthys.[1] With the departure of Hofmann, Jan Matthys, a Haarlem baker, came to the front as the inspired leader of the party. In him we see the spirit of the Taborites and of Münzer revived, and that in an intensified form. His hatred of the upper classes was as bitter as we can conceive. As the oppressors and the persecutors of the poor people of God nothing but divine vengeance would meet their case. The dealings of Jehovah with the Canaanites was the basis of his idea of the way in which the new dispensation was to be established. True believers were to be the instruments in God's hand for the blotting out of his enemies from the face of the earth. It was soon revealed to him that baptism should be resumed. Hofmann had promised that the prophet Enoch would appear just before the inauguration of the new dispensation. Matthys proclaimed himself the promised Enoch. The fanatical propaganda now went forward with wonderful rapidity. The oppressed masses were everywhere ready to receive the new gospel. Within a few weeks many thousands were introduced by baptism into the covenant and were ready at a moment's notice to begin their terrible work.

Matthys' part in the Münster kingdom and his tragical death will be narrated in the following section.

f. The Münster Kingdom.[2] The city of Münster had remained until 1532 a stronghold of Roman Catholicism.

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[1] See works on the Münster kingdom, below.

[2] See Cornelius, "*Münst. Aufr.*," "*D. Niederl. Wiedert. während d. Belagerung Münsters*," and "*D. Geschichtsquellen d. Bistums Munsters*"; Bouterwek, "*Zur Lit. u. Gesh. d. Wiedertäufer*"; Keller, "*Gesch. d. Wiedert. u. ihres Reichs zu Münster*", Rembert, "*D. Wiedert. im Herzogtum Julich*"; Göbel, "*Gesch. d. Chr. Lebens in d. rhensch-westphälischen Kirche*"; and Pearson, "The Kingdom of God in Münster" ("Mod. Rev.," Jan. and Apr., 1884).

A dissolute prince-bishop had succeeded in rigorously excluding evangelical teaching. In 1529 Bernard Rothmann, who had been educated in a school of the Brethren of the Common Life and had been somewhat influenced by Protestant teaching, began to preach evangelical sermons in a suburban church. His ministry was thronged by Münster people. Suspended from his office for a year for the correction of his errors by further study, he became thereby still more thoroughly evangelical. Returning in 1531, the social democracy supported him as a reformer despite the inhibition of the bishops. Early in 1532 he secured the use of St. Lambert's Church and was supported by the guilds of the city. The incoming of a new bishop (Erich) checked the progress of reform (March, 1532) and Rothmann was ordered by the authorities to suspend his preaching. Supported by the masses he refused to obey. Erich died in May and the notoriously immoral and irreligious Franz von Waldeck succeeding him, put an end to all hopes of legal reform. The new bishop, attempting to carry out an imperial mandate for the removal of anti-Catholic preachers, provoked a rebellion that resulted in his expulsion from the city (December, 1532). The evangelicals, supported by Philip of Hesse and Ernst of Lüneburg, triumphed (February, 1533). The wildest enthusiasm prevailed not only in the city and the diocese, but throughout the lower Rhenish provinces. Rothmann was the recognized leader in religious matters and each congregation was allowed to choose its own pastor. The monasteries were closed and Catholic clergy and monks were obliged to leave the city.

An important evangelical movement had for some years been in progress in the Cleve-Jülich-Berg Duchy, where a number of highly educated leaders who had been brought under Erasmic influence and led by Johannes Campanus, had passed from Catholicism to modified Lutheranism and were tending toward still more radical views. They were banished by the authorities in 1532. Among those who made their way to Münster were Heinrich Roll, Dionysius Vinne, Johann Klopriss, Hermann Staprade, and Heinrich Schlactscaef. From their Erasmic antecedents these men might have been ex-

pected to be proof against the seductions of millenarian enthusiasm; yet even in the teachings of Campanus there are certain chiliastic tendencies.

Roll became a pronounced Anabaptist soon after his arrival in Münster. Rothmann soon followed his example. Staprade publicly denounced infant baptism as an abomination. In August, 1533, Rothmann triumphantly defended Anti-pedobaptism against Van dem Busche. The Council sought to compel Rothmann, Roll, Vinne, Stralen, and Staprade to resume the administration of infant baptism. They persistently refused. An effort to depose them led to a great popular demonstration.

In a "Confession on the Two Sacraments," published by these ministers (November, 1533), baptism is defined as "an immersion in water, which the candidate desires and receives for a true sign that he has died to sins, and being buried with Christ has been thereby raised into a new life, henceforth to walk not in the lusts of the flesh but in obedience to the will of God." Yet in an earlier paragraph water-sprinkling is given a place in the definition of baptism along with immersion. Infant baptism is regarded as an abominable perversion and as "the source of the desolation and of the complete apostasy of the holy church." Thus far there is no evidence of anything fanatical in the teachings of the Münster Anabaptists.

We left Jan Matthys, after Hofmann's imprisonment, in full command of the great enthusiastic host that had accepted Hofmann's millenarian teachings. The news of the triumph of the Anabaptist cause in Münster greatly interested Hofmannite Anabaptists.

Early in 1534 two emissaries from Matthys reached Münster and made known to Rothmann and the other leaders that Enoch had appeared in the person of Matthys, that the millennial kingdom was at hand, and that the baptized saints should henceforth under the dominion of Christ lead a blessed life, with community of goods, without law and without magistracy. Within eight days fourteen hundred were baptized, including the ministers who had not yet submitted to the ordinance.

A few days later (January 13) John of Leyden and Gert tom Kloster took charge of the Münster movement as the representatives of Matthys.

It soon became evident that the establishment of the theocratic kingdom was to be attended by the merciless slaughter of the un-

godly. Rothmann and his associates hesitated for a time to accept the leadership of the fanatics, but all were at last mastered by the wild enthusiasm. Lutherans and Catholics fled. Monasteries and religious houses were seized and their inmates obliged to be baptized or to leave the city. The entire wealth of the city was soon in the hands of the fanatics. Matthys now proclaimed that Münster and not Strasburg, as Hofmann had predicted, was the New Jerusalem. Strasburg had failed of the honor because of its sins. He sent messengers in all directions to summon his followers to gather in given localities for further instructions. Many thousands from all parts of the Netherlands and adjoining regions were soon moving toward Münster. Many were seized by the authorities and cruelly executed, but a great multitude found their way to the New Jerusalem. Matthys himself was soon in the city as the head of the theocracy. The city was soon beseiged by the bishop and his allies. The fanatics most valorously defended it. A reign of terror ensued, all suspected of lack of sympathy with the new *régime* being remorselessly slain. Matthys was slain in battle (April, 1534). John of Leyden proceeded to organize the New Israel after the model of the Old. Twelve elders were appointed with power of life and death. They were to sit in judgment twice each day. As the number of women in the city greatly exceeded that of men and as the theocratic rules regarding the relations of the sexes were exceedingly rigorous, polygamy was introduced under supposed divine guidance as a means of alleviating the difficulties involved. It was revealed to John that the new Jerusalem should have a king who should have dominion over the whole earth and that he was that king. For more than a year the wretched fanatics stood the siege. Their sufferings toward the end were indescribable. The scene ended in a horrible massacre and in the most revolting torturing of the leaders.

The massacre extended throughout the whole territory that had been affected by the movement. Philip of Hesse was almost alone in discriminating between the wild fanatics and quiet Anti-pedobaptists. The opinion was almost universal that the Münster fanaticism was the logical outcome of the Anabaptist position. In England and America the opponents of the Baptist movement long persisted in holding up the Münster kingdom as a sample of what might be expected when it should have an opportunity to show its colors. In Germany and other continental countries the odium of Münster still attaches to the Baptist name.

2. *The Soundly Biblical Anabaptists.* In using this designation it is not to be understood that all or any of the Anti-pedobaptists here to be discussed were in the writer's opinion wholly free from error in doctrine and in practice. In general, their teaching was conformable to the best type of mediæval evangelical thought. Their adherence to the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, as the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice, their use of reasonably sound methods of Scripture interpre-

tation, their freedom from chiliastic enthusiasm, their intense zeal for the spread of the gospel, and their readiness to suffer even unto death for their faith, commend them to us as worthy of admiration. Most evangelical Christians have refused to accept their interpretation of Scriptures relating to oaths, magistracy, warfare, and capital punishment, which they perpetuated from mediæval times. Some of their mistakes resulted from their antagonism to the corrupt and oppressive political and ecclesiastical conditions of the time. Their extreme separatism was due in large measure to the severity of the persecution to which they were subjected. The tendency toward communism everywhere manifest was a natural outcome of the intense Christian love by which they were characterized and the hard conditions under which they lived. Anabaptists of this type superadded to what was best in mediæval evangelical life and thought a higher degree of aggressiveness, a more consistent and determined opposition to infant baptism, and a refusal to compromise themselves in any way by conforming to the ceremonies of the dominant churches.

a. The Early Swiss Anabaptists.[1] Zwingli's early reformatory preaching awakened great interest among the radicals of Switzerland and the neighboring provinces. All classes of social and religious reformers rallied to his support. By 1523 a large proportion of the people were prepared to cast off the papal yoke and to abolish all anti-scriptural and nonscriptural practices. Zwingli's "Sixty-seven Articles" that formed the programme of the first disputation (1523) were thorough-going in their evangelical character, making the Scriptures the only rule of faith and practice (positively and negatively).

In his elaboration of these articles he stated that in the early church baptism was administered only after catechumens had firm faith in the heart and had confessed with the mouth. It soon became evident that Zwingli and the council were lagging behind public sentiment. To avoid disorder and to determine how far it was safe to go in the direction of practical reform, a second disputation was held (Oct., 1523) in which, along

[1] See works of Egli, Strasser, Nitsche, Burrage, Baur, Usteri, Stähelin, E. Müller, Bullinger, Füsslin, Loserth, Cornelius, and Schreiber, as in "Literature" above

with Zwingli, such radicals as Hetzer, Grebel, and Hubmaier (soon to become eminent as Anabaptist leaders) took part.

In May, 1523, Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier, a learned and eloquent priest who was carrying on a successful reforming movement in the city of Waldshut, conferred with Zwingli on infant baptism, and secured from him the concession "that children should not be baptized before they are instructed in the faith." Though among the earliest of those connected with the Swiss reformation to agitate in favor of believers' baptism, Hubmaier was far from being the first to put it in practice. During the latter half of 1523, Grebel, Manz, Stumpf, and other radical leaders, had repeated conferences with Zwingli, in which they urged him to take measures for the setting up of a pure church, whose members should be true children of God, having the spirit of God and ruled and led by him. They pointed out the unseemliness of making church reformation dependent upon the will of an ungodly magistracy, and of allowing the ungodly to enjoy the privileges of church-fellowship. Zwingli was conciliatory and promised to proceed as rapidly as he prudently could, but urged them to be patient and pointed out the disastrous consequences of schism. A large group of radicals in the canton of Zürich kept up a persistent agitation from this time forward and their distrust of Zwingli soon became complete.

In the spring of 1524 Wilhelm Reublin, an eloquent priest who had been driven from Basel in 1522 because of his zeal against papal ceremonies, and who was pastor at Wytikon, publicly declared himself opposed to the baptism of infants. Many withheld their children from baptism, and along with Reublin were imprisoned and fined. The Anti-pedobaptist agitation rapidly extended throughout Zürich and the neighboring cantons and provinces.

Hans Brötli, pastor at Zollikon, Andreas Castelberg, an enthusiastic social and religious reformer, Georg Blaurock, an eloquent ex-monk, Conrad Grebel, son of a patrician and educated in the universities of Vienna and Paris, and Felix Manz, an accomplished classical and Hebrew scholar, with many others, now declared

themselves against infant baptism. Late in December, 1524, or early in January, they took the decisive step of introducing believers' baptism and organizing churches of the regenerate. In this act Grebel took the initiative, baptizing first of all Blaurock, who in turn baptized large numbers. The movement spread with wonderful rapidity and within a few weeks multitudes in various parts of Switzerland had received the new baptism at the hands of Grebel, Reublin, Blaurock, Manz, Brötli, and others.

It should be said that these "baptisms" were not immersions.

On January 17, 1525, a disputation was held between Zwingli and the Anabaptist leaders, in which Zwingli vigorously defended infant baptism. The council declared Zwingli victorious, required the baptism of all unbaptized children within eight days on pain of the banishment of the responsible parties, prohibited Anabaptist meetings, and banished such foreigners as were known to be Anabaptists (Reublin, Brötli, Hetzer, and Castelberg).

Zwingli and the council had reached the conviction that the remorseless crushing of the movement was necessary to the maintenance of civil and ecclesiastical order. Rigorous imprisonment on a bread and water diet led some to promise conformity with the laws. Those who remained in prison (including Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock) effected what was regarded as a marvelous escape (April 5).

Reublin and Brötli, when banished from Zürich, labored in Schaffhausen, where Doctor Hofmeister, the chief evangelical minister, accepted their views of baptism, and so far compromised himself with the authorities that he was afterward banished, and only after deeply humiliating himself was able to regain his position. Grebel soon followed, and large numbers were brought to Anti-pedobaptist views. Here he immersed the ex-monk Uolimann, who was to take a leading part in the great Anabaptist movement at St. Gall.

At St. Gall, Uolimann, Hochrütiner, Roggenacher, and Eberle won multitudes to the Anabaptist position (in the spring of 1525), and crowd after crowd went out of the

city to the river Sitter for baptism. Within a few weeks twelve hundred were baptized. Three Anabaptist churches were formed in Appenzell. Urged and aided by Zwingli, Doctor Vadian, the chief leader of the evangelicals, was able at last to check the movement and to carry out exterminating measures like those of the Zürich Council.

Blaurock labored in the canton of Basel, where he held a disputation with Œcolampadius, an account of which published by the latter was effectively answered by Hubmaier.

In Bern the Anabaptist movement soon gained great headway under the leadership of Jacob Gross, a disciple of Hubmaier, Johann Seckler, and Hochrütiner. Exterminating measures were early introduced and frequently repeated, until the latter part of the eighteenth century; yet they have survived in considerable numbers to the present day, and have enriched the religious life of many lands (including America) through their forced dispersion.

Grüningen, a dependency of Zürich, became a chief stronghold of the movement during the summer of 1525. Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock all labored successfully here. The Zürich authorities were obliged to seek the aid of Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Chur, Appenzell, and St. Gall (1527) before they could get the movement under control. Many influential families were among its adherents.

In Waldshut, in the Austrian Breisgau, Hubmaier had secured complete mastery by the beginning of 1524. Driven out of the city by the Austrian authorities (Sept. 1524), he took refuge in Schaffhausen, where he wrote a tract (on "Heretics and their Burners"), which constitutes one of the most thorough-going pleas for liberty of conscience that the age produced. At the beginning of 1525 he discontinued the practice of infant baptism, except in cases where the parents insisted upon it, and expressed his views on believers' baptism in a convincing way in a letter to Œcolampadius. In February he set forth a "Public Challenge" to all Christian men to prove from Scripture that baptism should be administered to infants. Reublin visited Waldshut early in the spring.

About Easter, Hubmaier and sixty others were baptized by him. Shortly afterward Hubmaier publicly baptized ("out of a milk pail") over three hundred more. His elaborate refutation of the arguments of Œcolampadius and Zwingli in favor of infant baptism was published in July. The Anti-pedobaptist argument has rarely been set forth with greater fullness, clearness, and logical acumen. Modern Zwinglian writers (like Usteri) contrast Hubmaier's sound exegesis and fairmindedness with Zwingli's sophistry and special pleading. Waldshut fell into the hands of the Austrian authorities after heroic resistance (Dec., 1525). Hubmaier barely escaped with his wife and made his way, broken in health, ragged, and wretched, to Zürich. He was thrown into a wretched prison with more than twenty starving Anabaptist men and women who were given to understand that there was no escape from this slow starvation except by a denial of their faith. Hubmaier seems to have been actually tortured into signing a form of recantation. He was at last released and made his way (June, 1526) to Moravia, where he was to do his greatest work.

In 1527 Manz was put to death by drowning because of his persistent disobedience to the mandates of the council and Blaurock was beaten through the streets and assured that he would be drowned in case he returned to Zürich. A few other executions occurred in Switzerland, but there was throughout this controversy a commendable reluctance to inflict the death penalty for heresy.

The difficulty of suppressing the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland was greatly increased by the inefficiency and immorality of a large proportion of the evangelical clergy. In response to repeated complaints on the part of Anabaptists and others, the authorities undertook to remedy the evils complained of and a number of unworthy ministers were disciplined and some were deposed.

By reason of the persistent persecution of Anabaptists and the attractiveness of Moravia as a place of refuge abounding in opportunities, the movement showed a marked decline in Switzerland before 1529, and by 1535 only a few feeble congregations remained.

Grebel, one of the ablest and soundest of the early leaders, died of the pestilence in 1526. Blaurock, who by reason of his great enthusiasm and popular power was designated "Strong George" and a "Second Paul," labored incessantly in Switzerland and the Tyrol till August, 1529. It is probable that he baptized more than a thousand. Reublin, after years of highly successful evangelism in Switzerland and Southern Germany, went to Moravia (1530), where he was disfellowshiped by the communistic Anabaptists, but lived to old age at Znaim as a member of a Swiss congregation.

b. The Moravian Anabaptists.[1] Moravia had shared with Bohemia in the Hussite revolt against Rome and in the Taborite and Bohemian Brethren movements. From 1516 to 1526 the royal authority had been exceedingly feeble and the nobles had done each what was right in his own eyes. A considerable number of nobles and priests who had been under the influence of the older evangelical teaching had declared themselves supporters of Luther. Among the most evangelical of the nobles were Leonard and Hans von Lichtenstein. Whether by prearrangement or not, Hubmaier was received by them with open arms on his arrival at Nickolsburg in the summer of 1526. Within a few months the chief evangelical ministers of this part of Moravia: Hans Spitalmaier, Oswald Glaidt, Martin Göschel, formerly suffragan bishop, at this time provost of a nunnery, had accepted Hubmaier's leadership. A number of other noblemen were sympathetic. In less than a year from six to twelve thousand had, under Hubmaier's influence, submitted to believers' baptism. He was provided with a printing plant which put in circulation one after another Hubmaier's doctrinal, practical, and polemical works.

Hubmaier was almost alone among contemporary Anti-pedobaptists in agreeing with modern Baptists regarding oaths, magistracy, warfare, and the right of Christians to hold private property. Except in his practice of affusion as the act of baptism his position is hardly distinguishable from that of modern Baptists, and few writers of any age have (with this exception) more ably expounded the distinctive principles of the Baptists.

A few months after Hubmaier's arrival a considerable

[1] Works of Beck, Loserth, and Kautsky, as in "Literature" above.

party appeared in the church led by Jacob Wiedemann, who not only denied that Christians could personally engage in warfare, but regarded it as equally un-Christian to pay taxes for the support of warfare. They also insisted on community of goods among Christians. Hans Hut appeared upon the scene late in 1526, gave his enthusiastic support to Wiedemann and his associates in opposition to Hubmaier, and sought to win the community to his chiliastic views. Among those who were borne away by his influence were Glaidt and Göschel. His chiliastic views seem not to have taken strong hold on the community, but the communistic party was greatly strengthened by his visit.

The situation was one of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. The communism insisted upon by Hut and Wiedemann would have necessitated the exclusion from this great church of the Lichtensteins, upon whose support it had so largely depended, or the voluntary abandonment by them of their rank and property and of their means of protecting and supporting the Anabaptist cause.

In July, 1527, the Austrian authorities seized Hubmaier, and on March 10, 1528, he was burned at the stake. Soon after Hubmaier's removal controversy became acute between Spitalmaier, who had the support of the Lichtensteins, and Wiedemann with his communistic following. As the latter could not tolerate private property, magistracy, and warfare, or even the paying of war taxes, they were obliged to seek a new home where they could, without interference, practise their principles.

Under the leadership of Jacob Huter, a Tyrolese hatter, who divided his labors during many years between the Tyrol and Moravia, the organization of the communistic party became complete (1529–1542). Austerlitz was their chief center, but large numbers of households were formed throughout southern Moravia.

The membership of these communities is said to have reached during the period of their greatest prosperity seventy thousand. Persecuted Anabaptists from all parts of Europe were welcomed among them and for the most part readily accepted their communistic mode of life and their doctrinal teachings.

As the Anabaptist leaders in various parts of Europe were for the most part skilled workmen, like those of the mediæval evangelical bodies, the Moravian communities soon came to possess in great abundance the best mechanical skill of the time. The households became hives of industry. They gained almost a monopoly in several branches of manufacture. Their cutlery, linens, and woolen cloths were the best to be found. Their public baths, attended by skilled manipulators, were patronized by the nobility. They excelled in agriculture and in stock-raising. The finest horses came forth from their stables. Because of their industry, skill, and honesty, even Catholic noblemen were glad to place them in responsible positions. Their physicians and surgeons were so skillful as to be patronized even by royalty, and they were among the most effective of missionaries. Every member of the communities was abundantly provided for. Children were carefully brought up and educated in their communal nurseries and schools, and were taught trades or trained in agriculture, as the interest of the community seemed to the officials to require. The communities were heavily taxed by the landlords; but they amassed considerable wealth so as to possess abundant capital for their manufacturing enterprises and to support a large force of missionaries in various parts of Europe. The Moravian nobles came to regard them as essential to the prosperity of the country, and resisted as long as they were able the demands of the Austrian government for their extermination.

Severe persecutions occurred, 1535, 1547–1554, and almost continuously from 1592 onward. They suffered greatly during the Thirty Years' War, but survived with considerable strength. From 1651 onward they were ruined by German, Turkish, and Tartar invasions and by Jesuit persecution. Many of them were taken by the Turks to the far East. Some fled to Hungary and Siebenbürgen, where they maintained an organized existence till 1762. Some removed to southern Russia, where they remained till 1874, when the small remnant settled in South Dakota, where in five small communities they abode till 1931, when they moved to Canada.

The church government of the Moravian Anabaptists

was similar to that of the mediæval Waldenses. A head pastor or bishop, appointed by representatives of the entire brotherhood, but frequently nominated by his predecessor, was at the head of the connection. Each household had its "ministers of the word" and its "ministers of need." The authority of officials once appointed was practically unlimited, and the only freedom possible to the individual member was that of cordial acquiescence in the communal administration.

The teachings of the Moravian Anabaptists are embodied in an able and elaborate "Account of Our Faith," by Peter Riedemann (d. 1556). This writing embodies in admirable form all that is best in old evangelical and Anabaptist teaching. Like Hubmaier, the Huterites were content with pouring as the act of baptism.

Closely related to the great Moravian Anabaptist world was that in the Tyrol and in Upper and Inner Austria. It is probable that the first churches were organized (1525–1526) under the influence of the Swiss movement. From 1527 onward Anabaptist views spread with wonderful rapidity. Notwithstanding the fiercest and most unrelenting persecution in response to the mandates of King Ferdinand, for forty years a vigorous and aggressive work was carried on, supported largely by the Moravians. Several families of the gentry and the smaller nobility became attached to the movement. Among the most eminent workers were Leonard Schiemer (martyred January, 1528), George Zaunring (martyred 1529), Jacob Huter, for years the influential leader of the Moravian Anabaptists (martyred November, 1535), and Hans Mändl, who labored for twenty-four years. By 1531 a thousand Anabaptists are said to have suffered martyrdom in the Tyrol and in Görtz, and six hundred at Ennisheim. Multitudes suffered after this date. Persecution was too severe and continuous to allow the organization of strong communities in the Austrian provinces like those in Moravia.

c. The Mennonites.[1] Next to the Moravian Anabaptists

[1] See works of Menno (Dutch, German, and English); works of Dirk Philips; lives of Menno by Cramer, Roosen, and Brown; Schyn, "*Hist. Mennonitarum*"; Blaupot Ten Cate, "*Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinnten*"; Brons, "*Ursprung, Entwickelung, und Schicksale d. Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*"; and De Hoop Scheffer, in Hauck-Herzog, second ed., *Bd.* IX., *Sect.* 560-577.

in importance and in influence, if indeed they did not surpass them, was the great Mennonite brotherhood that flourished in the Netherlands and adjacent regions from 1536 onward. After the fall of the Münster kingdom, Menno Simons, who had been a Roman Catholic priest, but had gradually become imbued with evangelical principles, accepted the leadership of such Dutch Anti-pedobaptists as had not been carried away by the chiliastic enthusiasm of the Münster fanatics or had been cured of the delusion by the course of events. Closely associated with him in the leadership of the movement were Dirk Philips, Gillis of Aachen, Henry of Vreden, Antony of Cologne, and Leonard Bouwens.

Menno and his associates were so horrified by the atrocities of Münster that they earnestly disclaimed not only any sympathy with the Anabaptists who had taken part in the fanaticism, but any historical connection of their Anti-pedobaptist party with that of Hofmann and Matthys. They laid more and more stress, as time went on, upon their relation to the Waldenses, whose principles of non-resistance, rejection of oaths, magistracy, warfare, capital punishment, etc., they certainly perpetuated. It was natural that they should use every legitimate means for warding off from themselves the odium of the Münster fanaticism; but they probably went to an unwarrantable length in claiming for themselves an unbroken succession of organized church life through the Waldenses to the apostolic age.

East Friesland, under the regency of the tolerant and evangelical Countess Anna, was one of the few place in Europe where, after the Münster kingdom, Anabaptists of any type could find refuge. Emden was the chief center of the Mennonite movement. Dirk and Obbe Philips and Bouwens were Anabaptists of the older type, who had refused to follow Hofmann and Matthys. Dirk Philips was to become, after Menno, the chief literary expounder of this type of Anti-pedobaptism. Obbe Philips afterward deserted and denounced his brethren, returning to the Roman Catholic faith. Bouwens was the most successful propagator of the principles of the body and is said to have baptized as many as ten thousand converts. Menno evangelized widely and success-

fully, but spent much of his time in literary controversy.

Along with sounder doctrinal elements common to mediæval evangelicals and the Swiss type of Anti-pedobaptism, Menno early adopted Hofmann's view of the incarnation, involving denial of the true humanity of Christ. The persistent defense of this dogma involved him in endless trouble inside and outside of his own communion.

During the years 1543–1545 Menno made his headquarters at Cologne, where the Archbishop-elector, Hermann von Wied, had introduced a moderate form of Protestantism. During these years Menno did much to encourage the remnants of the earlier quiet Anabaptist movement throughout the Rhine Valley from Switzerland to the Netherlands. The overthrow of Hermann von Wied made Menno's removal a necessity.

For nine years he resided at Wismar and labored extensively in the East Sea regions. By 1547 serious differences of opinion had arisen among his followers regarding doctrine and discipline. At a conference in Emden Dirk Philips, Gillis, and Bouwens agreed with Menno in insisting on the most rigorous application of discipline, involving the requirement of marital avoidance in case the husband or wife of a church-member were excluded from fellowship. The other leaders dissented. From this time onward Menno was much concerned about the enforcement of his rigorous disciplinary views. Driven from Wismar (1555) he resided at Wüstenfelde, under the protection of a benevolent nobleman, till his death, in 1559.

In 1555 a great conference of German Anabaptists was held at Strasburg for discussing questions of doctrine and discipline that were in dispute between Menno and his followers. The conference expressed strong disapproval of Menno's dogmatizing about the incarnation. We should be content with the statement, "The Word became flesh and tabernacled among us." It was further declared that "to take from or add to these words is not only disturbing, but it is criminal." The opinion is further expressed that no good end is served by literary controversy. Disapproval of Menno's dis-

ciplinary rules was also frankly expressed. The venerable leader was deeply grieved, but could not be turned aside from his well-matured convictions.

In 1557 another Anabaptist conference was held with representatives from Württemberg, Swabia, Moravia, Alsace, the Palatinate, and Switzerland, to discuss the rules of discipline that had recently been drawn up by Menno and Philips. Reference is made in the report of the meeting to a great conference at Worms in which fourteen or fifteen hundred Anabaptists had gathered. While the conference expressed general approval of Menno's rules, it insisted on the liberty of the churches to deal with individual cases on their merits and with due regard to the usages of the country. There was general disapproval of the rule requiring marital avoidance.

By 1559, the date of Menno's death, there were many thousands of quiet Anabaptists more or less closely associated with the movement organized by Menno in the Netherlands and throughout western Europe from the Baltic to the Alps. Lutheranism had long been practically extinct in the Netherlands and Calvinism had not yet attained to great strength. The establishment of the Inquisition by Philip II. (1567) was followed by the slaughter of tens of thousands of evangelicals, including many Mennonites. The absolute refusal of the Mennonites to bear arms even in self-defense disqualified them for leadership in a time like this. Calvinists, who represented the most militant type of Protestantism, now came to the front and, under the leadership of William of Orange, entered upon the heroic struggle that was to result after forty years in breaking the power of Spain and in making of the United Netherlands one of the most prosperous and enlightened countries in the world.

The Mennonites were on friendly terms with William and his successor and contributed liberally to the expenses of the war. Being honest, industrious, and thrifty, they became exceedingly prosperous and were foremost in all sorts of benevolent work. From 1574 onward the Calvinists were persistent in their efforts to deprive them of the toleration that had been accorded to them.

Long before the death of Menno serious divisions had arisen among the Mennonite churches regarding doctrine and discipline. After his death the party spirit had free play and several non-fellowshiping divisions were soon in the field. The "Waterlanders" were the most liberal. The "Flemings" were the most rigorous. Intermediate between these were the "Upper German" and "Frisian" churches and the "Young" or "Loose Frisians." Local controversies were appealed to all the churches in the connection and were thus the occasion of widespread dissension and schism. Before the close of the century Socinianism had invaded the Mennonite ranks and won large numbers to its support.

(3) *Mystical Anabaptists.* A number of able and earnest men deeply imbued with the evangelical mysticism of Tauler and the "German Theology" early became convinced that while external ordinances are of small importance as compared with the inner spiritual life, infant baptism was one of the great obstacles to a true reformation, and that believers' baptism was worth contending for as the initiatory rite into churches of the regenerate.

a. Hans Denck.[1] Born in Bavaria about 1495, we find him in 1523 an accomplished classical and Hebrew scholar in close association with OEcolampadius in Basel and occupied as a reader for the press. On OEcolampadius' recommendation, he was at this time appointed rector of a school in Nuremberg, where he elaborated his highly spiritual views of the Godhead, Scripture, faith, righteousness, sin, and the ordinances, in such a way as to alarm Osiander, the chief Protestant minister of the city. Driven from Nuremberg (January, 1525), he spent some months traveling in southern Germany and Switzerland and still further maturing his views. At St. Gall he greatly impressed Vadian as a most gifted youth, in whom "all excellencies were truly so present that he even surpassed his age and seemed greater than himself; but he has so abused his genius as to defend with great zeal Origen's opinion concerning the liberation and

[1] See Keller, "*Ein Apostel d. Wiedertäufer*"; Heberle, "*Joh. Denck u. sein Büchlein vom Gesetz Gottes*" ("*Theol. St. u. Kr.*," 1851) and "*Joh. Denck u. d. Ausbreitung s. Lehre*" ("*Th. St. u. Kr.*," 1858); and Kolde, "*Hans Denck.*" (in "*Kirchengeschtl Studien*," 1886).

salvation of the damned." He seems at this time to have been so carried away by the thought of God's infinite love and mercy that he could not conceive of the eternal punishment of the wicked as a part of the divine plan. In September we find him in Augsburg, where he was soon surrounded by a number of kindred spirits, enjoyed the friendship of the young nobleman Sebastian von Freiburg, and supported himself by private teaching. His most important work, on "The Law of God," was probably written at this time. Seemingly as a result of Hubmaier's visit (June, 1526), Denck proceeded to organize an Anti-pedobaptist church, which soon had a membership of several hundreds.

The efforts of Urbanus Rhegius and Gynoræus, evangelical pastors, to convince him of his errors proved unsuccessful; but to avoid trouble he quietly departed (October, 1526). By this time he had attained to great eminence as an Anabaptist leader. Rhegius called him "the Anabaptist abbott," Haller "the Anabaptist Apollo," and Bucer "the Anabaptist pope." Among his most influential followers in Augsburg was the young patrician, Eitelhans Langenmantel, who wrote extensively in defense of his principles and at last died as a martyr (May, 1528).

Denck seems to have gone directly to Strasburg, which by reason of its tolerance had become a place of refuge for persecuted radicals. Here he was able almost immediately to gain a large following. During his short residence here he began, with Hetzer, a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, which he was to continue at Worms. The portion published (1527) was highly meritorious and was freely used by Luther in his translation of the Prophets. As a result of a colloquy with Bucer, Capito, and others, who were shocked by some of his speculative opinions and convinced of his radical unsoundness, he departed (December 25), and after a disputation at Landau with Johann Bader, who published a full report of the discussion and afterward became an Anti-pedobaptist, he settled at Worms, where, supported by Hetzer and Jacob Kautz, a brilliant young minister who adopted his mystical views, he quietly exerted a widespread influence. They were obliged to

leave Worms (August, 1527). Denck visited Augsburg (about September), where he participated in a great convention of Anabaptist leaders, and afterward Nuremberg and Ulm. Arriving ill at Basel, he died in the house of his friend Œcolampadius (November, 1527).

During the last two years of his life, Denck published a large number of deeply spiritual and highly eloquent writings, which represent the purest type of evangelical mysticism. He was accused by his opponents of denying the deity of Christ, and it is probable that he would not have subscribed to the orthodox formulæ regarding the Trinity and Person of Christ; but nothing appears in his published writings that compels one to regard him as an anti-trinitarian.

b. Ludwig Hetzer. Born about 1500, in Thurgau, he received a liberal education and we find him (1523) among Zwingli's enthusiastic supporters. As early as 1525 he became an Anti-pedobaptist, but he lacked the courage of his convictions and we find him (September, 1525) seeking to re-establish himself in the confidence and favor of Zwingli and Œcolampadius. He was closely associated with Denck in Strasburg, Augsburg, and Worms. Like him he was an accomplished classical and Hebrew scholar and it is probable that he sympathized with Denck's speculative theology without being able fully to enter into its spirit. Zwingli claimed to have had in his possession, and to have destroyed in the interest of orthodoxy, a writing of his in which anti-trinitarianism was taught. He was beheaded at Constance (February, 1529), ostensibly for adultery (unproved), but really on account of his Anti-pedobaptist views.

c. Other Mystical Anti-pedobaptists. Jacob Kautz, who came under Denck's influence at Worms, was for some time an enthusiastic propagator of mystical Anti-pedobaptism. In July, 1528, at Strasburg, he set forth his position in seven articles in which the most objectionable features of Denck's teaching are expressed far more harshly and offensively than he himself would have expressed them. The external word is declared to be "not the true living, eternally abiding word of God, but only the witness or indication of the inner word." Universalism is distinctly taught. The propitiatory nature

of Christ's death is expressly denied. As late as 1536 we hear of Kautz as a teacher in Moravia.

Still more radical was Johann Bünderlin,[1] born at Linz, in Austria (about 1495), and educated in the University of Vienna. While carrying on evangelical work in the service of an Austrian nobleman he became converted to Anti-pedobaptist views. After spending some time at Nikolsburg, Moravia, he betook himself to Strasburg (1529). By 1530 he had reached the conviction that apostolic ordinances should not be practised by Christians of the present time. "Christians need neither baptism nor the Supper. . . Christ baptizes in the Holy Ghost and in fire, as from the beginning of the world this has taken place in every believing heart."

His idea was that the ordinances had been lost in the apostasy and that no one had a right to restore them without special divine authorization.

d. Casper Schwenckfeldt.[2] A pronounced Anti-pedobaptist (not Anabaptist) was Casper Schwenckfeldt, a Silesian nobleman. Born in 1490, educated at several universities, finishing at Cologne, he became an ardent student of evangelical mysticism and a Hussite. He was among Luther's early supporters and greatly furthered the spread of Lutheranism in Silesia. By 1525 he became convinced that Luther was astray on baptism, the Supper, justification, and a number of other points. Personal conference with Luther failed to restore harmony. He objected also to the political methods employed by Luther for church reformation, insisting that spiritual methods alone were in accordance with the spirit of Christianity.

It seemed to him that the tendency of Luther's teachings was to produce a state of carnal security, that the faith Luther preached was a dead faith, that his doctrine of Scripture was a doctrine of the letter and not of the spirit. It was his opinion that Luther had departed widely from the old evangelical position he had occupied in 1517. Only the spiritually enlightened man can properly under-

[1] See Nicoladoni, "*J. Bünderlin*"; Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassburg. Sectenbewegung*"; and Jäkel, "*Zur Frage über d. Entstehung d. Täufergemeinden in Oberösterreich*," 1895.

[2] See Schwenckfeldt's Works; Arnold, "*Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*"; Erbkam in "*Hauck-Herzog*," 2 Ed., *Bd.* XIII., *Seit.* 776, *seq.*; Kadelback, "*Gesch. Schwenckfeldts u. d. Schwenckfeldtianer*"; and Gerbert, "*Gesch. d. Strassb. Sectenbeweg.*"

stand the Scriptures, which *contain* but are *not identical with* the word of God. Faith is a personal appropriation of Christ and involves a complete transformation of character, baptism is a symbol of the inner transformation that has occurred in regeneration and is wholly inapplicable to infants, the Supper is a symbol of the spiritual partaking of Christ and of communion with his sufferings and death.

Driven from Silesia (1529), he took up his abode in Strasburg, where he was entertained by Capito and Zell and was for years in close association with several of the Anabaptist leaders. He persistently refused to become a member of any evangelical party. He prays the Lord to keep him in this position and not to allow him to despise what is good, right, and well-pleasing in any. "Yet I see in one party much more of God than in the rest, more divinely given blessedness and imitation of the crucified Christ; this I cannot deny." It can hardly be doubted that he refers to the Anabaptists. By 1542 his attitude toward the Anabaptists had become distinctly less favorable and he wrote somewhat bitterly against them for laying undue stress on external forms. His most distinctive teaching was that regarding the deification of the flesh of Christ, which he expounded (1539) in a work entitled "Summary of some Arguments, that Christ according to his humanity is to-day no creature, but absolutely our God and Lord."

It was far from Schwenckfeldt's purpose to found a sect, but at his death (1561) he left many faithful followers who thought it their duty to circulate widely his voluminous writings and to propagate his principles by organized effort. His influence was considerable in the formation of the Society of Friends in England in the following century. In 1734, a number of Schwenckfeldtian families settled in Pennsylvania, where they have maintained an organized existence until the present time.

(4) *The Pantheistic Anabaptists. a. David Joris.*[1] Born in 1501 or 1502 in the Netherlands, educated at Delft, where he also learned the trade of glass-painting, he became an enthusiastic Protestant and was imprisoned (1528) for his violently denunciatory and iconoclastic proceedings against the Catholic priesthood and cere-

[1] See Nippold in "*Zeitschr. f. hist Th.*," 1863, 1864, and 1868; Jundt, "*Hist. du Panthéisme*," p. 164, *seq.*; and Hegler, in "*Hauck-Herzog*," 3d Ed., *Bd.* IX., *Seit* 349–355.

monies. About 1533 he became an Anabaptist and was actively engaged in the agitation that led to the Münster kingdom, although he seems to have had no part in the later fanaticism. After the fall of Münster he attempted to unite the various Anabaptist parties (the quiet Anabaptists led by Dirk and Obbe Philips, the Hofmannites, and the Münster fanatics led by Battenburg). In this he failed, but his enthusiastic followers declared him the anointed of the Lord, and he himself claimed to be the recipient of special divine revelations. He soon won the adherence of a large number of the extreme Münsterites and gained the reputation of possessing miraculous as well as prophetic powers. In 1539 permission was given him to labor in the territory of Philip of Hesse. He sought in vain the endorsement of Luther and Bucer. Conferences with John a Lasco, the Polish reformer, and Menno Simons yielded him no advantage. Menno wisely refused to have any fellowship with him and thereby saved his party from contamination.

Among his numerous literary products the most important was his "Wonder Book" (1542), a strange medley of enthusiastic fantasies, mysterious intimations, complaints, and threats, allegorical interpretations of Scripture passages, and strong assertions of his divine mission. In the first part he gives an explanation of figures and mysteries, in the second his views of God, in the third he treats of Christ, and in the fourth of the restitution of the kingdom of Christ. His speculations have much in common with those of the mediæval Franciscan enthusiast, Joachim of Floris. He was fundamentally a pantheist of the enthusiastic type and his teachings closely resemble those of the Beghards and of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and, like these, are supposed to have led to immoral living.

In 1544 he left the Netherlands and settled under an assumed name in Basel, where he lived quietly as a respectable citizen, associated with leading freethinkers, and published secretly many writings setting forth his heterodox and immoral views. His identity was not discovered until after his death in 1556, when he was tried for heresy and his body and his books condemned to the flames (1559).

b. Heinrich Niclaes.[1] Born in Münster (1501 or 1502),

[1] See Nippold, "*Heinrich Niclaes*" in "*Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*," Bd. XXXII.

he spent his early years as a merchant. Some time before 1528 he seems to have abandoned the Catholic faith, though he could find no satisfaction in Lutheranism. About 1531 he settled in Amsterdam, where he devoted his leisure to mystical reading and meditation. To what extent he was influenced by the Anabaptists in general and by David Joris in particular is uncertain. About 1540 he supposed that God had poured out upon him "the Spirit of the true love of Jesus Christ," and had made him "at one with the will and word of God" and the organ of a completer revelation than had yet been made. From 1540 to 1560, Emden was the center of his mercantile business and of his religious propaganda. In both interests he spent considerable time in England, where he gained many disciples. His mystical sect was called "The House of Love" and his followers were commonly called "Familists."

The party seems to have been elaborately organized with a hierarchy consisting of elders, archbishops, and four classes of priests. Niclaes seems to have identified the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ with his own appearing and the promised kingdom of Christ with the House of Love. He believed that in himself God and Christ had become incarnate and that his followers were also partakers of the divine nature. This extreme pantheism could hardly have failed to lead to immoral consequences among his followers. There is no evidence that Niclaes laid any stress on the rejection of infant baptism. The party is of interest chiefly as showing the tendency of mediæval types of religious thought and life to perpetuate themselves.

(5) *Anti-trinitarian Anabaptists.* A considerable number of the sounder Anabaptists of the various types made use of language which indicated that their view of the person of Christ fell considerably short of the orthodox formulæ (such as the Nicene and Athanasian). Anabaptists in general were strongly averse to the rigorous doctrinal definitions of the Greek and Roman churches and preferred the simple New Testament statements. Hetzer, Denck, Kautz, and Bünderlin closely approached anti-trinitarianism. Ambrose Spitalmaier, an Austrian Anabaptist leader, taught that "Christ here on earth became a real, essential man, such as we are, of flesh and blood, a son of Mary, who conceived him, however, without human seed, . . but according to his

deity he was a natural son of God from eternity to eternity, born in the paternal heart through the word." Yet elsewhere he teaches: "As often as Christ is mentioned in Scripture by this name he is to be understood as a mere man with flesh and blood, corporeal and mortal as ourselves; therefore, not as God but as a man, an instrument through whom God hath made known to us his word." It is probable that the Christology of most of the Anabaptist teachers was Adoptionist, like that of many of the mediæval evangelicals.

a. Johannes Campanus.[1] Born about 1495, educated in the University of Cologne, whence he was expelled (1520) because of his opposition to the scholastic teachers, he preached for some time as a Lutheran in the duchy of Jülich, where he enjoyed the favor of some of the nobility. During these years he seems to have been profoundly influenced by a party of semi-pantheistic freethinkers that was strongly represented in Antwerp (1520 onward). They were known as Libertines, or Loists, and sometimes as Lutherans. A statement of their views has been preserved.[2]

They were strongly Antinomian in their tendency, denying the eternal punishment of the ungodly and insisting that through Christ all men will finally attain to salvation. They taught that while the outer man is disobedient to God and follows the lusts of the flesh the inner man cannot sin because it proceeds from God. As therefore the flesh must sin, so the spirit cannot sin. The righteousness of God appears in punishing eternally with death the outer man, but his mercy is fulfilled in the inner, spiritual man which is liberated from its carnal prison-house and returns to God who gave it.

Among the other tenets of these Dutch free religionists are the following: "We live in the age of the Holy Spirit. After the supremacy of the Father and the Son comes that of the Third Person, the Holy Spirit, . . the Holy Spirit is our understanding; every one possesses it, therefore, and nobody sins. . . God cannot sin, and sin cannot be imputed to man, since his understanding does not belong to him. . . Since God cannot condemn himself, so also no man can sin. . . Every one must be justified, even Lucifer (since Christ made satisfaction for all). . . There are no such things as purgatory and hell. . . The outer man, that which is bestial in him

[1] See Rembert, "*D. Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich*," *Sect.* 160–305; Trechsel "*D. Antitrinitarier vor F. Socinus*," *Bd.* I., *Sect.* 26–34; and Hegler in "*Hauck-Herzog*," 3rd Ed., *Bd.* III., *Sect.* 696–698.

[2] Döllinger, "*Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte d. Mittelalters*," *Bd.* II., *Seit* 664–668.

is damned; the manner of its death, . . is the real hell. This part of man cannot rise again. . . The resurrection is the return of all souls to God, whence they proceeded. . . Christ moreover rose for all."[1]

This type of teaching was probably a survival from mediæval times brought into aggressiveness by the Lutheran agitation and is said to have been widespread in Flanders and Brabant.

The influence of the Erasmic humanism on Campanus' thinking must have been considerable. In 1527 he accompanied some noblemen to Wittenberg, where in 1528 he was registered as a member of the university. Here he gained a high reputation for genius and learning. While at Wittenberg he came in close contact with George Witzel, who had been a zealous Lutheran but had returned to the Catholic faith. He was present at the Marburg Conference (1529), where he opposed Luther's doctrine of the Supper, and yet was not in agreement with Zwingli.

Campanus interpreted the passage "This is my body" to mean, this is a corporeal substance which belongs to me as its creator. Returning to Wittenberg he soon fell into suspicion of denying the doctrine of the Trinity. He spent much time with Witzel in studying the church Fathers. Both Campanus and Witzel had been strongly influenced by Erasmus and each influenced the other to a considerable extent. It would be interesting to show in some detail the direct indebtedness of the type of Anabaptist teaching that prevailed so largely in Jülich and the surrounding regions to Erasmus.[2]

Witzel and Campanus agreed (following Erasmus) that the Jerusalem church had a normative importance and in regarding the social life of their time as out of harmony with the spirit of Christianity; and in this both were at this time on the platform of the Anabaptists. In 1531, Witzel, who had left the Lutherans the year before, expressed his strong disapproval of a new church and his earnest desire to return to a true apostolic church. "The apostolic church flourished to the times of Constantine; from that time onward it degenerated because the bishops devoted themselves to the world." His horror of schism prevented him from casting in his lot with the Anabaptists and finally led to his return to the Roman Church with the hope that he might aid in reforming it.

Campanus returned to Jülich (1531) and was soon involved in bitter controversy with the Lutherans. Before leaving Wittenberg he had broached his anti-

[1] See extracts from documents and references to sources in Rembert, "*D. Wiedertäufer in Jülich*," *Seit.* 165-167.

[2] This has been admirably done by Rembert in the work before referred to. See his index under "Erasmus."

trinitarian theory. A copy of an anti-trinitarian writing of his that came into the hands of Sebastian Frank, the freethinking mystic, drew forth from him a long letter which has been preserved.

Frank earnestly sought to win Campanus to still more radical views. He insisted that the church should be purely spiritual, all external forms being worse than useless. The church became apostate with the reign of Constantine, all the church Fathers from Ambrose onward being apostles of antichrist. No one has a right without a special call to restore the sacraments or to gather visible churches. He condemns Protestants and Catholics alike for placing the Old Testament upon a level with the New, thereby justifying war, oaths, magistracy, tithes, etc., which are against the will of Christ. He declares that no one in all Germany is truly sent and called. He sends Campanus a copy of Bünderlin's book in which he seeks to prove that water baptism, together with other external forms used in the apostolic churches, is practised in the present time without command and the witness of Scripture, inasmuch as the church is in apostasy and will remain in desolation to the end. He approvingly calls Campanus' attention to Servetus' anti-trinitarian views. He warns him against binding himself down so much to the letter of Scripture. "Receive nothing, believe nothing, against the heart, constrained thereunto by the letter." He insists that everything learned from pope, Luther, or Zwingli, must be unlearned or freely changed.

In the same year Campanus published his writing "Against the Whole World after the Apostles." In 1532 appeared his "Restitution," which constituted an abbreviated German edition of the former work published in Latin.

The first part treats of the Trinity. The personality of the Holy Spirit is denied. "In God and God's form are two persons and yet only one God; . . if Christ calls himself one with the Father this unity is to be understood of a divine knitting together and uniting of two persons in one godhead as man and wife are knit together in marriage; . . that the Holy Spirit proceeds from God is thus to be understood. As a flame consists in itself even after it gives its heat from itself so God remains in his essence and yet works where and what he will. God's power and Spirit are one thing." He sharply combats Luther's view of the Son as having his being in and of himself. Derivation from another is of the very essence of sonship. He also rejects Luther's and Melanchthon's theory of the perpetual generation of the Son. "God begat his Son for his own glory. He made him his administrator and his under-lord in order to show forth his effectuality, power, and potentiality." When Christ said, "The Father is greater than I," he meant greater not according to essence, but according to authority.

He expounds anew his view of the Supper, controverting those of the pope, Luther, and Zwingli. "All have gone astray who as great men have written on this question,—the transubstantiation of the pope, the Synecdocha of Luther, the 'signify' with Zwingli,—the correct interpretation is my own." He attached great importance to his chapter on baptism, regarding it as absolutely fundamental. He lays open his heart and mind to his readers and applies all his powers in the highest degree to an effort to put it in a proper light. He expresses the conviction that baptism, as he expounds it, is more important than Noah's ark, the former saving the soul, the latter only the body. He defines baptism as dipping in the water and insists that it is applicable only to believers. A right understanding of the significance of baptism is essential to saving faith. "No one can believe what he does not understand, but no one knows what he does not understand, therefore, one must first know before one understands, and understand before one can believe." He lays the utmost stress upon the necessity of baptism as an act of obedience which conditions our being recognized as God's children.

For a time Campanus' polemics against Luther and his followers won for him the support of the Catholics of Jülich and the adjoining provinces. Under his influence a number of well-educated and earnest ministers, such as Roll, Vinne, Klopriss, Staprade, etc., who ended their career as Münster fanatics, passed from Erasmic Catholicism to an eclectic Protestantism, and from this to moderate Anti-pedobaptism.

From Campanus' general mode of thinking it might have been expected that he would be free from vain theorizing regarding times and seasons. But he was as much given as Hofmann to figuring out the dates of the fulfillment of prophecy, and he believed the time of the restitution of all things was at hand: hence the title of the book. His influence was diminished after the Münster kingdom, in which, however, he took no part. He was thrown into prison about 1555, where he died about twenty years later.

b. Michael Servetus.[1] Born in Spain, probably at Tudela (about 1509), of well-to-do parents (his mother is said to have been French); educated at the University of Saragossa, where he became skilled in the classical languages, scholastic philosophy, mathematics, as-

[1] See Mosheim, "*Gesch. d. berühmten Span. Arztes M. Serveto*," 1748, and "*Neue Nachrichten von Serveto*," 1750; Trechsel, "*Mich. Servetus u. s. Vorgänger*"; Saisset, "*Mich. Servet*" ("*Rev. d. Deux Mondes*," 1848); Tollin, "*Characterbild M. Servets*," and "*D. Lehrsystem M. Servets*"; Willis, "Servetus and Calvin." Only two copies of the original edition of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" are known to exist; but an exact reprint was published in 1790.

tronomy, and geography ; trained in law at the University of Toulouse, where also he devoted considerable attention to theology and especially to biblical studies, he seems to have turned against the Catholic faith before he entered the court of Charles V., as secretary of Quintana, the emperor's confessor (1529). In this latter capacity he traveled widely in Italy and Germany, getting an inside view of ecclesiastical corruption and coming into close contact with several of the leading Reformers. He was present at the Diet of Augsburg (1530). Leaving the imperial court shortly afterward he visited Basel, where he was much with OEcolampadius, with whom he discussed the Trinity, the person of Christ, etc. Early in 1531 he published at Basel and Strasburg his "Errors of the Trinity." While in Strasburg he became acquainted with Bucer, Capito, and others.

From a youth of twenty his first work is remarkable for learning and argumentative power. It was sharply criticised by the leading theologians (Luther, Bucer, Melanchthon, etc.), and its author was generally regarded as a dangerous heretic. Yet Melanchthon and Capito were free to confess that the doctrine of the Trinity involved very grave difficulties and the former thought it unprofitable to inquire too curiously into the ideas and differences of the divine persons.

In 1532 he entered the University of Paris under a new name (Villeneuve). Here he studied with great zeal mathematics, physics, and medicine. In 1534 he came in contact with John Calvin, who had recently embraced the Protestant faith. The two compared views and were on the point of holding a public disputation ; but Servetus thought it more prudent to break the engagement. The next two years (1534–1536) he spent at Lyons, where he edited Ptolemy's geographical works (1535) and published a number of medical and astrological tracts. Returning to Paris in 1536 he soon secured the degrees of M. A. and M. D., and was able to offer courses of lectures on Ptolemy's geography and on astrology.

He is said to have derived considerable income from the casting of horoscopes. In 1538, he was charged by the medical faculty with violating the statutes by lecturing on and practising divination. He was ordered to withdraw from circulation his astrological works and to avoid in his lectures all illegal phases of astrological lore.

He left Paris soon afterward and after a short residence at Charlieu, he settled at Vienne, where he enjoyed the protection of the archbishop, a former fellow-student. Here he was engaged chiefly in literary work, bringing out a new edition of Ptolemy (1541) and an annotated edition of Pagnini's Latin Bible, in which he made constant use of the Hebrew language and showed himself a biblical critic of no mean order (1542).

By 1541 he seems to have reached the conviction that baptism, which he called the laver of regeneration, should not be received until the thirtieth year, after the example of Christ. Before this age "no one is a fit recipient of that which gives the kingdom of heaven to man."

In his "Restitution of Christianity" (1553) he says: "Pedobaptism is a detestable abomination, an extinction of the Holy Spirit in the soul of man, a dissolution of the Church of Christ, a confusion of the whole Christian faith, an innovation whereby Christ is set aside and his kingdom trodden under foot. Woe to you, ye baptizers of infancy, for ye close the kingdom of heaven against mankind —the kingdom of heaven into which ye neither enter yourselves, nor suffer others to enter—woe! woe!" He stigmatized infant baptism as "a figment of Satan," "a figment of antichrist," etc.

He laid so much stress upon believers' baptism as to insist that of two catechumens, the one receiving baptism and the other dying without it, the former would be saved and the latter lost; yet he regarded personal faith as an indispensable prerequisite to valid baptism. His idea of the act of baptism was that the candidate should kneel in the water and the administrator should pour water upon his head.

His view of the Supper involved the sharpest condemnation of the Papal, Lutheran, and Calvinistic. His theory is not easy to define, being tinged with his pantheistic mode of thought, and some of his expressions seeming to involve a doctrine of the real presence, resembling the Lutheran.

From 1546 to 1553 he carried on a correspondence with Calvin wherein he irritated the great theologian beyond measure by his harsh criticism and his raising of difficult questions. Despairing of removing his difficulties Calvin at last sent him a copy of his "Institutes" as a full statement of his views. Servetus returned it annotated with the most ill-natured criticisms. "There is hardly a page," wrote Calvin, "that is not defiled by his

vomit." In 1553, he published his greatest and last work "*Christianismi Restitutio.*"

The introduction begins: "The task we have set ourselves here is truly sublime; for it is no less than to make God known in his substantial manifestation by the word and his divine communication by the Spirit, both comprised in Christ, through whom alone do we learn how the divineness of the word and the Spirit may be apprehended in man. . . It is high time that the door leading to knowledge of this time were opened; for otherwise no one can either know God truly, read the Scriptures aright, or be a Christian." His invocation to Christ is eloquent and devout: "O Christ Jesus, Son of God, Thou Who wast given to us from heaven, Thou Who in Thyself makest Deity visibly manifest, I, Thy servant, now proclaim Thee, that so great a manifestation may be made known to all. Grant, then, to thy petitioner Thy good Spirit and Thy effectual Speech; guide Thou his mind and his pen that he may worthily declare the glory of Thy Divinity. . . The cause indeed is Thine, for by a certain divine impulse it is that I am led to speak of Thy glory from the Father. In former days did I begin to treat of this, and again do I enter upon it; for now am I to be made known to all the pious; now truly are the days complete, as appears from the certainty of the thing itself and the visible signs of the times. The light, Thou hast said, is not to be hidden; so woe to me if I do not evangelize."

As it was Servetus' teachings regarding the Godhead and his Christology that furnished the chief ground for his condemnation as a heretic, it seems important that this aspect of his teaching be somewhat carefully set forth. It may be premised that his reverence for the Scriptures was unbounded. From the invocation quoted above (and similar utterances abound) it is evident that it was far from his intention to dishonor or degrade Jesus, whom he recognized as in the fullest sense Lord and Saviour. That the divine Logos was in the beginning, was with God, and was God, he believed with all his heart; and that the Logos became flesh in the Person of Christ and wrought atonement for sinful man, was the ground of his hope and trust. He differed from the orthodox theologians of the Nicene and following ages in denying emphatically that the preincarnate Logos was Son of God. Sonship began when Jesus was begotten of Mary by the Holy Spirit.

There is a strong pantheistic strain in his discussion of the Godhead, the neo-Platonic and Arabic-Jewish philosophy being at the

basis of his conceptions. Father, Son, and Spirit are simply manifestations of Godhead under various conditions and for various purposes. As already suggested, he heartily believed in the supernatural birth, resurrection, ascension, and glorification of Jesus, the Messiah, to whom all power in heaven and on earth have been given and upon whom we are absolutely dependent for eternal life.

It was the fanatical zeal with which he urged his own dogmas as exclusively Christian and denounced those of his opponents as utterly absurd and destructive of Christianity, that caused him to be regarded as a pestilential heretic worthy only of the flames. The current trinitarian doctrine he denounced as a "three-headed Cerberus," and its advocates, as the enemies of Christ.

When we remember that Calvin, in consistency with his theocratic ideas, was intolerant on principle, and take into account the pertinacity with which Servetus had for years pressed upon him his erratic views and denounced him as a hypocrite, a disciple of antichrist, and a propagator of the most dangerous errors, it is not much to be wondered at that when he received a complimentary copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" he should have felt prompted to put even the Roman Catholic authorities in the way of seizing the abominated author, or that when Servetus, with an infatuation hard to be explained, came to Geneva, Calvin should have used his influence to secure his arrest, condemnation, and execution.

It is not improbable that Servetus had hoped by secret negotiations to secure such support from Calvin's opponents as would lead to his overthrow and make Geneva a suitable field for the propagation of his own views. As a matter of fact, few even of Calvin's most bitter opponents felt themselves at one with Servetus or cared to put forth effort to save him from his fate.

On October 27, 1553, having with rare courage refused to withdraw his objectionable teachings, he was burned at the stake along with his books. After writhing in the flames for half an hour, he cried aloud, "Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have compassion upon me!" and gave up the ghost. The leading Reformers of Germany and Switzerland heartily commended Calvin and the Genevan Council for ridding the world of one who was regarded as an arch-enemy of the truth.

c. The Italian Anabaptists. Northern Italy had been a center of old evangelical life and thought during the mediæval time. Humanism had blended therewith for the production of a type of religious liberalism out of which anti-trinitarian anti-pedobaptism might readily arise. In 1546, or earlier, we meet with a college or club of freethinkers at Vicenza, in the republic of Venice. Luther's writings had been widely circulated among educated Italian liberals, but so far as we know had produced no Italian Lutherans. The writings of the Swiss Reformers met with greater acceptance, but few Italians were able to accept fully and permanently even this more humanistic type of Protestantism. Owing to their mental idiosyncrasies and their intellectual and spiritual antecedents, there seems to have been an irresistible tendency among Italian anti-Catholic thinkers toward still more radical modes of thought.

Among the earliest and ablest of the Italian radicals was Camillo Renato, who in a controversy with the Zwinglian Meinardo repudiated baptism received "under the pope and antichrist" and denied that infant baptism was in accord with "the doctrine of the gospel." He laid great emphasis on regeneration, which transforms our nature and constitutes us children of God and heirs of eternal life. He labored with zeal over a wide territory during the years 1542–1545. Of still more importance was Tiziano, whom we first meet as a zealous propagandist of radical views about 1547 or 1548. He is said to have insisted on believers' baptism, rejected magistracy, maintained the symbolical and memorial nature of the sacraments, exalted the Scriptures as supremely authoritative, and denounced the Roman Church as anti-Christian and devilish.

By 1550 forty or more Anti-pedobaptist churches in northern Italy and the contiguous parts of Switzerland and Austria were in fellowship and enjoyed the periodical visitations of a general superintendent. At this time a convention was called to settle the question "whether Christ is God or man." About sixty delegates, two being the limit for each church, assembled at Venice. Among them were Tiziano, Iseppo of Asola, Manelfi, Celio Secundo Curio, Francesco Negri, Hieronimo Buzano

(an ex-abbot), and a number of others who were to become famous liberal leaders. Thrice during the meeting the Lord's Supper was solemnly celebrated. The Old and New Testament Scriptures were accepted as the fundamental authority. The members seemed deeply concerned to get at the exact truth. Yet their conclusions were as remote from evangelical orthodoxy as we can well conceive.

According to Manelfi, who afterward returned to the Roman Church and betrayed his brethren to the Inquisition, the conference reached the following conclusions: (1) Christ is not God but man, begotten by Joseph of Mary, but full of all divine powers. (2) Mary afterward bore other sons and daughters. (3) There are no angels as a special class of beings; where Scripture speaks of angels, it means servants—that is, men sent by God for definite purposes. (4) There is only one devil, namely, human prudence. By the serpent who, according to Moses' account, seduced Eve, nothing else than this is to be understood. (5) The godless are not to be awakened at the last day, but only the elect, whose Head Christ has been. (6) There is no other hell than the grave. (7) If the elect die, they slumber till the day of judgment, when they shall all be awakened. (8) The souls of the godless pass into dissolution with their bodies just as in the case of the beasts. (9) Human seed has from God the capacity to propagate flesh and spirit. (10) The elect are justified through God's eternal mercy and love, without any sort of external work, that is, without the merit, blood, and death of Christ.

Manelfi, who as a zealous itinerant preacher was thoroughly acquainted with the ministers and churches of the connection and with their manner of work and devices for concealment, put all of his information at the disposal of the Inquisition (1551). The Italian congregations were all dispersed. Many were seized and executed. Others fled to Moravia and Poland.

Among those who found their home among the Moravian Anabaptists were Giulio Gherlandi, who had been educated for the Catholic priesthood and had been converted to Anti-pedobaptist views, and Francesco della Saga, who had been educated at the University of Padua and had been converted by a pious artisan. Both of these able men had been cured of their anti-trinitarian errors by their association with the Moravians, and were sent by their brethren as missionaries to warn their Italian friends against "that pestilential error," denial of the deity of Christ, and to invite them to migrate to Moravia. On Gherlandi's second visit (1559), he was seized by the officers of the Inquisition, bearing on his person lists of the Anti-pedobaptists in the various communities where they survived.

This led to the arrest and punishment of many of the unhappy people. Gherlandi was condemned to death by drowning (October, 1562). His confession of faith constitutes one of the best statements we have of soundly evangelical Anabaptist teaching. Francesco della Saga was arrested on a similar mission in 1562. His confession and his letters to his brethren in Moravia and to members of his own family are also in harmony with the highest and purest type of Anabaptist teaching. He was condemned to drowning in 1565.

d. Polish Anabaptists. Italy and Poland, though geographically remote from each other, were closely associated in religious life and thought. The Hussite movement had exerted a strong influence in Poland, and many of the nobles were tolerant and evangelically disposed. Many highly educated Italian freethinkers found protection and employment there. Lutherans, Reformed, Bohemian Brethren, Anabaptists, and anti-trinitarians existed in considerable numbers, and each party had its special favorers among the nobility. Lælius Socinus, a highly-educated Italian noble, who had been closely associated with Camillo Renato and was himself suspected of Anti-pedobaptist views, gave a great impulse to the anti-trinitarian movement in Poland (c. 1555). Peter Gonesius, a Pole, who had studied at Wittenberg and in Switzerland, returned to Poland about this time and zealously propagated his views. He denounced the Nicene and Athanasian creeds as human fictions and denied the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. In 1558 he sought to convince the Reformed synod that infant baptism is neither scriptural, ancient, Christian, nor reasonable.[1] His views met with wide acceptance among nobles and ministers. His chief supporter in the propagation of Anti-pedobaptist views was Martin Czechowitz, who wrote a valuable polemic against infant baptism. The most influential propagator of the anti-trinitarian side of Gonesius' teaching was George Biandrata. Among the most zealous of the anti-trinitarian Anabaptist leaders was Gregorius Paulus, of Cracow.

John a Lasco charges Gregorius Paulus not only with thundering against God's essence and trinity, but as madly denying "that infants ought to be admitted to baptism as the fountain of life and the

[1] Fock, "*Der Socinianismus*," *Bd.* I., *Sect.* 143, *seq.*

door of the church," and insisting on believers' baptism. After instructing them in his principles, "he leads them to the river and immerses them." The same writer distinguishes between the religious condition of Greater Poland, where the "Waldensian Brethren" are resisting heresy, and Lesser Poland, where anti-trinitarianism and Anti-pedobaptism were prevalent.

By 1574 the anti-trinitarian party had become strong and well organized in Poland and Siebenbürgen, and a catechism was set forth in which baptism is restricted to believers and is defined as

The immersion in water and the emersion of a person who believes the gospel and repents, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or in the name of Christ only, whereby he publicly professes that by the grace of God the Father, in the blood of Christ, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, he is washed of all his sins, in order that being inserted into the body of Christ he may mortify the old Adam and be transformed into that heavenly Adam, with the assurance that after the resurrection he will attain to eternal life.[1]

Faustus Socinus (b. 1539), the great theological leader of the anti-trinitarians of Poland, denied that the ordinance of baptism was of perpetual obligation, and refusing to submit to believers' baptism, lived during most of his career outside of the fellowship of the churches that in other respects embodied his teachings. Yet in the Racovian Catechism (composed about 1590, first issued in 1605), in whose preparation he had a large share, baptism is defined to be

A rite of initiation whereby men, after admitting his doctrine and embracing faith in him, are bound to Christ and planted among his disciples, or in his church; renouncing the world, with its manners and errors, and professing that they have for their sole leader and master in religion, and in the whole of their lives and conversations, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who spoke by the apostles; declaring, and, as it were, representing by their very ablution, immersion, and emersion, that they design to rid themselves of the pollution of their sins, to bury themselves with Christ, and therefore to die with him, and rise again to newness of life; binding themselves down in order that they may do this in reality; and at the same time, after making this profession and laying themselves under this obligation, receiving the symbol and the sign of the remission of their sins and so far receiving the remission itself. . . It does not pertain to infants, since we have in the Scriptures no command for, nor any example of, infant baptism, nor are they as yet

[1] Fock, "*Der Socinianismus*," *Seit.* 152, *seq.*

capable, as the thing itself shows, of the faith in Christ which ought to precede this rite and which men profess by this rite.

In answer to the question: "What, then, is to be thought of those who baptize infants?"

You cannot correctly say that they baptize infants. For they do not baptize them—since this cannot be done without the immersion and ablution of the whole body in water; whereas they only lightly sprinkle their heads—this rite being not only erroneously applied to infants, but also through this mistake evidently changed.

Yet the authors of the catechism were not disposed to make the rejection of infant baptism a term of communion.

Nevertheless, Christian charity incites us, until the truth shall more and more appear, to tolerate this error now so inveterate and common, especially as it concerns a ritual observance in persons who, in other respects, live piously and do not persecute those who renounce this error.

VI. THE CALVINISTIC REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Calvin's Works (best edition that of Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, Lobstein, and Erickson, Braunschweig, 1860-1900. It is in fifty-seven quarto volumes, and is thought to be definitive; works in English in fifty-three volumes, Edinburgh; Bonnet, "*Lettres de J. Calvin*" (also English translation); Herminjard, "*Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de Langue française*," 1866 onward (nine volumes have appeared, embracing correspondence to 1544); "*Mémoires et Documents de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archeol. de Genève*"; Farel's Works; "*Bulletin de l'Histoire du Protest. France*"; Beza, "Life of Calvin"; Henry, "*Das Leben J. Calvins*" (English trans. with Documents omitted. This is a very important work, but possibly too appreciative); Geffcken, "Ch. and State"; Dyer, "Life of J. Calvin"; Willis, "Calvin and Servetus"; Baum, "*Th. Beza*"; D'Aubigné, "Hist. of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin"; Guizot, "St. Louis and Calvin"; Baird, "A Hist. of the Rise of the Huguenots of France"; Cunningham, "Reformers and Theology of the Reformation"; Schaff, "Hist. of the Christian Church," Vol. VII., pp. 223-882 (this is the best work of the author, and constitutes one of the most complete and most trustworthy accounts of the movement); Roget, "*Hist. du Peuple de Genève depuis la Réforme jusqu'a l'Escalade*," seven volumes, 1870-1883; Doumergue, "*Jean Calvin, les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps*" (splendid illustrated work in five volumes, still appearing); Buisson, "*Seb. Castellio*," two volumes, 1892; Zahn, "*Studien über J. Calvin*," 1894; Cornelius, "*Historische Arbeiten*," *Seit.* 105-557; articles on Calvin, Farel, Viret, Geneva, etc., in Lichtenberger, Hauck-Herzog, and Schaff-Herzog; Hagen-

bach, "History of the Reformation"; Galli, "*Die Luther. u. Calvin. Kirchenstrafen*"; Kampschulte, "*J. Calvin's Kirche u. seine Staat in Genf*"; Tissot, "*Les Relations entre l'Eglise et l'Etat a Genève au Temps de Calvin*"; Stähelin, "*J. Calvin; Leben u. Ausgewälte Schriften*," 1863.

1. *Characteristics of the Calvinistic Reformation.*

The Calvinistic Reformation may be regarded (1) as a continuation of Zwinglianism; (2) as a gathering up of the vital elements of Zwinglianism and Lutheranism with a tendency and design to mediate between the two and to unite the Protestant forces; (3) as in many respects an original movement.

Calvin, beginning his work at Geneva (1536), had the benefit of nearly twenty years of Protestant experience and prestige. Had his ability been no greater than that of Zwingli and Luther, he might yet have been expected to improve upon their reformatory efforts.

(1) Though he built upon Zwinglian foundations, Calvin was far from being a Zwinglian. He had little esteem for Zwingli—much for Luther. Zwingli was liberalistic, humanistic, Erasmic. His theology was not Augustinian. On election, original sin, baptismal regeneration, the salvation of pious heathen, etc., Zwingli fell far short of the Augustinian-Calvinistic rigor. Zwingli had not scrupled to carry on his reformation in subserviency to the civil authorities. Calvin rejected such subserviency unconditionally. The church must not only not be dependent on the State, it must rule the State.

(2) Partly consciously, partly unconsciously, Calvinism was a mediation between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism—as on the Lord's Supper, the chief point of dispute between the two parties. Zwinglianism had never been highly popular, and had lost much in territory and vigor; Lutheranism was becoming more and more dogmatic and intolerant. Calvinism soon regained what Zwinglianism had lost, and made important inroads upon Lutheran and Roman Catholic territory, winning over Melanchthon, the great scholar of Lutheranism, and extending its influence, not only throughout Protestant Germany, the Netherlands, and England, but into Roman Catholic France. Scotland, etc.

(3) Calvinism had the following advantages over Lutheranism and Zwinglianism:

a. As compared with Lutheranism, (*a*) It was more thoroughly evangelical, being hampered by no ecclesiastical realism; (*b*) it was far more consistent in its theology and its church polity; (*c*) Christian life was emphasized more, and the hundreds of young men that went forth from Calvin's training were filled with a spirit of self-sacrifice and evangelical zeal unknown among Wittenberg students; (*d*) Calvinism was less national and more catholic in spirit than Lutheranism; (*e*) Calvinism respected and utilized, while Lutheranism and Zwinglianism drove forth, in the form of Anabaptism, etc., most of the intense religious zeal developed through its influence.

b. As compared with Zwinglianism, (*a*) It had an incomparably greater leader; (*b*) whereas Zwinglianism put itself into a polemical attitude toward Lutheranism, Calvinism was irenical in its tendency; (*c*) the religious earnestness and moral rigor of Calvinism shine forth as conspicuously in comparison with Zwinglianism as in comparison with Lutheranism; (*d*) Calvinism carried out thoroughly what was only feebly attempted by Zwinglianism and not at all by Lutheranism—church discipline.

(4) It is well to bear in mind that these differences are due not exclusively to Calvin's mental and moral superiority, but almost as much to circumstances of time and place. The political condition and the geographical situation of Geneva were most favorable for the success of Calvin's experiment, yet only Calvin could have succeeded there.

2. *Characterization of John Calvin.*

A Frenchman by birth and education, yet early brought into relations to Swiss and German Protestant thought; educated in Roman law and thereby trained for his task of organizing Protestant doctrine and ecclesiastical life; not deficient in philological learning; aristocratical by nature and training; fitted to be a leader of men, not by his powers of working upon the emotions, but rather by his ability to appeal to the moral and intellec-

tual faculties ; self-sacrificing in the highest degree, yet believing firmly that his cause was identical with the cause of God, and therefore absolutely uncompromising and almost despotical in carrying out what he supposed loyalty to his trust required, he could not have failed of eminence in any community that should tolerate his activity. He combined moral earnestness, learning, analytical power, and practical organizing and administrative ability in a degree unapproached by any other Protestant leader.

3. *Sketch of Calvin till his Settlement in Geneva (1536).*

(1) *To his Conversion (1533).* John Calvin was born in 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy. His father was secretary to a bishop and was thus in a situation to secure the education and the promotion of his son ; yet he was a man of marked independence of character, and because of his opposition to the ecclesiastical corruptions of the time incurred censure in 1528, and died excommunicated in 1531.

When twelve years of age John was given an ecclesiastical benefice, and two years later he was sent to Paris to study classics and philosophy. His admirable success in his studies led to his appointment, in 1527, to an important curacy. Up to this time he was ardently attached to papal superstitions.

Before 1529 Calvin had come somewhat under the influence of the German Reformation. In 1529 he went to Orleans, and afterward to Bourges, to study law. At these institutions he had not only rare facilities for the study of Roman law, but, under the learned German Wolmar, an opportunity to read Homer, Demosthenes, and the Greek New Testament. Whether the division of his time and interest between theology and law was due to his growing dissatisfaction with the current theology and ecclesiasticism, or to his desire for a distinguished career as an ecclesiastical statesman, for which law was as important as theology, we have no means of determining. Whether the humanist Wolmar was a Lutheran in sympathy and exerted a direct influence upon Calvin in favor of evangelical religion, is also a question that research has so far failed to solve.

It was at this period that he became deeply interested in classical literature. He progressed so rapidly in his studies that he soon came to be regarded by his teachers more in the light of a colleague than in that of a pupil, and he was frequently called upon to supply their places. From 1530 onward he became more and more absorbed in religious matters, so that he gradually laid aside his legal studies and became a recognized leader in the university of all who had a yearning for the true doctrine. In 1531, after his father's death, Calvin went to Paris, where he devoted himself to theological and philological pursuits. In 1532 he published an annotated edition of Seneca's "De Clementia," orginally addressed to Nero. There is some reason to believe that Calvin's aim in editing this work was, in part, to induce Francis I. to greater leniency toward Protestants.

The work contains no distinctively Protestant teaching, but is characterized by a profound moral quality that relates it to evangelical thought and life.

(2) *The Conversion and Early Evangelical Labors of Calvin.* In 1533, on All Saints' Day, Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, delivered before the members of the university an address strongly Protestant. Great indignation was aroused and Cop fled for his life.

According to a somewhat late tradition (Colladon, 1565, adopted late in life by Beza) Cop's address was composed by Calvin, and the fact having become known, the latter was also compelled to leave Paris. The latest researches have failed to give full confirmation to the tradition. It is probable, however, that Calvin gave some assistance to Cop in the preparation of the address and was known to be on intimate terms with him. That he should have found it advisable to leave the city in consequence of the anti-evangelical zeal aroused by Cop's address, can be easily understood apart from the supposition of his participation in its authorship.

In May, 1534, Calvin returned to Noyon, resigned his ecclesiastical benefices, and was thrown into prison as an apostate from the faith. How he escaped we are not informed. On his release he made his way to Angoulême, where he enjoyed the protection of Margaret of Navarre, sister of King Francis I., who throughout her life took a deep interest in Calvin and his work. Here he was the

guest of Canon Louis du Tillet, whose library he employed to good advantage. While residing at Angoulême he visited Nerac, where he met Faber Stapulensis, the Humanistic reformer, and Poitiers, where he met the evangelically disposed Pierre de la Place, with whom he "discoursed magnificently concerning the knowledge of God." It is probable that he began at Angoulême his "*Institutio.*"

The conversion of Calvin has been the subject of a number of recent learned monographs (by Lecoultre, Lafranc, and Lang), but the data are so meagre that assured results seem unattainable. Beza attributes his awakening to his cousin Robert Olivetan, a fellow-townsman, who left France for Geneva as early as 1533 and who published in 1535 a French translation of the Bible. It seems almost certain that Olivetan's influence was at least one of the factors in Calvin's reluctant acceptance of the new faith. Others suppose that his intercourse with Wolmar at Bourges was the decisive factor in his experience. We know little of Wolmar's views, but it is highly probable that as a Humanist his influence helped at least to free his pupil from the fetters of popery and to encourage independent searching for truth. His reverence for the church long prevented him from accepting evangelical teaching. "Offended by its novelty," he wrote to Cardinal Sadolet some years later, "I could hardly be persuaded to listen to it, I resisted it strenuously and with animosity." In the preface to his "Commentary on the Psalms" he speaks of his conversion as "sudden." The fact seems to be, that for some years he had been earnestly considering the great question of his personal relation to Christ and truth, that he failed utterly to find lasting satisfaction in the Roman Catholic system, and that at last (probably early in 1534) he suddenly made up his mind to yield to the truth that he had been strenuously resisting and at once found complete satisfaction and was ready to devote his life wholly to its promulgation. The saving truths of the gospel thus shaped themselves in his mind: "Faith lies in a knowledge of God and Christ, not in reverence for the church. Faith is situated not in ignorance, but in knowledge, a knowledge not only of God, but of the divine will. For we do not obtain salvation on the ground that we are prepared to embrace as truth whatever the church shall have prescribed . . ; but when we recognize that God the Father is propitious to us by the reconciliation made through Christ, that Christ has truly been given for us as righteousness and life" ("*Institutio*," *Lib.* II., *C. II.*). On the supposition that Calvin wrote Cop's address, Lang, the most recent monographist, by a comparison of the address with contemporary writings reaches the conclusion that he was greatly influenced by both Erasmus and Luther, the Prolegomena to the Greek New Testament by the former and one of Luther's sermons having been largely drawn upon by the writer of the address.

Calvin might have labored quietly in Paris, where he again took up his abode, during the summer or early autumn of 1534, had not Feret, a Protestant fanatic, brought frightful persecution on the

evangelical party by placarding the city with copies of a tract on "The Horrible, Great, Intolerable Abuses of the Popish Mass." Large numbers were thrown into prison. Six Protestants were horribly tortured and burned, January 29, 1535, after a day of solemn festivities for the purgation of the city. Before May 5 twenty-four had died at the stake for their faith, and many more had suffered terribly in body and estate. Among those who fled were Calvin and Du Tillet. They made their way to Strasburg, where they were hospitably entertained by Bucer. About January, 1535, Calvin reached Basel, where he remained till about March, 1536, when the "*Christianæ Religionis Institutio*," issued from the press. This work was afterward expanded to three-fold its original dimensions and greatly improved; but the first edition is itself a masterpiece, and placed the youth of twenty-seven in the foremost rank of the theological thinkers of the ages. It was dedicated to King Francis I., and its chief aim was to exhibit Protestantism in its true light to the French court, with a view to securing toleration for Protestantism in France.

Leaving Basel, he visited the court of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara (Italy), daughter of Louis XII., of France. Renée was an ardent Protestant, and gave protection and support to many persecuted adherents of the new faith. Finding it impracticable, at present, to labor for the spread of the gospel in his native France, Calvin decided to take up his abode in Germany. Passing through Geneva, on his way thither, he was pressed into service by Farel, who had been chiefly instrumental in introducing Protestantism into Geneva. Here Calvin soon became the acknowledged leader of the Protestants, and devoted himself zealously to the popular expounding of the Scriptures, to theological teaching, and to the enforcing of a rigid system of discipline.

4. *Geneva and the Reformation.*

(1) *Geneva's Struggle for Independence.* Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel, the French cantons of Switzerland, had made little progress in reform before the reverses that befell German evangelical Switzerland (1531). Geneva was in a few years to become the stronghold of Protestantism, not only for Switzerland, but for the world, "the Protestant Rome." A diminutive territory, comprising only one hundred and nine square miles, it had been governed conjointly by a bishop and a count. Charles III. of Savoy, with the aid of a bishop whose appointment he had secured, attempted the subjugation of the city; but the patriots led by Berthelier, Hughes, and Bonivard, and aided by the German cantons, gained their independence (1526). An alliance was formed with Bern and Freiburg which the citizens of Geneva heartily approved, shouting "The Swiss and liberty." The

bishop strove in vain to re-establish his authority, appealing to pope and emperor, and cultivating the minority in the city that disapproved of the new *régime*. He gave up the struggle in 1536.

(2) *Farel and Viret.* The patriotic party was not avowedly Protestant. It was civil and religious liberty and not evangelical religion for which Berthelier and his associates fought so heroically; but the overthrow of episcopal authority and defiance of the pope himself prepared the way for an evangelical propaganda, and William Farel and Paul Viret were soon on the ground organizing the anti-Catholic element of the population into a vigorous evangelical community. Freiburg, being Catholic, withdrew from the alliance. Bern had formally adopted the Reformation and used all of her influence to secure the triumph of the new faith in Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel.

Farel (b. in Dauphiné, 1489) had studied Greek and Hebrew under Faber Stapulensis, and had proceeded to his M. A. degree in the University of Paris (1517). For some time he engaged in evangelical labors under the evangelically disposed Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux (1521–1523); but he proved too aggressive for the bishop and was compelled to leave. He labored for a while at Gap, where he brought four of his own brothers to a knowledge of the truth. Finding his life in danger he fled to Basel, where he entered zealously into the contest with Rome and did much to promote the reformation of the city. Œcolampadius wrote to Luther that Farel was capable of afflicting, if not of destroying, the whole Sorbonne. His drastic methods, and especially his denunciation of Erasmus as a coward and a Balaam, led to his expulsion. After spending some months in Strasburg with Bucer and Capito and journeying as an evangelist, he settled for a while in the canton of Vaud, then subject to Bern, where he taught and preached, arousing violent opposition. From 1528 onward he labored with consuming zeal as an evangelist throughout French Switzerland, having been specially commissioned thereunto by the Bernese authorities, Bern having just formally entered the Protestant ranks. Farel was frequently remonstrated with by Œcolampadius, Zwingli, and others, because of his immoderate zeal and the violent quality of his reformatory efforts, but to little effect. He several times suffered severely at the hands of his enraged opponents and his life was sometimes imperiled. His greatest triumph was at Neuchâtel, where under the protection of Bern he secured access to the principal church (October, 1530) and was instrumental in turning many throughout the canton and the adjoining districts to the new faith. In 1532 he visited the Waldensian valleys and strongly influenced the old evangelical Christians there in favor of his type of teaching.

On his return he visited Geneva, where a revolution had just occurred, resulting in the repudiation by the city of the authority of the bishop and its friendly subjection to Bern because of its aid against Savoy. On June 30, the Council of Two Hundred had required of all incumbents the preaching of the pure gospel in the churches and monasteries. Farel arrived in October and began preaching at his lodgings to large numbers of visitors. In company with Robert Olivetan (Calvin's cousin referred to previously) he was cited before the ecclesiastical tribunal, where he defended himself nobly and narrowly escaped assassination, the musket aimed at him having exploded in the hands of the would-be murderer. He was ordered to leave the city in three hours. He barely escaped violence as he was withdrawing. He was able to return in March, 1533, under the protection of Bern. The bishop prohibited the hearing of preachers not licensed by himself and ordered the burning of all Bibles to be found in the city. Furbity, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was sent to counteract Farel's influence. A disputation between the two (January 29, 1534) resulted in favor of the evangelical cause, which from this time onward made rapid progress. Farel had been joined by Peter Viret and Antoine Froment, the former a native of Vaud, who had been educated for the priesthood in Paris, the latter a fellow-countryman of Farel (Dauphiné) and one of his earliest converts.

In June, 1535, Farel held a disputation with Peter Caroli, which made so favorable an impression for the evangelical cause that St. Peter's cathedral was placed at Farel's disposal and soon afterward stripped of its idolatrous paraphernalia.

At the beginning of 1536 the Duke of Savoy made another effort to subdue the city. He was repulsed with the aid of Bern. This victory was immediately followed by the authoritative adoption of the evangelical faith for the entire canton, involving the exclusion of Roman Catholicism. Under Farel's guidance worship was reduced to almost apostolic simplicity and a rigorous church discipline was introduced.

An evangelical school was established, with Antoine Saunier at its head and attendance at schools outside the canton prohibited. Resorting to Catholic churches outside the canton was made criminal. All the inhabitants of suitable age were required to attend regularly the Sunday services. Unchastity and gaming were made penal offenses.

Farel felt sorely the need of strong helpers. Viret's services were required at Lausanne. Fabri, who had aided him, had gone to labor in Savoy. It seemed to him providential that just at this juncture John Calvin, whose "Institutes" published a few months before had shown him to be a young man of marked ability, reached Geneva on his way to Strasburg. Once in the hands of the strong-willed, ardent reformer, who with prophetic fervor besought him to remain and declared that God's curse would rest upon him if he should turn his back

upon this great opportunity for service, Calvin felt himself powerless to resist and accepted Farel's invitation as the voice of God.

5. *Calvin in Geneva till his Banishment (May 26, 1538).*

Calvin arrived at Geneva late in July, 1536. After a short visit to Basel, he took up his work in August, not as chief pastor but as teacher and preacher. With the good-will of Farel and the authorities, and without any striving for ascendency on his part, he was in a few months, by reason of his masterful ability as a theologian and an ecclesiastical statesman, the recognized leader of the canton in spiritual things. For the first half-year he received scarcely any salary. Farel had grown more prudent with advancing age and he was glad now to put forward his younger colleagues, Calvin and Viret, to bear the brunt of the controversies that arose.[1] Calvin took part, not very prominently, in the synods of Lausanne and Bern (October, 1536).

(1) *Scheme of Church Order.* In November Farel presented to the council a new system of church order in the preparation of which Calvin had had the leading part.

It provided for the excommunication of the incorrigible, to be followed by the infliction of civil penalties. A preference is expressed for frequent celebration of the Supper (weekly or oftener), after the example of the primitive church; but monthly communion has been decided upon as best for the present, on the ground that frequency might lead to contempt of the ordinance. The guarding of the Supper from desecration by the unworthy was to form the ground for the exercise of discipline. All were required to offer themselves for the communion and only the worthy were to be admitted. Those rejected were by this fact placed under discipline and were obliged to qualify themselves for worthy participation or to incur excommunication with its heavy civil penalty. Persons of approved character were to be appointed in every quarter of the city to observe and report upon moral and religious delinquencies. As many enemies of the gospel were known to be in the community steps should be taken to ascertain who were on the Lord's side by compelling each individual to make a confession of his faith. Provision is made for instruction of children and for the regulation of marital matters. This scheme of the ministers was approved by the council in January, 1537. It involved the establishment of a theocratic government in Geneva, that was to assume a more definite and more rigorous form at a later date.

1 See letter to Capito, May 5, 1537, in Herminjard, *Tom.* V., p. 439.

(2) *An Authoritative Catechism.* It was felt by the ministers that the process of testing the faith of the people would be greatly facilitated by the use of a concise statement of orthodox doctrine to be subscribed or rejected. It fell to Calvin to prepare a catechism for the instruction of the young and an extract from the catechism became the standard by which the entire population was to be theologically judged.

On April 17 the council ordered the district censors and others to make a house to house visitation for reading the confession and securing its acceptance or rejection. Farel and Calvin were impatient of the delay and lack of thoroughness in the execution of the order, which no doubt involved grave difficulties because of widespread and influential opposition to the measure. They were joined by the zealous blind preacher Courault in still further pressing the matter. Some of those entrusted with the execution of the order lacked courage or zeal, and these had to be sifted and tested. Calvin and the ministers afterward proposed that the people be required to assemble by districts at St. Peter's Church and to swear to the confession. This recommendation was adopted by the council (July 29) and large numbers obeyed the order, but many refused to appear.

(3) *Opposition to the Rigorous Measures of Farel and Calvin.* The infliction of severe penalties upon parents for refusal to send their children to school, upon a keeper of a gaming house, and upon a milliner for decorating a bride in an unseemly manner, aroused popular indignation to an alarming extent. But the ministers would hear of no compromise with evil. Their system of discipline and doctrine must be carried out without modification, though the heavens fall. To yield in the slightest degree involved unfaithfulness to the divine requirements and could only bring divine judgment.

To harass Calvin and Farel, rather than from zeal for othodoxy, Peter Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne who had professed conversion to the new faith, married and settled at Lausanne, but who proved wholly untrustworthy and finally returned to the Roman Catholic communion, preferred a charge of Arianism against the authors of the confession at a synod in Lausanne (May, 1537). The ground of his charge was the avoidance of the terms "Trinity" and "Person." He demanded that they should sign the Athanasian creed with its damnatory clauses, which they refused to do. They were able to vindicate themselves, however, by handing in a satisfactory statement on the Trinity and Caroli was censured for calumny and declared unworthy of the evangelical ministry.

Anabaptists were to the front here as elsewhere. After a disputa-

tion they were perpetually banished on penalty of death in case they returned (March 19, 1537).

The Genevese had been struggling for years, at great sacrifice, for civil and religious liberty, and now to be brought under the galling yoke of a theocracy, with three foreign preachers as the dictators, seemed unendurable to many. In September all who had failed to swear to the confession were required to do so on pain of banishment. On October 30, Calvin again appeared before the council to urge the immediate execution of the order for the banishment of all who had refused to swear to the confession. The council gave fresh orders for the completion of the work and when many still refused, especially those on the German street, and when one of the censors was maltreated, a decree of banishment was issued by the Little Council (November 12) and approved by the Great Council (November 14). This proceeding precipitated a crisis.

The opposition, led by Jean Philippe, called a general assembly of the citizens. The council attempted to forestall this independent movement by summoning a general assembly for November 25, and asking for a vote of confidence. The vote of confidence was refused, and Jean Philippe proposed the appointment of a committee of twenty-five for hearing grievances, insisting that the council is not the master but the servant of the people, to whom all authority ultimately belongs. The council saw that its authority was at an end. It had also become manifest that Bern strongly disapproved of the iconoclastic and drastic measures that had been adopted by the council at the instigation of Farel and Calvin. Nothing further could be accomplished in the direction of compelling the people to swear to the confession.

(4) *The Liberals Triumphant and Supported by Bern.* A new election (February, 1538) resulted in the choice of four of the leaders of the liberal party, including Jean Philippe, as syndics, and an anti-clerical majority in the council.

The new council sought to introduce a more moderate type of Protestantism, like that of Bern. Courault was banished for his persistence in denouncing the new *régime*. Calvin denounced the council as the devil's own and refused to recognize its authority. On March 12 the council forbade the ministers to meddle with politics. During the same month a synod at Lausanne disapproved of the use of unleavened bread in the Supper by the Genevese, the abolition

of all church festivals but Sunday, and the setting aside of the baptismal fonts. The Bernese Council urged upon the Genevese conformity to the Bernese order in these matters. The order was given by the latter body, but treated with contempt by Calvin, who attached little importance to such differences, but would not be coerced.

Calvin and Farel found warm recognition and moral support in Bullinger, of Zürich, and Gynoræus, of Basel. It was Calvin's earnest desire at this time to secure the unification of the Swiss evangelical churches in doctrine and practice along the line of his own thinking, and he hoped to gain thereby for his Genevan theocracy sufficient outside support to enable him to overcome the machinations of the godless.

From this time onward the preachers were treated with contempt. Ribald songs in which they were lampooned were sung on the streets and before their very doors. A rumor of a project for putting Geneva under French protection and withdrawing from the alliance with Bern caused great commotion in the city and in the council. Stormy sessions of the council were held March 2 to 12, which resulted in the expulsion of those who were suspected of French leanings.

A general assembly of the citizens was held on March 10, which criticised severely the conduct of the syndics of the past year in ecclesiastical matters. On March 11 the Great Council, on motion of a representative of the assembly, ordered Calvin and Farel to cease meddling with politics and to preach the gospel. Calvin had denounced the assembly as an assembly of Satan because of its antagonism toward himself and his supporters. The council, pressed by Bernese emissaries, resolved (March 11) to adopt the Bernese church order in place of that of Farel and Calvin.

At the request of the Bernese Council Farel and Calvin were sent to a synod at Lausanne (March 28–April 4). They took no public part in the proceedings. Bern still insisted on the observance of four church festivals, the use of the baptismal stone, and the use of unleavened bread against the well-known wishes of the Genevan preachers. If the Bernese authorities had been conciliatory they might easily have averted the catastrophe in Geneva; but they resented the seeming obstinacy of Farel and Calvin, regarded them as enemies of Bernese ascendency, and were willing to play into the hands of their opponents in Geneva by seeking to force upon them practices that neither party made a matter of conscience or supposed to be enjoined or prohibited by Scripture, and which the Genevese preachers could not now introduce without great loss of dignity and prestige.

Calvin and Farel appealed to a joint synod of the Swiss churches to be held at Zürich, and sought the co-operation of Bucer and the Strasburg theologians. They would have been willing to submit to a decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal in regard to the ceremonies, but they could not consent to being coerced by the Bernese and Genevan Councils. On April 15 the Bernese Council urged the Genevan to carry out the decision regarding ceremonies reached at Lausanne. The latter held a meeting on the nineteenth and decided that on the following (Easter) Sunday the Supper should be celebrated according to the Bernese form. Calvin and Farel begged that the matter be deferred till after the proposed meeting of theo-

logians at Zürich. Calvin, Farel, and de la Mere resolutely refused to celebrate the Supper in the Bernese way. Courault had been prohibited from further preaching on account of intemperate language recently used. The other three preachers, on refusal to obey the order of the council, were now ordered to discontinue their ministry. The council sought to secure from abroad ministers to carry out their wishes on Easter Sunday. They failed, and Courault, Calvin, and Farel all appeared in their places to preach but not to administer the ordinance. Courault was thrown into prison. Calvin and Farel preached amid great commotion and disorder. Many present were armed, and the voices of the preachers were drowned by the shouts of their opponents.

(5) *Deposition and Banishment of Farel and Calvin.* On Monday and Tuesday following (April 22 and 23), the Little Council, the Great Council, and the Council of Two Hundred met in St. Peter's, deposed Farel and Calvin, and ordered them to depart from the city in three days. Calvin replied: "So be it. It is better to serve God than man. If we had been serving men we should have been poorly rewarded, but we serve a great Lord who will reward us." Farel said: "I receive it from God's hand." They proceeded at once to Bern, and laying their case before the council (April 27), asked for its intervention.

The Bernese Council seemed deeply grieved because of the Genevan disturbances and the scandal to the evangelical cause involved, disclaimed any desire to force its ceremonies on the Genevans, and urged the Genevan Council to liberate the "poor, blind Courault," that they might not be entirely destitute of pastoral guidance. The latter body claimed that Calvin and Farel had distorted the facts, and sent messengers to Bern to present their view of the transactions.

Calvin and Farel next went to Zürich, where a synod of the evangelical churches of the confederacy was in session. They were kindly received and were allowed to present their case fully and to state the terms on which they would return to their work in Geneva. They were willing to conform in most points to the Bernese regulations, but they wished the Bernese to make a public declaration of the fact that they did not consider the Genevan practices unscriptural, and that the changes to be introduced were simply for the sake of uniformity and good order. They would return to Geneva only on condition that all calumnies circulated against them be pub-

licly withdrawn; that the number of ministers be increased; that the division of the city into parishes be carried out; and that district censors for reporting upon the conduct of the people, and excommunication for persistent violation of ecclesiastical regulations be restored.

The opinion of the brethren met at Zürich was that they were holy and learned men, but somewhat over-zealous, and that the evangelical cause not only in Geneva but throughout French Switzerland required the continuance of their labors. The synod was not in a position to take any definite action in the premises; but arranged for friendly negotiations with a view to the reconciliation of the Genevan parties.

Calvin and Farel returned to Bern, in pursuance of the advice of the synod, and at last yielded to the desire of the Bernese for uniformity in ceremonies; but their insistence on their system of discipline and their demands on the Genevans made reconciliation impracticable.

The decree of banishment was confirmed on May 26. They spent some weeks in Basel with Gynoræus, one of their most steadfast friends, awaiting the direction of Providence. Farel settled in July at Neuchâtel, where he had previously labored, having secured the consent of his constituents to the introduction of his system of discipline. Calvin two months later accepted Bucer's invitation to labor in Strasburg as minister to the French Protestant refugees and as theological teacher.

6. *Calvin's Strasburg Labors (1538–1541).*

Bucer, who had long been the chief minister in Strasburg, had for ten years been earnestly striving for the unification of Protestantism and in his efforts to harmonize the views of Lutherans and Zwinglians on the Supper had reached a mode of thought very similar to that of Calvin. Strasburg had by this time become one of the cities of refuge for persecuted French Protestants. What more natural than that he should invite the banished Genevan leader to join him in his work?

Besides preaching to the French congregation and lecturing on the Bible Calvin found much leisure for literary work. He rewrote and enlarged three-fold his "Institutes," with a view to making it suitable for a text-book for theological students and an introduction to Scripture study (1539). His great "Commentary on Romans" speedily followed. During the same year he married Idelette von Buren, widow of an Anabaptist whom he had convinced of his errors (?). He was in deep poverty, receiving nothing for his labors during the first few months and afterward a pittance of fifty guilders a year for his lectures; yet he refused to receive gratuities from his friends elsewhere, preferring to sell his library and to take student boarders. At Stras-

burg he came to know and appreciate Lutherans, and entered into friendly correspondence with Luther himself. He found time also amid his engrossing labors to work out in detail a scheme of church order, which he afterward had an opportunity to put into practice in Geneva. His reply to Cardinal Sadoleto, who was seeking to win Geneva back to the Catholic faith, was written during his stay in Strasburg.

7. *Geneva During the Absence of Calvin.*

(1) *Weakness of the New Government.* The factious spirit that led to the banishment of Calvin, Farel, and Courault increased rather than diminished after their departure. New ministers were procured through the help of the Bernese, but they were weak men and accepted their positions with the understanding that they would be entirely subservient to the magistracy. The Bernese church order was introduced in its entirety. The moral regulations that had been adopted at the instance of Farel and Calvin were still retained, but were little regarded.

The partisans of Farel and Calvin treated the ministers and the administration in general with contempt and refused to attend the church services. Farel from the beginning, and Calvin later, encouraged their friends in their insubordination, holding that they (Farel and Calvin) were the rightful ministers, that those in office were intruders, and that the party in power were the "godless." In March, 1539, representatives of Geneva, sent to Bern for the final settlement of questions at issue between the two cantons, renounced all claim to independence, and yielded almost absolute sovereignty to the Bernese, involving complete control in religious matters. This action seems to have been due to a desire to secure the help of Bern in crushing the opposition.

(2) *Catholic Aggression.* The perturbed state of Geneva led the Roman Catholic bishop to renew his efforts at reestablishing his authority. On his behalf Cardinal Sadoleto wrote a very friendly letter to the Genevese, in which he sought to prove the superiority of Catholicism to Protestantism and invited them to return to the old faith. The Genevan preachers felt incapable of answering this adroit polemic and the friends of Calvin urged him to reply.

(3) *Calvin Answers Sadoleto.* He consented and his answer is a masterpiece. A considerable number of the Genevans were still Catholics at heart and some of them

no doubt participated in the effort for the re-introduction of the mass. The authorities arraigned the suspects and required them to answer categorically whether they regarded the mass as good or bad. The surrender of the rights of the canton by the party in power and the necessity of looking to the banished Calvin for the guarding of the city from Catholic aggression greatly weakened the hands of the enemies of Farel and Calvin and greatly strengthened those of their friends. Those who had been chiefly concerned in treacherously signing away the liberties of the city were banished for a hundred and one years. Jean Philippe was beheaded. Two of the new ministers found their positions untenable and left the city.

(4) *Calvin Urged to Return to Geneva.* The council, now Calvinistic in sentiment, sent a deputation with Ami Perrin, one of his former antagonists, at its head, to urge him to return at once and aid in the restoration of civil and religious order. Calvin was not easily moved. He had at first entered upon his Genevan career with great reluctance. He had retired from his position even more reluctantly. Bucer had to warn him of the danger of becoming a Jonah and fighting against the divine will before he could be induced to take up the work in Strasburg. Now a return to Geneva seemed to him equivalent to crucifixion. He had rather die once for all than to enter upon a perpetual martyrdom there. No place in the world was more dreadful to him. He felt that if he returned he must carry out his theocratic idea in the face of all opposition and of death itself. He could not return simply as a preacher. He must take the leadership in the reorganization and government of the city as a theocracy. But the logic of the situation was irresistible and his decision to return was a foregone conclusion.

Calvin's opponents had utterly failed to pacify the city and to prevent anarchy. His friends now in control felt that he alone could give to the city the religio-political government that they desired. He was in a position to dictate terms and he would be content with no half-way measures. A theocracy pure and simple, with the remorseless punishment even unto death of opponents of the theocracy and disseminators of false teachings, was his programme. He received an ovation when he entered the city (September 13, 1541).

He was presented with a costly coat, a liberal annual allowance of wine and wheat was granted him, and an extraordinarily large stipend was provided in order that he might be free to practise hospitality on a liberal scale. From what we know of Calvin's unselfishness we may be sure that these provisions were purely spontaneous. The Strasburg preachers congratulated the Genevan on having secured the services of "that elect and incomparable instrument of God, by whose side our time has scarcely a second worthy to be placed, if indeed a second to him can be spoken of at all." The Strasburgers had come to recognize him as the foremost theologian and ecclesiastical statesman of their own time and every other, and they were not far astray.

8. *The Genevan Theocracy* (*1541 onward*).

Never did a man come to his life-work with a fuller realization of the difficulties and the responsibilities involved or with a more resolute determination to carry out, regardless of consequences, what he believed the will of God required, than did Calvin. He had not the slightest misgivings as to the absolute correctness and the sole validity of his own particular schemes of Christian doctrine and of church government. All who set themselves in radical opposition to the one or the other were under the guidance of Satan, were out of the pale of salvation, and deserved no consideration at the hands of the faithful. Gentleness toward such would be "crue humanity" (*crudelis humanitas*).

His absolute intolerance was a result not of a desire to take vengeance on his enemies or to rid himself of those who stood in his way, but rather of a deep-seated conviction that fidelity to God required their punishment. For a Christian minister or a Christian magistrate to allow heretics to disseminate their errors was as inexcusable as it would be to allow miscreants to spread contagion. The example of the faithful, God-approved kings of the Old Testament time, who remorselessly suppressed idolatry and destroyed its votaries, was constantly before him, while that of the careless kings who allowed idolatry to run riot and brought upon themselves thereby the divine displeasure he held up as a warning against the toleration of error. As a thoroughgoing theocrat, Calvin was necessarily and on principle a persecutor. Luther was such by force of circumstances and because of his intolerant disposition, against his clearly-expressed convictions in earlier times; persecution was the logical outcome of Calvin's most cherished convictions. Like Farel, he felt that if he should teach error and persist in it he would deserve to die. He meted out to others what he felt he would have others mete out to him under similar circumstances.

Immediately on his arrival his "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" were submitted to the council. Six members were appointed to go over the document with him. Calvin made some concessions by way of diminishing the absoluteness of ecclesiastical authority in the matter of discipline, the control of the schools, and the appointment and dismission of ministers; but with slight modifications the scheme was adopted (November, 1541). Soon afterward he was entrusted with the task of drawing up a civil code for the city. His legal learning stood him well in stead, and he wrought out a system which was the counterpart of his ecclesiastical ordinances. Thus he was the lawgiver of the community, not because of his own desire to be such, but because the dominant party in the city wished to have it so.

The government of the church was vested in a consistory composed of six ministers and twelve lay elders. Two of the latter were chosen from the Little Council and ten from the Council of Two Hundred. These elders were nominated by the ministers, and before they were allowed to take their seats their names were published, to give opportunity for charges of unworthiness. The general assembly of burgesses had a veto on their appointment. According to the rules the meetings of the consistory were to be presided over by one of the syndics, but Calvin soon became permanent president. This consistory assembled every Thursday, and had jurisdiction over blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, brawlers, dancers, dancing-masters, disseminators of heresy, absentees from divine service, those acting disrespectfully toward church or clergy, etc. The penalties imposed by the consistory extended no further than to excommunication. Those that were guilty of grave offenses, and were obdurate, were handed over to the council for punishment.

In the Genevan system there were four classes of ecclesiastical officers: *Ministers* or preachers, elected by the college of ministers and approved by the council, the people also having theoretically the right to object; *elders*, chosen as above, whose business it was to watch over the morals of all classes and, as members of the consistory (together with the six ministers), to exercise church discipline; *deacons*, whose office was to administer church charities and to look after the sick; *teachers* or *doctors*, who were to give instruction in Greek, Hebrew, and other branches of learning to students for the ministry.

As a standard of doctrine Calvin prepared (*c.* 1542) a new catechism (known as the "Genevan Catechism," one of the chief symbolical works of the Reformed Church). Next he prepared a liturgy ("Form of Pray-

ers and Ecclesiastical Songs with the Manner of Administering the Sacraments and Consecrating Marriage according to the Custom of the Ancient Church," 1542).

The forms of prayer did not exclude extemporaneous prayer on the part of the ministers. Psalm singing, which the Zwinglians had omitted, was provided for. Daily services in the churches, with suspension of business meanwhile, formed a feature of the scheme. Weekly discourses for adults, with the privilege of questioning and discussing, were arranged for Fridays. Calvin laid the utmost stress on church life as a means of developing and directing the life of the individual, and he subordinated the individual to the ecclesiastical community as much as the Roman law subordinated the individual to the State. "The church is our mother. This designation itself shows how useful and necessary it is to know her. For we cannot otherwise enter into life than if we are generated in her womb, nourished at her breasts, and kept under her guardianship and tutelage until, freed from this mortal body, we become like the angels. . . Accordingly God has, on the one hand, endowed the church with a teaching office instituted by himself to which believers are bound to render obedience; and, on the other hand, has bestowed upon her (the church) the duty and right to enact laws and to administer church discipline, because no society can exist without order and discipline." He compares doctrine with the soul and discipline with the nerves through which the different members are bound together and kept in order.

Calvin's theory of the relations of Church and State was quite in accord with the Genevan practice. He defines the local church as consisting of the whole body of clergy and laity who are of the same faith in fundamental points. Wherever the word of God is sincerely preached and heard, and the sacraments duly administered according to the institution of Christ, there no doubt is a church of God.[1]

He had to contend against the civil power which wanted to control the church, and the Libertines and the Anabaptists, who rejected absolutely any connection between Church and State. Most of his arguments are directed to showing that the church has the right and calling to exercise discipline not simply moral but also physical. The civil administration exists only for the defense of the church. It belongs to the State to carry out the regulations of the church, to prevent idolatry, sacrilege, heresy, etc., to take care that true religion is neither insulted nor injured, to defend the laws of the Two Tables. It has no right to enact laws concerning religion nor to interfere in matters purely ecclesiastical. Just as the Roman hierarchy had done long before, in its efforts to bring everything under the jurisdiction of canon law, Calvin virtually made every sin a crime, and so did not hesitate to make use of the civil power for the execution of church discipline. Calvin's view of the subordination of the civil power to the ecclesiastical does not appear to be radically different from the papal.

[1] "Inst.," Vol. IV., Chap. I., § 9.

9. *Renewed Opposition to the Theocracy.*

The rigor with which Calvin's ordinances were executed soon called forth a storm of protest. No mercy was shown to the enemies of the theocracy. New methods of torture were introduced, and the obstinate were given to understand that unless they yielded, "They would end their days in such torment." A system of espionage was introduced to prevent secret transgression. Informers shared in the fines imposed, and the testimony of children against parents was freely received. During the years 1542 to 1546, fifty-eight executions occurred and seventy-six were banished. During the pestilence of 1545, thirty-four women were burned or quartered on suspicion of spreading the plague by magical means. The refusal of the preachers to minister in the pesthouse when ordered by the council to do so (1543), greatly strengthened the opposition.

Calvin's opponents may be divided into two classes: (1) The *spiritual libertines*, a large body of semi-pantheistic freethinkers, who became more and more embittered against Calvin and his ordinances. In 1545 Calvin wrote "Against the fantastic and furious sect of the Libertines who called themselves Spirituals." He attributes their origin to one Coppin, of Flanders (about 1530), and estimates their number at four thousand. That their teachings were blasphemous and utterly subversive of true religion and morality there can be no doubt.

(2) Of even more importance was the opposition of the *political libertines*, led by Pierre Ameaux, a distinguished citizen who refused to attend the services of the church or to conform with his family to the rigorous regulations regarding dress, amusements, etc. In spite of the fact that he and his wife lay in prison for violation of the ordinances, the Council of Two Hundred chose him to a position in the government. Calvin triumphed and Ameaux was led through the city barefooted and arrayed in his shirt, and was compelled to kneel on the public square and in a loud voice to ask forgiveness for his offense. This proceeding, as might have been expected, intensified his hatred of Calvin. The punishment of Ami Perrin (1546), for participating in a dance, made of this

former friend of Calvin and highly influential citizen, an inveterate enemy of the theocracy. The execution of Jacques Gruet (1547) still further intensified the opposition, and for a time Calvin's life was in danger. The Council of Two Hundred was equally divided between his supporters and his opponents, but by sheer force of character he again triumphed.

Calvin's position was greatly strengthened (1549–1554) by the inflow into Geneva of large companies of zealous and devoted followers from France and other parts of Europe, who sought refuge from persecution in this great evangelical center. Calvin was able to secure for them the rights of citizenship, and they in turn heartily supported him in his theocratic government. Within the time mentioned thirteen hundred and seventy-six foreigners settled in Geneva, and more than half this number became citizens. A final uprising against Calvin and his foreign supporters occurred in 1555, and resulted in the complete discomfiture of the opposition and the execution of some of its leaders. From this time until his death, in 1563, his authority was almost undisputed.

Calvin's relations to Servetus and his participation in his condemnation and execution have been sufficiently set forth in the account of Servetus.

10. *Calvin as a Controversialist.*

Reference has already been made to the local conflicts in which Calvin was engaged. It would have been impossible for a man of his energy of conviction, under circumstances like those under which he was placed, to have escaped controversy on the great questions that agitated the age.

As a polemical writer Calvin is infinitely more argumentative and less abusive than Luther, and yet even he occasionally lost his temper and indulged in unbecoming raillery. As he was the greatest systematic theologian and the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of his age, so also he was the greatest polemicist.

(1) *Calvin and Roman Catholics.* The "Institutes" as it is an apology for Protestantism so, necessarily, it is an attack on Roman Catholicism. Most of Calvin's

literary work was consciously aimed at tearing down Roman Catholicism as well as building up Protestantism. The following are some of the most decidedly anti-Romanist treatises:

a. The "Reply to Cardinal Sadolet's Letter." Calvin had been driven from Geneva, and the Romanists, seeing the Protestants without a leader, hoped to win them back. Calvin's reply is dignified and overwhelming.

b. The tract on "The Necessity of Reforming the Church," addressed to the Emperor Charles V. on the occasion of the Diet of Speier (1543). This is one of Calvin's most important treatises against the Roman Catholic system. The treatise was written in the name of the German Protestants, and the aim was to show that the Reformation was absolutely necessitated by the radical corruption of the church.

c. "An Admonition, showing the Advantages which Christendom might derive from an Inventory of Relics." This is conceived in a sarcastic spirit, and could not fail to convince the reader of the absurdity of relic worship, and of conscious imposture on the part of priests and monks.

d. "Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, with the Antidote." One by one the articles of the early sessions of the council are taken up and answered with consummate ability.

(2) *Calvin and Extreme Lutherans.* The most noteworthy controversy under this head was that with Westphal, of Hamburg. In 1549, after many vain attempts, the Zürich and Genevan churches, under Calvin's leadership, came to an agreement as to the sacraments. Luther was dead, and the peace-loving Melanchthon, having long been dissatisfied with Luther's rigor and in sympathy with Calvin's mediating position, was forming, quietly and secretly, a crypto-Calvinist party in Germany. Westphal, an extreme and intolerant Lutheran, made a fierce attack upon Calvin's view of the sacraments. This led Calvin into a somewhat prolonged controversy, in the course of which he wrote three treatises on the sacraments, in defense of the articles agreed upon by the churches of Zürich and Geneva.

Calvin held, in opposition to Zwingli, that "to deny that a true communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us in the Supper, is to render this holy sacrament frivolous and useless—an execrable blasphemy, unfit to be listened to"; that if the words of Christ (John 6 : 53), are "not to go for nothing, it follows that in order to have our life in Christ our souls must feed on his body and blood as their proper food."

In opposition to Luther he held "that the bread and the wine are visible signs, which represent to us the body and blood, but that the name and title of body and blood are given to them because they are, as it were, instruments by which the Lord distributes them to us." He denied the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human body, by which the Lutherans easily explained their doctrine of the real presence, and he maintained that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of only spiritually, by faith.

(3) *Calvin and Religious Freethinkers.* Calvin's fiercest theological conflicts were with impugners of what he regarded as fundamental doctrines: Servetus, Castellio, Bolsec, the Anabaptists, the Socinians, etc. The Roman Catholics were organized and respectable, as were also the Lutherans, with whom he was at variance only on a few minor points. But disorganizing heresy he could not away with, and he soon decided that the only efficient argument against it was the fagot or the sword. Many of the Anabaptists Calvin was enabled to win over by argument, the earnestness of Calvin and the rigorous discipline which he introduced commending him to them.

The most notorious controversy under this head was that with Micnael Servetus. Servetus, a Spaniard, one of the most learned and most acute men of his time, no less decided in his convictions of religious truth than Calvin, and even more polemically inclined, was, from 1534 onward, a source of considerable annoyance to Calvin. The important facts relating to this controversy have been given in an earlier section. Calvin's views regarding the Trinity, the person of Christ, and baptism, the chief points at issue between him and Servetus, have been so fully perpetuated in the great Reformed churches that they are sufficiently familiar.

Mention should be made of Calvin's controversy with Sebastian Castellio, an Italian humanist, who had come into close relations with him at Strasburg (1540), and who had been appointed through his influence as professor and preacher in Geneva. Castellio enjoyed the distinction of being the only member of the Genevan clergy who would minister at the pesthouse in 1543. As early as 1544 he attacked Calvin's doctrine of election and shocked him by describing the Song of Solomon as an erotic poem unworthy of a place in the canon. Taken to task for such teachings, he charged the Genevan clergy with pride, avarice, and worldliness. Driven from his position he betook himself to Basel where, in deep poverty, he engaged in important literary labors, including a new Latin translation of the Bible. In 1552 he was appointed to a professorship in the university, which he held till his death, in 1563. One of his most important works was "The Opinions of Learned Men concerning Heretics, whether They Should be Persecuted" (1560). It is a powerful plea for liberty of conscience. He declares that Christ would be a Moloch, or some such god, if he desired to have men sacrificed to him and burned alive. He also wrote "Against Calvin's Little Book, in which he endeavors to show that Heretics ought to be coerced by the Right of the Sword," but this was not published until 1612.

Castellio had much in common with the Socinians and may be regarded as a forerunner of the Arminians. Like most of the Italian Humanists who embraced Protestantism, he revolted against the harsher aspects of Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrine. It will not be necessary to define particularly Calvin's attitude on the questions at issue between himself and Castellio.

Of a somewhat similar nature was Calvin's controversy with Jerome Bolsec, a French Protestant physician who had settled in the neighborhood of Geneva under the patronage of a Calvinistic noble. In 1551 he attacked Calvin's doctrine of predestination in the congregation, where all had the right to propound questions and join in the discussion. Calvin was at great pains to defend this doctrine on the basis of the Scriptures and the writings of Augustine. Bolsec, refusing to be convinced, was thrown into prison.

Banished from the city he was persistent in his attacks on Calvin and the Genevan theocracy, and he made the most of the scandal involved in the execution of Servetus. Bolsec finally returned to the Carmellite order of monks which he had deserted and devoted the rest of his life to writing against the reformers. He died about 1584.

11. *Calvinism in France: The Huguenots.*

LITERATURE: See Beza, "*Histoire des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*"; Quick, "*Synodicon in Gallia Reformata. . .* Acts . . . of the Seven Last National Synods of the Reformed Churches in France," 1692; "*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*," 1853–1865; Herminjard, "*Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les Pays de Langue Française*," 1866–1893; Soldan, "*Gesch. d. Protestantismus in Frankreich*," 1855; Baird, "History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France," 2 vols., 1879, "The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre," 2 vols., 1886, "The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," 2 vols., 1896 (these six volumes constitute by far the best account of French Protestantism in English); Heath, "The Reformation in France," 2 vols., 1886–1888; Lives of Coligny by Tessier (1872), Delaborde (1879–1882), Besant (1894), and Bersier (1884); Lichtenberger, "*Encyclopedie*," articles on "*France Protestante*" and on leading characters and principal events; and Hauck-Herzog, third ed., on chief characters and events.

(1) *Condition of France at the Beginning of the Reformation.* The course of the Reformation in France, as in other countries, depended largely upon the political, social, and religious condition of the population.

During the Middle Ages France was more independent of the papacy than any other European nation. Louis IX., although an earnest Catholic and a crusader, issued (1269) a Pragmatic Sanction against the "intolerable exactions of the Court of Rome." This furnished the basis for the "Liberties" of the French Church and the French king. Philip the Fair vanquished Boniface VIII., and captured the papacy (1305). "Gallicanism" came to be the technical name for a system of ecclesiastical polity in accordance with which councils are superior to popes, and the rights of national churches are recognized. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) confirmed the "Liberties" of the French Church.

By the close of the fifteenth century France had become thoroughly centralized. In 1439, at a meeting of the States General, the troops of the nobles, lawlessly paid, were disbanded and the right of maintaining a regu-

lar force limited to the king, who was thus enabled to attach to his court the nobles now incapable of private adventures. The common people were purposely kept unused to arms, and were heavily taxed for the maintenance of mercenary troops—Swiss, German, etc. The States General were no longer called together and the right to assemble had been almost forgotten. Parliament, which had formerly had considerable independent authority, was now almost completely subservient to the king.

In 1516 Francis I. had sold the "Liberties" of the Gallican Church, and had made a concordat with the pope in accordance with which ecclesiastical patronage and spoils were divided between king and pope. The pope was to have the right to collect annates and other revenues in France. The king was to have the right of nominating to the high ecclesiastical offices. There were in France at this time ten archbishoprics, eighty-three bishoprics, twenty-seven abbacies, and a large number of smaller foundations. Most of these were very heavily endowed. Nominations to these were sold by the king, and the highest offices were commonly purchased by influential nobles or bestowed upon them in reward of services past or prospective. During the time of Francis I. France had thirteen cardinals, who were commonly elected through royal influence, and who held numerous benefices in France. Five of these—the cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Châtillon, Du Bellay, and Armagnac, were nobles of the highest rank. Most of the higher clergy were non-residents and the lower clergy followed the example of the higher in pleasure-seeking and idleness. The chief judicial offices, like the ecclesiastical, were sold to the highest bidders.

(2) *Hindrances and helps to the French Reformation. a. Hindrances.* Among the obstacles to reform in France we may mention: (*a*) The centralized condition of the government, whose financial interest lay so decidedly in the maintenance of the hierarchical church. The theory prevailed, moreover, among the French kings that a change of religion involves a change of rulers.

(*b*) The evils of this royal absolutism were enhanced by the fact that, after the death of Henry II. (1559) the

government fell into the hands of Catharine de Medici, one of the most unscrupulous women of history, trained in the school of Macchiavelli, and willing to sacrifice the lives of half her subjects if thereby some object of ambition could be attained. Just as unscrupulous and much more astute were the Guises (the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Aumales, the Marquis of Elbeuf, the Grand Prior of France), who had attained to great influence under Henry II., and who, partly as counselors and military leaders and partly as rivals of Catharine de Medici, controlled the government for a number of years (1559 onward). Possessing princely revenues from ecclesiastical benefices, they were ever rapacious, and their relentless inquisitorial proceedings against Protestants were prompted by the two-fold desire of maintaining the existing ecclesiastical order from which they derived their wealth and of confiscating the property of the persecuted. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) is only an instance of what was going on almost constantly, on a smaller scale, for nearly fifty years.

(*c*) The influence of Philip II. of Spain, a bigoted Romanist and an earnest supporter of the Inquisition, was baneful to Protestantism. Having married a daughter of Catharine de Medici, he was able to exert much personal influence upon Catharine. He incited Catharine, her royal sons, and the Guises to the carrying out of an exterminating policy against the Protestants by promises of troops and money, and by threats of invasion in case Protestantism should be tolerated. He strove persistently to secure the full establishment of the Inquisition in France.

(*d*) The lower classes in France were ignorant and degraded, and were content with their condition. Calvinism presented to them not an attractive and an emancipating front as Lutheranism did to the German peasants; but it seemed to them rather austere and oppressive. Lutherans appealed to the lower motives as well as to the highest, Calvinists only to the highest. Moreover, Calvinistic preaching was generally too abstruse to be appreciated by the illiterate. It may be safely laid down as a principle that the uneducated class, as a class, is

never won to the support of any cause except by the promise of outward amelioration. The priests were able, at almost any time, to stir up the populace to deeds of violence against the Protestants.

(*e*) The University of Paris, still highly influential, opposed Protestantism with all its might.

b. Helps. (*a*) The extreme corruption of the French clergy, and their scandalous negligence in the performance of the functions assigned them, favored Protestants in two ways: By creating in the minds of intelligent people a longing for reform, and by making it possible for Protestants long to labor unmolested in many places.

(*b*) Francis I. had generously promoted the new learning by founding a school of languages and by patronizing scholars. France contained a large class of intelligent people, and intelligence has generally been found favorable to Protestantism.

(*c*) As a matter of fact the intelligent people of France (belonging chiefly to the middle and upper classes) rapidly embraced Protestantism.

(*d*) A constant stream of zealous missionaries flowed from Geneva into France. The influence of Calvin, through these men, through his published writings, and through his letters to leading Protestants in France, is incalculable.

(*e*) Three noblewomen—Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I.; Jeanne d'Albret, her daughter and successor, and Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII.—were of great service to the Protestant cause in protecting its adherents and in winning over noblemen to Protestantism.

(*f*) The Bourbon family, "princes of the blood," were led, partly by conviction, and perhaps more by political considerations, to assume the leadership of the persecuted Protestants. Feeling that their rights had been invaded by the Guises, they had the most powerful political motives for striving to overthrow the government whose policy they were dictating. The influence of Jeanne d'Albret on her husband, Antoine de Bourbon, was considerable; but his weakness and pusillanimity probably injured as much as aided the Protestant cause. Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, was far

more valiant, and as counsellor and military leader did good service for the Protestant cause. Finally, Henry of Navarre, son of Antoine and Jeanne d'Albret, put himself at the head of the Protestant party, and, by rare military genius and political tact, succeeded, after the death of the last of the sons of Catharine de Medici, in winning the crown of France. He secured for the Protestants most of the rights they had so long struggled and suffered for, but showed his insincerity and his ingratitude in returning to the Roman Catholic Church, and thus making it almost certain that Romanism would regain the ascendency and crush out the new faith. The chief service of the Bourbons was to give legality to the Protestant revolt.

(*g*) The Châtillon family rendered very efficient service to Protestantism. The Cardinal Châtillon embraced the new faith and, while retaining his office, promoted Protestant preaching. He was finally excommunicated by the pope. The greatest military leader of the French Protestants was Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, "the noblest of all Frenchmen." For military genius, religious earnestness, moral courage, and complete devotion of self and all, he stands without a rival among the leaders of the sixteenth century. Francis d'Andelot, younger brother of the cardinal and the admiral, possessed, in a less degree, most of the virtues of the latter, and was a military leader of no mean ability.

(*h*) The influence of the Chancellor L'Hopital who, without declaring himself openly in favor of Protestantism, did all in his power to prevent illegal persecutions of Protestants, must not be overlooked.

(*i*) William of Orange, second only to Coligny in military ability and Christian heroism, found time to render some service to French Protestantism.

(*k*) Elizabeth of England aided the Protestant cause with money and with troops, yet by no means so liberally as might have been expected.

(3) *Course of Events until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. a. French Protestants before the Organization of the Party in 1559.* In 1525 a commission was appointed by Parliament to detect and to try Lutherans. Louis de Berquin, a man of high rank, of rare talent,

and great learning, who had become a Protestant in 1523, was the first victim of the commission. After repeated imprisonments and horrible tortures he was executed (1529). The effect of these proceedings was probably, on the whole, favorable to Protestantism. The Swiss and German Protestants, rulers and theologians, interceded for the persecuted brethren, but to little purpose. The massacre of the Waldenses (Vaudois) in Provence occurred in 1545. The learned and eloquent Anne du Bourg, a member of Parliament, boldly defended the Protestants in 1559. After imprisonment in the Bastile he died most heroically for the faith. This execution, more than that of Berquin, aided the Protestant cause. Thousands are supposed to have embraced the new religion in consequence.

b. French Protestants from the First National Synod (1559) till the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Persecution was raging almost constantly throughout France during the reign of Henry II. (1547–1559), and the victims might be numbered by thousands. Yet in 1559 representatives of about fifty Protestant churches could assemble in Paris, the center of persecution, for the purpose of completing the organization of their forces. They adopted a Calvinistic confession of faith and a system of church order based upon that of Calvin, but more congregational in character. The first article reads: "No church nor church-officer, be he minister, deacon, or elder, shall claim or exercise any jurisdiction over another." A system of synods was inaugurated, beginning with the consistory of each church, the pastor and elders, ascending to the provincial synod assembling twice a year, and finally to the national synod. No minister should be chosen by less than two or three ministers and their consistories, and to the people is accorded a right to object to the elect minister. Differences between pastors and pastors or officers and people are to be referred to the provincial synod. The national synod is the highest court of appeal.[1]

There are supposed to have been at this time in Normandy fifty thousand Protestants. In Brittany they were very numerous, and

[1] See Quick, "*Synodicon Gall. Ref.*" Lib. I

assembled publicly, in large numbers, to hear preaching. Picardy was swarming with Protestants. La Brie had a large Protestant element. Protestants were gaining a foothold in Champagne and Bourgogne. In Poitou, Anjou, and Saintonge the new religion had early become firmly established. Guyenne, "Catholic in name, was Protestant in fact." Forty pastors were at work in Dauphiny, yet it was said that a thousand would not suffice. Quercy, Albegeois, Cevennes, Provence, and Languedoc were ready to embrace Protestantism. Sixty churches are said to have been in process of formation simultaneously in Provence, and many other bands of Protestants were only waiting for pastors to organize them into churches.

The death of Henry II., and the elevation of Catharine and the Guises to power (1559), led the Bourbons to put themselves at the head of the now strong and aggressive Protestant party. Protestants from various parts of France assembled at Nantes and formed a conspiracy for seizing and trying the Guises, and delivering the regency to the Bourbons. The conspiracy was betrayed and the "tumult" of Amboise resulted in a horrible massacre of Protestants (1560). Louis of Condé was arrested and condemned to death, but the Chancellor L'Hopital refused to sign the death warrant, and the young king, Francis II., dying (December 5, 1560), Catharine resolved to assume the regency, and, by the aid of Louis and Antoine of Bourbon, to throw off the Guises. For a time Catharine was gracious to the Protestants. A hearing was granted them, and Theo. Beza ably and eloquently defended the Protestants, and pleaded for toleration. The Huguenot leaders demanded not only toleration in religious matters, but also the abolition of certain religious orders, the exclusion from the king's council of foreigners (the Guises), and the partial confiscation of church property. The numbers of the Huguenots were multiplying, and they were daily becoming more and more aggressive. Through the defection of Antoine, and the influence of the Guises, the massacring of the Protestants was resumed (1562).

In April, 1562, the Huguenots, assembled at Orleans, resolved to take up arms. Three sanguinary religious wars follow each other in quick succession, the results in each instance being indecisive, and the Protestants making moderate terms of peace only to be betrayed by

Catharine and the Guises. The peace of St. Germain (August 8, 1570) gave the Protestants a limited liberty of worship outside of Paris and the right to challenge a certain number of judges in the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Dijon, Aix, Rennes, Grenoble, and Bordeaux. Moreover, four cities of refuge were entrusted to them for two years—La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité.

Coligny was invited to the royal court and treated with the utmost consideration. He soon gained, apparently, the ascendency over the feeble young king, Charles IX. A marriage was arranged between Henry of Navarre and the king's sister. Catharine finding that she was losing her influence, formed, with her son Henry and the Guises, a conspiracy for the assassination of Coligny.

Jeanne d'Albret, who opposed the marriage of her son to Margaret of Valois, died suddenly and mysteriously, possibly from poison, June 8, 1572. The marriage occurred August 18. Coligny was shot, not mortally, by a hired assassin, August 22. The details of the massacre were arranged by Catharine, her son Henry, the Duchess of Nemours, her son Henry of Guise, and her brother-in-law, the Duke of Aumale.

c. French Protestants from the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day till the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes (1572–1598). A large number of Huguenot nobles had, by invitation, come to Paris, on the occasion of the marriage of Henry of Navarre and the Princess Margaret. It was designed at first only to secure the assassination of Coligny. The shot not proving fatal, alarm seized upon the conspirators lest the king should avenge the attempt on the life of his favorite. Visiting the wounded Coligny, in company with his mother and brother, the king had a secret interview with Coligny, in which the latter warned him against the undue influence of Catharine and Henry. Charles, in a fit of passion, blurted out the substance of the conversation. Catharine and Henry resolved to make sure of Coligny's death. They succeeded, by false representations of the intentions and movements of the Protestants against the king, in working Charles into a desperate and frenzied state of mind. He now entered

passionately into the scheme, and the general massacre was agreed upon. The horrible details of the massacre, which occurred August 24, must be omitted. Coligny was slain, and with him hundreds of the noblest of the Huguenots. The number of victims throughout France was probably from twenty to fifty thousand. There was great rejoicing in the papal and Spanish courts.

The Protestants who escaped were soon reorganized and ready to strike another blow for freedom. Years of war and massacre followed. Three Henrys filled important places in the history of this period: Henry III., brother and successor of Charles IX.; Henry, Duke of Guise, member of the Spanish League, through whom Philip II., of Spain, distributed his ducats for the perpetuation of civil war in France, and himself an aspirant to the throne; and Henry of Navarre, after the death of Coligny the greatest military leader of the Huguenots. The authority of Henry of Guise becoming formidable through Spanish gold, the king secured his assassination, December, 1588. King Henry III. was himself assassinated, through the influence of the Spanish League, August, 1589. Henry of Navarre was now the most legitimate claimant of the crown. Yet he had to fight his way to it against the combined powers of Spain and Roman Catholic France. He received some aid from the struggling Netherlanders, from England, and from Germany. Finally he made terms with the pope (1593) and secured the allegiance of the papal party in France. His throne was now secure, but peace had not yet come.

Having by 1598 secured civil tranquillity, Henry now applied himself to the task of quieting the State ecclesiastic. The "Edict of Nantes" was directed to this end.

This edict, so far as it affected Protestants, contained the following provisions: Complete liberty of conscience; limited freedom to exercise the Reformed religion, *i. e.*, lords, gentlemen, and others, having the privilege of high justice, were to be permitted to hold religious exercises in their houses for their families, tenants, etc.; Protestant worship was to be permitted in all places where it was practised in 1596–1597, and where Protestants had a right to worship according to the Edict of Pacification (1577), and according to articles, etc., made at Nerac and Felix; in every bailiwick, seneschalship, and government depending immediately upon the royal courts of Parliament one place in the suburbs of one town was accorded to the Protestants

for public worship. Yet the Protestants were so hampered by restrictions that anything like peaceable aggressive work was impossible.

(4) *Concluding Remarks.* As a result of the forty years' struggle for religious liberty the French Protestants had become more a political than a religious party. Partisanship had taken the place of evangelical zeal. The laws, combined with the extreme antagonism of the two parties, put Protestant progress out of the question. The Romanists had all the means of aggression in their own hands. The Protestants could hope, at best, for nothing better than a gradual extinction. The Jesuits were at work here, as everywhere, and their diabolical principles were soon to work the ruin of their defenseless adversaries. Continuance in the enjoyment of the meagre provisions of the Edict of Nantes depended almost entirely on the will of the monarch. One by one the privileges of the Protestants were abridged, and their condidition became gradually more and more intolerable.

The Edict of Nismes (1629) partially restored the privileges, the withdrawal of which and the consequent persecutions of the Protestants had led again to civil war.

Persecution and oppression were soon renewed. Protestant children were taken from their parents to be brought up as Catholics; Protestants were made incapable of holding any office or preferment; spies were sent to their places of worship, and the slightest expression of dissatisfaction with the government was made a ground of imprisonment, etc.; extraordinary taxes were imposed upon Protestants, and their means of living were continually decreasing.

The revocation of the Edicts of Nantes and Nismes (1685) deprived the Protestants of all privileges and made it necessary to renounce the faith, suffer martyrdom, or flee the realm. Large numbers emigrated to England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and America. The number of emigrants has been variously estimated at from five hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand. Hundreds of thousands renounced the faith. Thousands suffered martyrdom. A small proportion remained secretly and were enabled, after the rigor of the persecution had somewhat abated, to reorganize their forces.[1]

[1] See on the French Protestants, Lichtenberger, "*Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses,*" esp art. "*France Protestante.*"

12. *Calvinism in Scotland: The Scottish Reformation.*

LITERATURE: See on the Scottish Reformation: Knox's Works, ed. Laing; Spotswood, "History of the Church of Scotland"; Woodrow, "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," ed. Burns; McCrie, "Sketches of Scottish Church History," "Life of John Knox," "Life of And. Melville"; Hetherington, "History of the Church of Scotland"; Calderwood, "The True History of the Church of Scotland"; Row, "Historie of the Kirk"; Howie, "Scots Worthies," ed. Carslaw; Lorimer, "Pat. Hamilton"; Burton, "History of Scotland"; Grub, "Eccl. Hist. of Scotland"; Stanley, "History of the Church of Scotland"; Rainey, "Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland"; Cunningham, "Church History of Scotland"; Brown, "John Knox," 2 vols., 1895–1896; Geffcken, "Church and State," Vol. I., p. 396, *seq.*; Sack, "*Die Kirche von Schottland*"; Gemberg, "*Die Schott. National Kirche*"; Rudloff, "*Gesh. d. Reform. in Schottland*"; and Lichtenberger, art. "*Ecosse*."

The reformatory elements in the Scottish movement were essentially the same as in the French. Yet the results in the two cases were very different. The differences of results are due chiefly to three causes: difference of national characteristics, difference of internal political condition, difference of external political relations.

(1) *Condition of Scotland at the Beginning of the Reformation.* Scotland was first evangelized by British missionaries, and hence received Christianity in a comparatively free and pure form. For a long time nothing like diocesan episcopacy was known. During the latter half of the eleventh century, through the influence of Margaret, the intensely Roman Catholic wife of King Malcolm, and the retinue of Norman courtiers that followed her to Scotland, Pope Hildebrand was enabled strongly to impress the Roman type of Christianity upon the Scottish Church. The Culdees were replaced by secular clergy. Italian and French monasticism was introduced. The Scottish clergy had a prolonged struggle with the English archbishops who demanded their obedience.

From 1235 to 1314 the Scotch were engaged in a struggle for freedom from England. The victory of Bannockburn, due to the valor of Wallace and Bruce, resulted in Scottish independence (1314). The sturdiness and patriotism of the Scotch, remarkable before, were enhanced by these struggles and this victory.

In 1330 Robert Bruce, now king of Scotland, established a university on the model of the University of Paris. Already closely allied to France, Scotland became, from this time onward, so thoroughly Gallicanized that it came to be remarked, that if one would see France he must begin with Scotland. The intimate relations existing between Scotland and France, and the inveterate antagonism existing between Scotland and England, account for the fact that Scotland received reformatory impulses from the country of Calvin rather than from that of Cranmer.

The French pope and king had encouraged and aided the Scotch in their war of independence. The Roman Catholic sway in Scotland became complete, and the clergy and monks were as vicious and worthless here as anywhere in Europe.

The reformatory efforts of Wycliffe and Huss sensibly affected Scotland. In 1407 the Lollard preacher, John Resby, and in 1432 the Hussite Bohemian, Paul Crawer, were burned in Scotland for disseminating their anti-papal views. From this time onward a strong, but for the most part suppressed, sentiment in favor of reform prevailed in Scotland among all classes.

In 1494 thirty Lollards were seized at Kyle and examined by the Archbishop of Glasgow. They were charged with utterly repudiating the hierarchical church with all its non-scriptural and anti-scriptural doctrines and practices, insisting on the universal priesthood of believers, denying the lawfulness of oaths and warfare, and the right of kings to judge (in religious matters presumably). It can hardly be supposed that these vigorous evangelicals were alone in their protest against ecclesiastical corruptions and perversions.

(2) *Hindrances and Helps to the Scottish Reformation. a. Hindrances.* These were very slight as compared with the hindrances to the French Reformation. There was here no thoroughly centralized government, no Catharine de Medici, no controlling Guise influence, no subservient parliament, no University of Paris, no paramount Spanish influence, no degraded populace unused to war, no concordat with its cardinalates, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbacies to be conferred upon influential noblemen.

Most of the opposition to reform resulted from French influence, and especially from the influence of the Guises;

but the Guises had abundant occupation nearer home, and their designs upon Scotland were easily frustrated.

Of course a considerable amount of resistance was offered by the corrupt hierarchy, and by the ignorance and superstition of the people. But all these obstacles were sure to yield to the enthusiasm of a Knox.

b. Helps. (*a*) The power of the nobles was so great that the Romanizing sovereigns could not withstand a combination of these in an opposing cause. The Scottish nobles had little interest in the maintenance of the papacy, and much in its abolition. Here, as in Germany, the nobles were influenced in part by a desire to appropriate the church property.

(*b*) A spirit of independence existed among all classes of Scotchmen. This spirit, which had earlier taken a political direction, could easily be turned in opposition to ecclesiastical oppression.

(*c*) A large number of people had been under Lollard influence, and there was wanting only a little encouragement to induce a formidable manifestation of opposition to the hierarchy.

(*d*) This encouragement was afforded, from 1525 onward, by the writings of Luther, extensively circulated in Scotland; by the teachings and martyrdom (1528) of Patrick Hamilton, a man of princely lineage, thorough education, and magnificent devotion to the truth; and by the extensive circulation of Tyndale's English Bible.

(*e*) The Scotch had a leader who combined the enthusiasm and the popular power of Luther with the sternness and steadfastness of Calvin. Had the obstacles to reform been even greater than they were, we can but feel that John Knox would have overcome them. A patriot, a prophet, he could proclaim the truth as boldly in the presence of hostile kings as in the presence of peasants—and sovereigns, no less than peasants, were awed by the intensity of his convictions.

(*f*) The Scottish people showed the same sturdiness and tenacity of purpose, when once they had adopted Protestant principles, in their resistance to papal domination, as they had earlier shown in their struggle against English oppression. The "Covenant" was not a mere form of words. Its signers meant just what they said

(3) *Characteristics of the Scottish Reformation. a. It was Calvinistic, i. e.*, it was a doctrinal rather than a political movement; it was thorough; it made much of church discipline; it exalted the Church above the State; it exalted the Scriptures and claimed to make them the only norm of faith and practice.

b. It Succeeded in Winning all Classes to its Support. The nobles were among the first to enroll themselves in its ranks and the common people were not long in discovering that Protestantism was best for them. A remarkable unanimity soon appeared among the Scotch in religious matters.

c. It was Democratic. The church order of the Scottish Church was, like that of the French Protestants, more democratic than that of Geneva. The right of the congregation to elect its own minister is distinctly recognized. The Kirk-session, or Consistory (ministers, elders, and deacons), met once a week; the Provincial Synod, twice a year; the General Assembly, once a year.

d. It was Educational. The Scottish reformers, like Calvin, laid great stress upon education, especially education in the languages and the interpretation of the Scriptures.

e. It was Exceedingly Intolerant. Like all other branches of the Reformation, except the Anabaptist and Socinian, Scottish Protestantism was exceedingly intolerant. Knox and his followers, like Calvin, believed that heresy ought to be promptly and violently suppressed, and so great was their energy of conviction that their practice was generally conformed to their theory. But their system was so well adapted to the needs of the people and the time that little Protestant dissent occurred in Scotland, and the Roman Catholic dissent was soon overcome.

(4) *Course of Events until the Complete Establishment of Protestantism. a. Scottish Protestantism Before the Appearance of Knox.* Patrick Hamilton, a man of royal lineage, was educated in the University of Paris (master's degree, 1520), where he studied scholastic theology, was brought under Erasmic influence, and learned something, doubtless, of Luther's reformation. He also studied at Louvaine, where he may have had personal intercourse with Erasmus. Returning to Scotland he became a student

in the University of St. Andrews (1523), and afterward a member of the faculty (1524). The act of Parliament against the circulation and reading of Luther's books (1525) may have led Hamilton to declare himself in favor of reform earlier than he would otherwise have done (1526). In 1527 he went to Wittenberg, and thence to Marburg. Here he probably met Tyndale and Frith, the English reformers. Especially influential on Hamilton's development was the earnest and spiritual Francis Lambert, an ex-Franciscan who had left his native France for Wittenberg, had been appointed to a professorship in the new University of Marburg (1526), and was to take a leading part in carrying out the reformation in Hesse. In the autumn of 1527 Hamilton returned to Scotland, full of missionary zeal, and resolved to devote himself to the reformation of his native land. His preaching and his theological teaching were ardent and earnest. He was soon accused before Archbishop Beaton, tried and condemned for heresy. His brother, Sir James Hamilton, and Duncan, Laird of Airdrie, attempted, with a small army, to rescue him, but failed. Having made a most earnest and effective address to the people, he died heroically at the stake, February, 1528.

Hamilton's influence called forth a number of other zealous preachers of noble birth, who likewise suffered for the faith. Many noble laymen were also aroused by his labors and sufferings to the necessity for reform. The powerful hierarchy and the priest-ridden king, James V., promptly and recklessly suppressed the earlier manifestations of dissent, but here, as elsewhere, persecution strengthened the cause of the persecuted. By 1540 a considerable number of lords, earls, barons, lairds, etc., had accepted the new faith. From this time onward the increase of Protestants was greatly accelerated, so that by 1543 "eighteen score noblemen and gentlemen" are said to have been "well-minded to God's word."

Next to Hamilton the most influential of Knox's precursors was George Wishart, brother of the Laird of Pittarrow, who, having been banished from Scotland for teaching the Greek language and for Protestant proclivities, spent some years in the University of Cambridge,

and returned in 1544 to preach the gospel to his fellow-countrymen. He is described as a man of Johannine loveliness and apostolic zeal. When not allowed to preach in the churches, he preached in the market-places and fields. Large numbers heard him and were convinced. John Knox, soon to become the leader of the Scottish Reformation, became devotedly attached to him and sometimes accompanied him on his preaching tours, sword in hand, to protect him from violence. Wishart was tried, condemned, and burned in March, 1546.

Cardinal Beaton, before whom Wishart was tried, was murdered soon afterward, probably through the influence of Wishart's friends. He was a most shameless and unscrupulous prelate. The martyrdom of Wishart gave a fresh impetus to the Protestant cause.

(5) *The Scottish Reformation under John Knox.* John Knox, born in 1505, educated at the University of St. Andrews, where he studied and taught scholastic philosophy, converted to Protestantism about 1542, labored quietly for the promotion of Protestantism for some time, but preached and taught boldly and effectively after the death of Wishart. Besieged and captured with other Protestants in the castle of St. Andrews by the French (1547), Knox became, and remained for nineteen months, a galley-slave. He endured his captivity heroically, his faith and his zeal suffering no abatement. Released from the galleys (1549) Knox repaired to England, where he labored in various ways for the Protestant cause until 1554. Driven from England by the persecuting zeal of Queen Mary (1554), he went to Dieppe, and thence to Geneva. He remained in Geneva for some months, going to Dieppe meanwhile to get intelligence of his persecuted brethren. In Geneva he became intimately acquainted with Calvin, carried forward his studies, and wrote his "Admonition to England," an exceedingly vehement and bitter denunciation of Mary and her husband and of the Emperor Charles V.

In September, 1554, at the earnest entreaty of the English exiles there and with Calvin's approval, Knox became pastor of an English congregation in Frankfort on the Main. Here difficulties arose as to the liturgy, and Knox was accused of treason in writing against the

emperor in the work mentioned above. He soon returned to Geneva, where he remained till July, 1555, when he set out for Scotland. Sustained by a number of noblemen, he labored zealously for nearly a year and prepared the way for his great reformatory work that was soon to follow.

In 1556 he received and accepted a call from the English congregation at Geneva. After his departure for Geneva he was condemned to death and burned in effigy by the prelates. He labored in Geneva for two years, never losing sight, however, of his native Scotland.

In March, 1557, he received an invitation to return to Scotland, signed by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Loren, Lord Erskine, and Lord James Stewart, who assured him of protection and co-operation. He accepted the invitation, but the noblemen wavered and he found it impracticable to return.

In this and the following year he aided in making a new translation of the Bible (the Genevan version), and published a number of strong polemical tracts: "Letter to the Queen Regent"; "Appellation and Exhortation"; "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," etc.

In December, 1557, a large number of lords and chief gentry made the following covenant:

> We do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation that we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labor at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and wairing of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the aforesaid congregation. Unto the which holy congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof, etc.

The war with England, beginning 1556, gave considerable freedom to the Scottish Protestants. Knox's letters and his published writings, together with the martyrdom of an aged priest, Walter Milne (1558), led the Protestants to throw off all restraint.

Knox returned to Scotland in 1559, and preached with irresistible zeal throughout the realm. The people were wrought up by his preaching to the highest pitch of iconoclasm. Shrines, images, pictures, and religious houses were ruthlessly destroyed. Civil war ensued. The Protestants triumphed (July, 1560). Parliament, which soon afterward assembled, commissioned Knox and others to draw up a summary of doctrine. This they promptly did and the Confession was as promptly ratified. The articles are strictly Calvinistic, and served as a confessional standard until the Westminster Assembly set forth the same doctrines more elaborately (1647).

During this same year the Privy Council commissioned Knox and others to set down the heads of discipline. The result was "The First Book of Discipline."

This provided for the division of Scotland into ten dioceses, for the appointment of permanent officers of the church (pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons), and temporal officers (superintendents or evangelists, who were to travel from place to place and aid in organizing Protestant churches, visitors, and readers); for national, provincial, and congregational synods; for the application of church revenues to the endowment of institutions of learning; for the punishment of offenders, etc. The Book of Discipline was not fully ratified, partly because some objected to the excessive rigor of the discipline, and others to the disposition of church property.

The arrival of Queen Mary Stuart in Scotland (1561) encouraged the defeated papal party. Supported by Spain and France, but still more powerfully opposed by Elizabeth and the Protestant party in Scotland, she was obliged to abdicate (1567). In the same year Parliament declared the Reformed Church to be "the only true and holy kirk of Jesus Christ within this realm."

Protestantism was now triumphant in Scotland; but a struggle was soon to be inaugurated between Church and State. The church claimed judgment of true and false religion; election, examination, admission, suspension, and deprivation of church officers; all church discipline; judgment in ecclesiastical matters; excommunication, after admonition, of any that attempt to rob the kirk of the patrimony pertaining to the ministry, etc.; judgment in matters pertaining to marriage, divorce, etc.

The regency, on the other hand, was anxious to retain

control of church property with the prerogative of nominating to benefices. The regency appointed bishops. This proceeding the kirk resented and denounced as "high contempt of God." The bishops thus appointed were contemptuously called "Tulchan bishops."

Knox died in 1572, "the light and comfort of our kirk, and a pattern to ministers for holiness of life, soundness in doctrine, and courageous liberty in rebuking of persons of whatsoever rank." [1]

(6) *The Scottish Reformation under Melville until the Settlement of 1592.* Andrew Melville returned to Scotland in 1574, after an absence of ten years in Poitiers and Geneva, and soon took Knox's place in the struggle with the regency.

In 1578 a new Book of Polity was prepared (it was officially registered in 1581), in which the relations between Church and State are clearly defined; the claims of the State remained as above. The holding of civil offices by ministers is condemned.

In 1580 the General Assembly declared the office of bishop "unlawful in itself, as having neither foundament, ground, nor warrant in the word of God," and commanded all so-called bishops to desist from the exercise of their functions, on pain of excommunication.

In January, 1581, the king and his court were induced to subscribe a Confession of Faith involving the full recognition of the rights of the church, and to enforce subscription to the Confession on the part of subjects of all ranks. This document is known as "John Craig's Confession of Faith" and "The First National Covenant."

The king, as he came to feel more secure in his authority, grew more and more impatient of ecclesiastical restraint. His licentious courtiers, influenced in part by Jesuits (of whom a number were now secretly laboring in Scotland), in part by the rigor of the discipline of the kirk, and in part by the slenderness of the patronage that the king retained, persuaded him to resist the ecclesiastical tyranny.

In 1584 the famous "Black Acts" were passed by

[1] Calderwood.

Parliament, in which it was declared treasonable to decline the judgment of the king or his privy council, to impugn or seek to diminish the power and authority of parliament, or to censure the king or his council in private or public, in sermons or familiar conferences; all subjects were prohibited from convening any assembly except the ordinary courts, and from consulting or determining on any matter of State, civil or ecclesiastical, without special royal license; and provision was made for the royal appointment of bishops.

More than twenty ministers, and several lords, fled for their lives to England. Pestilence and tempests caused the people to cry out for the return of the banished lords. Elizabeth, moreover, gave them aid and encouragement, and they returned, armed for resistance (1585). James thought it best to yield to the demands of the lords and the people, and now made some concessions to the kirk. In 1592 occurred the settlement in which nearly all of its claims were confirmed to the kirk.

13. *Calvinism in the Netherlands.*

LITERATURE: See Brandt, "The History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries," 4 vols., 1720; Prescott, "History of Philip II."; Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic," "History of the United Netherlands," "Life and Death of John of Barneveld"; Moll, "*Kirchengesch. d. Niederlanden*," 1895; Hansen, "The Reformed Church in the Netherlands," 1884; de Hoop-Scheffer, "*Gesch. d. Ref. in d. Niederlanden*," 1886; Blok, "History of the People of the Netherlands" (Eng. tr.), 1898.

As a part of the hereditary possessions of Charles V., the Netherlands were carefully guarded against the encroachments of Protestantism. The first martyrs to the evangelical faith during the Reformation time were two Augustinian friars, Henrik Voes and Jan Esch, burned at Brussels July 1, 1523. Luther wrote a hymn in their honor. Few parts of Europe had been more profoundly affected by mediæval heresy of various types. Along with Waldensianism and evangelical mysticism, the teachings of the Brethren of the Common Life, the teachings of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and other less wholesome forms of dissent, had been widely diffused. Humanism, under the influence of Erasmus,

had gained a firm foothold. Lutheranism and Zwinglianism early found a considerable number of adherents, but were so bitterly antagonistic as largely to neutralize each other. Both yielded (1529 onward) to the great popular Anabaptist propaganda, led first by Hofmann, then by Matthys, and later by Menno. Up to 1553 the Mennonites were by far the most numerous and influential of the evangelical parties. From this time onward the mighty evangelizing influence of Calvinism began to make itself felt. From 1553 to 1558 large numbers of English Protestants, who were Calvinistic in faith, took refuge in the Netherlands from the persecution of Mary and greatly furthered the Calvinistic cause.

During the later years of Charles V., under the regency of his sister Maria, a considerable measure of toleration prevailed. Philip II. (1555 onward) had been trained by the Jesuits to abominate Protestantism and to subordinate all other interests to its extermination. He began by creating fourteen new dioceses for the more complete ecclesiastical administration of the provinces. In 1559 he committed the regency to his sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, with Anton Granvella as her chief counsellor. Granvella's administration so exasperated the nobles that he had to be recalled (1564). The political opposition and the Calvinistic propaganda were by this time united against Spanish oppression. Philip required the unconditional exclusion of heresy and acceptance of Catholicism as defined by the Council of Trent. Placards against heretics were posted throughout the country and the Inquisition was about to be established.

In 1556 a league was formed by the Calvinistic nobles for the purpose of resisting Philip's exterminating measures, and the Calvinistic consistories united in an ecclesiastical league. The league of nobles and the league of consistories formally united forces on December 1, 1556. Their rebellious demonstration was suppressed by Margaret's troops.

Early in 1567 the Duke of Alva, with a Spanish army, entered upon his work of destroying all opposition to Spanish and Catholic authority. By 1573, when he left the country, he had spread desolation everywhere, and with an atrocity rarely equaled, had massacred eighteen

thousand of the evangelicals, including many women and children. Belgium was in a few years almost cleared of its Protestant population, but the evangelical cause rapidly gained strength in the Northern Provinces, which formed the Union of Utrecht (June, 1579), and with William of Orange as its military chieftain, entered in an organized way upon the conflict with Spain that was to result in a glorious independence.

In 1561 the Calvinistic churches had adopted a Confession of Faith (the Belgic Confession), which was presented as an apology to Philip II. (1562), with the hope of gaining toleration. It claimed to represent more than a hundred thousand subjects who were resolved to obey the government in all things lawful, but would "offer their backs to stripes, their tongues to knives, their mouths to gags, and their whole bodies to the fire," rather than deny Christ.

It was drafted by Guy de Bray, then a youth of less than twenty, who, till his death, in 1567, was one of the great factors in the spread of Calvinism in the Netherlands.

The Netherlands greatly prospered during the war, building up the best navy in the world, gaining a commercial and manufacturing ascendency, and attaining to a leading position in the intellectual world. The heroism with which Leyden sustained the siege of 1573–1574 was rewarded by William of Orange with a great university. The university at Franeker was founded in 1585, that of Groningen in 1612, that of Utrecht in 1636, and that at Harderwyk in 1648. These all became strongholds of Calvinism, although the University of Leyden gave birth to Arminianism (c. 1606), which divided the body and involved much bitter controversy.

The Arminian controversy and the great National Synod of Dort will be considered in a later section.

14. *Calvinism in Other Lands.*

(1) *The Zwinglian Cantons of Switzerland.* The more vigorous and aggressive type of Reformed teaching represented by Calvin and Geneva gradually gained the ascendency over the earlier Zwinglian type. After many

attempts to harmonize the Genevan with the other Swiss churches, the second Helvetic Confession (1566), prepared by Bullinger, was signed by representatives of Geneva, Bern, Schaffhausen, Biel, the Grisons, St. Gall, and Mühlhausen, and was ultimately accepted by Basel. It occupies a leading position among the Reformed Confessions.

(2) *Germany.* Calvinism was rigorously excluded from toleration by Lutheran and Catholic princes in the Augsburg Treaty of 1555. By 1563 this faith had become so far dominant in the Palatinate that the Heidelberg Catechism, one of the great symbols of the Calvinistic churches, was adopted by a synod with the approval of the Elector Frederick III. It was drafted by Zacharias Ursinus, who was well versed in Lutheran as well as Calvinistic Theology, and Caspar Olevianus, whose training had been chiefly French and Swiss.

It is unsurpassed for depth, comfort, and beauty, and, once committed to memory, can never be forgotten. It represents Christianity in its evangelical, practical, cheering aspect, not as a commanding law, not as an intellectual scheme, not as a system of outward observances, but as the best gift of God to man as a source of peace and comfort in life and in death.[1]

At the diet of Augsburg (1556) Frederick declared himself ready to lose his crown rather than violate his conscience by professing another faith.

Calvinism made rapid headway during the Netherlandish war in the Lower Rhenish Provinces, largely through the presence of Dutch refugees.

After Luther's death Melanchthon became more and more sympathetic with Calvinism, and Crypto-Calvinism was dominant for a time in the Universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig (1560–1574). It was rigorously suppressed by the Lutheran princes, but not wholly destroyed.

The Thirty Years' War, in which Calvinists were the chief defenders of the Protestant cause, gave a great advantage to Calvinism, which has, since the peace of Westphalia (1648), had a recognized standing throughout Germany side by side with Lutheranism.

[1] Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. I., p. 541.

(3) *In England.* Under Edward VI., Calvinism exerted considerable influence on theological thought. The Catholic reaction under Mary drove from the country most of the ablest and most zealous Protestant ministers. Many of these took refuge in Geneva and other Calvinistic lands, and became thoroughly indoctrinated with Calvinistic theology and inspired with Calvinistic ideals. The great Puritan party that developed under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. was thoroughly Calvinistic. English Nonconformists also (1584 onward) represent an important phase of Calvinistic teaching. Calvinism was transplanted (1620 onward) to the English colonies in North America, and has constituted one of the great factors in the religious and political development of the New World.

VII. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

LITERATURE: Publications of the Parker Society, embracing the works of the English Reformers of the times of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth; Burnet's "Hist. of the Reformation," Strype's Memorials, Annals, Lives of Cranmer, Grindal, Parker, and Whitgift; English State Papers from the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, published by the Master of the Rolls. Perry, "Hist. of the Ch. of Eng."; Geikie, "Hist. of the Eng. Reformation"; Dixon, "Hist. of the Ch. of Eng."; Clark, "The Anglican Reformation"; pertinent sections in manuals of ch. hist. and in works on the Reformation; the histories of England, by Green, Froude, Hume, Lingard, Hallam, Gardiner, etc.; encyclopædia articles on the Eng. Ref. and on the leading characters.

1. *Condition of England at the Beginning of the Reformation.*

The partial exhaustion of the people and the overthrow of many noble families in the wars of the fifteenth century; the growth of the mercantile spirit, with its love of peace and its preference for a strong central authority; the introduction of gunpowder for military purposes making private warlike enterprises difficult of inauguration and assuring their failure; the growth of the wool trade and the resulting disorganization of the labor system; the thrift of the kings of England (especially Edward IV. and Henry VII.), which co-operated with their peaceable policy and their practice of extorting loans or "benevolences" from their subjects, to make

them, in great measure, independent of Parliament; the establishment of the Court of the Star Chamber; the creation of a large number of new peers pledged to subserviency to the royal will; the limiting of suffrage to freeholders; these and other causes combined to form in England a strong centralized civil government.

By the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. (1500), Parliament, formerly powerful, had well-nigh lost its independent authority and was rarely convened. It was a part of Henry's policy to crush out what remained of popular liberty, and to establish a despotism as absolute as that of the sultan.

The ecclesiastical estate, as was commonly the case in the Middle Ages, had profited by civil strife and general misery, and had by this time acquired titles to a very large part of the landed property of England. The princes had been so occupied in warring against each other that they had not found time of late to resist ecclesiastical oppression; rather, they had felt it necessary to yield to the papal usurpations and to invoke ecclesiastical aid each against his rival. The statutes of *Mortmain*, *Provisors*, and *Præmunire* were no longer enforced. Ignorance, superstition, luxury, vice, and imposture prevailed to a most shocking extent among clergy and monks.

A perfect understanding existed between Henry VIII. and the popes, the king espousing the papal cause in the papal wars with the emperor, the king of France, and with Luther, and enjoying the right of nominating to all ecclesiastical offices in England; the pope bestowing upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," favoring his claims on French territory, and confirming his ecclesiastical appointments.

Henry VIII., by bestowing and causing to be bestowed on his favorite, Thomas Wolsey, all subroyal civil and all ecclesiastical authority in England (Wolsey was at the same time lord chancellor, prime minister, and cardinal legate, enjoyed the revenues of a large number of rich benefices, had at his disposal all ecclesiastical benefices in England, and was plenipotentiary of the pope in England), and by keeping Wolsey in absolute subserviency to himself, well-nigh realized his ideal of

absolute civil and ecclesiastical authority within his own realm.

The New Learning, which made such progress under Colet, Erasmus, and More, and which seemed at first so friendly to reformation, was favored by Henry VIII. and Wolsey; but by reason of the violence of Luther's polemics, the strife among continental Protestant leaders, the disorganizing tendency of Protestantism as seen in the Peasants' War, the rigor of Luther's theological system, etc., it had become, by 1525, actively hostile to the Lutheran and kindred reformatory movements. Thomas More answered Luther's fierce and contemptuous reply to King Henry's "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments" with Luther's own vehemence and coarseness.

The Lollard party, followers of Wycliffe, had never become entirely extinct. Every few years during the fifteenth century an individual or a small band was discovered, tried, and forced to abjure, or be burned. They were probably encouraged during the early years of the sixteenth century by the progress of the New Learning. In the year 1509–1512 large numbers of men and women were arraigned before the ecclesiastical authorities on charges of Lollard heresy.

The teachings of Luther, notwithstanding the hostility of the civil and ecclesiastical rulers and the scholars of England, early made way in England, and powerfully stimulated the Lollard and other dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical corruption. The Bible, translated and printed abroad by William Tyndale, together with some of Wycliffe's tracts, translations of some of Luther's writings, and Protestant tracts by Tyndale himself, were introduced into England, 1526 onward, and were eagerly read, notwithstanding the strict prohibition of the authorities.

2. *Summary of Hindrances and Helps to Reformation in England.*

(1) *Hindrances.* *a.* The practical centralization of all civil and ecclesiastical authority in a king utterly opposed, on principle and from policy, to the spirit of Protestantism. *b.* The hostility to Protestantism of the fore-

most promoters of the New Learning in England. *c.* The purely selfish motives of the king in breaking with Rome, and the arbitrary way in which he carried on the reforming movement. *d.* The peasants, whose outward condition was made worse through the dissolution of the monasteries and the redistribution of the property, and for whose instruction in Christian truth no suitable provision was made, remained for the most part hostile to the Reformation until the time of Elizabeth. *e.* The lack of a great religious leader, like Luther, Calvin, or Knox, to arouse the nation to the need for reform. It is doubtful, however, whether either of these men could have maintained himself in England under Henry VIII. *f.* The comparatively small number of educated men in England at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

(2) *Helps.* *a.* The persistence of Lollard influence, with its study of Wycliffe's Bible and Wycliffe's tracts. *b.* The New Learning, with its exposure of ecclesiastical imposture and corruption, and its fostering of the study of the Scriptures. *c.* German Protestantism, through the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, etc., and otherwise. *d.* The banishment of Protestants (especially under Queen Mary), who became thoroughly indoctrinated in Protestantism, and who were ready to return, when opportunity should offer, to labor for a complete reformation of the English Church. *e.* Henry's contest with the papacy, though entirely unevangelical in spirit, gave some opportunity for the progress of evangelical doctrine and thus indirectly favored the religious movement.

3. *Characteristics of the English Reformation.*

(1) It is evident, from what has been said, that two distinct anti-papal movements were progressing simultaneously in England: a religious movement embodying Lollard, humanistic, and Lutheran influences; and a political movement, the aim whereof was to transfer all papal authority to the king. The king attempted to make use of the religious movement, as far as it should be necessary for the accomplishment of his designs; while the Protestants, on the other hand, attempted to turn the anti-papal policy of the king to the advantage of pure religion.

(2) Especially after the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Protestant party had become strong in numbers and in influence, was there a constant struggle between the Romanizing and the Protestant parties, the Romanizing party enjoying the ascendency until the time of Charles I., the Protestant (Puritan) party manifesting its power in the execution of the king, the overthrow of the episcopal system, and the forming of an alliance with the Scottish Presbyterians.

(3) The most characteristic feature of English Protestantism, from the beginning until now (except during the Puritan period), is its half-hearted, compromising disposition. Neither Henry nor Elizabeth would tolerate, in those whom they put at the head of the politico-ecclesiastical administration, any contradiction. Men of convictions and of conscience were, accordingly, excluded from leadership. Men of feebleness of conviction and pliability of conscience shaped the policy of the English Church and fixed its character.

(4) This compromising spirit is manifest in the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles. The great mass of the population (in the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth), was still Roman Catholic at heart. The new order of things must, therefore, be made to conform outwardly as closely as possible to the old. The Prayer Book, which was to constitute a chief part of the religious instruction of the masses, was based upon Roman Catholic liturgies and is decidedly Romanizing in its tendency. The theologians, on the other hand, had been educated under the influence of German Protestantism. Something decidedly Protestant was demanded by them, and could safely be accorded to them, in the matter of a creed. The Thirty-nine Articles were therefore conceived in a Protestant spirit and based upon Protestant models. Thus it was attempted to make the Anglican ecclesiastical system acceptable to Protestants and Romanizers alike. And so the foundation was laid for two great parties, more antagonistic the one to the other than the Lutheran and the Calvinist, than the Congregationalist and the Presbyterian, which have from that time till now each maintained its right on the ground of its favorite document: the high churchman

interpreting the Articles by the Prayer Book, the low churchman interpreting the Prayer Book by the Articles.

(5) As a result of this compromising spirit in the reformation of doctrine and practice, Anglican theology has always been deficient in independence and vigor. The English Church has developed no great system of theology such as those that were developed in Geneva and in Germany. Casuistry early took, and has continued to hold, the place of independent thinking. To show that the Prayer Book can be interpreted Calvinistically, or that the Articles can be harmonized with Romanist teaching, has been a chief occupation of Anglican theologians.

(6) The policy of the English rulers being to secure and maintain the recognition of the royal supremacy in civil and ecclesiastical matters, they not only enforced upon all civil and ecclesiastical officers subscription to the Act of Supremacy, but also insisted upon absolute uniformity in ecclesiastical practice. The result has been that a large proportion of the ablest and most conscientious Christian men have always felt it necessary to withdraw from the establishment. No other national church has been so fruitful of dissent as the Church of England.

(7) The English Church retained a large part of the mediæval endowments, and these have greatly hindered independence of thought and action by offering temptation to dishonest conformity. Such insincere conformity could not but exert a degrading influence on the Anglican clergy.

(8) From the beginning little effort was made to secure purity in ecclesiastical officers. Ecclesiastical patronage was managed just as corruptly under Edward VI. and Elizabeth as it had been managed during the Middle Ages. Benefices were and are shamelessly bought and sold. Benefices at the disposal of the crown were heaped recklessly upon favorites. The average clergyman was not adequately educated or decently moral, and was far more assiduous in collecting his tithes and rents than in ministering to the spiritual needs of his parish.

(9) Altogether there was little in the politico-ecclesi-

astical movement in England to inspire the confidence or enthusiasm of earnest religious men. The hopes of such were, in general, soon crushed, and they were forced to look elsewhere than to the establishment for the carrying out of their reforming ideas.

4. *Course of Events.*

(1) *The English Reformation under Henry VIII.* Few more absolute despots ever reigned in Europe than Henry VIII. Few rulers have had less regard for human life and for the rights of property. No crime was too black to be perpetrated by him if it seemed conducive to his interest or his pleasure, "He never spared a woman in his lust, or a man in his anger." He appears to have had some superstitious regard for the Roman Catholic religion; but, as was the case with most Roman Catholics and with many Protestants in that age, religion in Henry was absolutely divorced from practical morality. Great as was his regard for Roman Catholicism, his regard for his own pleasure was greater, and he did not scruple to break with the papacy when it could not be made to minister to his wishes.

a. Protestantism under Henry VIII. before the Beginning of the Divorce Negotiations. Henry and his chief advisers were friends of the New Learning. Wolsey early in his career confiscated, with papal sanction, some minor monasteries and devoted the proceeds to the promotion of learning. Tyndale studied the Bible earnestly and long and resolved to translate it for the enlightenment of the people, but he found "that there was no place to do it in all England." He went to the Continent, where he came more decidedly under Luther's influence, and where he translated, and had printed for circulation in England, a large edition of the New Testament, and afterward parts of the Old Testament. The edition of the New Testament reached England in 1526. Luther's influence on the version was recognized, and on this ground chiefly it was condemned by the authorities.

A considerable and zealous Lutheran party had by this time been formed in England. This party was greatly strengthened by the circulation of the Scriptures and of Protestant tracts. Especially did the Lutheran influence

manifest itself in the universities, several of the leading theologians, Barnes, Bilney, Latimer, Clark, etc., becoming open and zealous adherents of the new doctrine. Persecution followed. Many books were burned, and several Protestants were imprisoned. But Wolsey was too much engaged in political schemes, and had too little interest in religious matters, to devote much attention to the extirpation of heresy.

b. Henry's Efforts for a Divorce from Catharine of Aragon. The policy of Henry VII., who came to the throne during a civil war, was to strengthen himself by an alliance with Spain. Accordingly, he betrothed his eldest son, Arthur, to Catharine of Aragon. Arthur died soon after his marriage, and probably before it had been consummated. In his anxiety to maintain the Spanish alliance the king proposed that Catharine be married to his younger son, Henry, who was still under age. Such a marriage being contrary to ecclesiastical law, a special dispensation from the pope had to be secured. This was accomplished through the importunity of Isabella of Spain, much against the will of the pope. The king caused his son to make a secret protest against the marriage, to be used in case it should ever seem desirable to secure a divorce. But the marriage was duly consummated upon Henry's coming to the throne (1509), and they lived together as man and wife until 1524. The death, one after another, of sons, born of this union, Henry's despair of a legitimate male successor, his consciousness of the irregularity of the marriage, perhaps a superstitious feeling that the death of his sons was evidence of divine disapproval of the marriage, his personal antipathy to Catharine who had lost her charms through age and ill health, his passion for the fascinating and seemingly chaste maiden, Anne Boleyn, led him, from 1526 onward, to seek a divorce.

Difficulties of the gravest character presented themselves. The emperor, Charles V., was a nephew of Catharine, and would probably avenge such an indignity to the uttermost. The pope, whose predecessor had granted the dispensation for the marriage, could not declare this dispensation invalid without degrading his office, and he was, moreover, at the mercy of the em-

peror who, in 1527, sacked Rome and took the pope captive. On the other hand, the pope was sorely in need of the friendship of Henry, through whom he hoped for deliverance from imperial thraldom. Wolsey and other agents were empowered to expend large sums of money and to make to the pope the most lavish promises of protection and support in consideration of the granting of the divorce. The pope promised again and again to gratify Henry, but he dared not exasperate the emperor. Month after month Henry was kept in suspense. As Wolsey was papal legate and vicar-general in England, Henry suggested that Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio, whom he had heavily bribed, be commissioned to try the cause in England. The pope reluctantly assented, and prepared a bull annulling the marriage, which he put into the hands of Campeggio. Campeggio was instructed, however, on no account to publish it. The court for the hearing of the cause was opened, but it was adjourned from time to time without accomplishing anything substantial, until the pope recalled the cause to Rome (October, 1529).

Henry was now exasperated beyond measure. Wolsey was degraded from all his offices and emoluments, and there was almost universal rejoicing. It was evident to all that a breach with Rome was inevitable. Just when the king was at his wit's end from the failure to secure a papal bull annulling his marriage, Thomas Cranmer, at that time a modest scholar and theologian, expressed privately the opinion that the king ought not to trouble himself about the judgment of the pope, but ought rather to secure the opinions of the learned men and the universities of Europe. Cranmer's conversation was reported to the king, and it seemed to him to be just what he had been waiting for. "Marry! I trow he has got the right sow by the ear," he exultantly exclaimed. He sent for Cranmer and consulted with him as to the method of carrying out the plan suggested. Cranmer himself wrote a book to prove that the Levitical law, forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's widow, is perpetually binding, and cannot be annulled even by a pope. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, under considerable constraint, and with many

silent or expressed protestations, confirmed Cranmer's opinion. Many Italian ecclesiastics were induced to write in favor of the divorce. The Universities of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, and Padua were of the same opinion. The Swiss theologians, Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and the Lutheran theologian, Osiander, decided in the king's favor. Not only were the opinions of living men of eminence sought, but scholars were commissioned by the king to visit the great libraries of Europe and to copy everything that could be found bearing on this matter.

c. The Divorce and the Breach with Rome. Thomas Cromwell, one of the astutest, most persevering, and most unscrupulous politicians of the age, deeply imbued with the political creed of Machiavelli, had come into some prominence under Wolsey. He succeeded in winning the confidence of Henry and soon had almost boundless authority. His sole political aim seems to have been to complete the despotic power of the king. No religious interests or scruples hindered him. He advised Henry (1530) to take the matter of divorce into his own hands, and to declare himself head of the church within his realm. Cromwell's theory was that the Church is only a department of the State, and that the king has as much right to create a priest or bishop as a civil functionary.

In 1531 the clergy were declared guilty of the violation of the statute of *Præmunire* in recognizing Wolsey's authority as a legate of the pope. The Convocations of Canterbury and York were forced to purchase pardon, the former by the payment of about £100,000, the latter by the payment of £18,840. In the same year Catharine was banished from the royal palace.

In 1532 the right of independent legislation was withdrawn from Convocation, and this body, representing the ecclesiastical estate, humbly assented. Thus another step was taken in the direction of royal absolutism. About the same time all appeals to Rome were absolutely forbidden, and the payment of annates to Rome suspended.

In November, 1532, or January, 1533, after further fruitless efforts to secure the annulling of the marriage at Rome, Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn.

and soon afterward Cranmer, having now become archbishop of Canterbury, declared the marriage of Henry and Catharine null from the beginning, and the marriage with Anne lawful.

d. The Act of Supremacy. In 1534 Parliament enacted that

> The king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, . . and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs, and successors, . . shall have full authority and power from time to time to visit, refer, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempt, enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any spiritual authority and jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, . . any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding.

This act is further so defined as to give to the king absolute ecclesiastical authority alike in matters external (church order, revenues, bestowing of benefices, etc.), and in matters internal (the repression of false doctrine and the promotion of true, etc.).

Cromwell, already keeper of the great seal, was now, though a layman, made vicar-general of the church. Bishops and clergy were speedily brought into a condition of utter subserviency. Not only were their ecclesiastical duties in general prescribed, but the time, subject, and subject-matter of their discourses as well. Spies were generally on hand to report the slightest deviation from instructions and the merest hints at dissatisfaction with the government. The "Court of the Star Chamber," representing the absolute civil and ecclesiastical power of the king, became, in Cromwell's hands, a terror to England. Hundreds of the greatest and noblest men and women of England, among them Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, Queen Anne Boleyn, the Duke of Buckingham, Lady Salisbury, and many abbots, were victims of Cromwell's policy.

e. The Dissolution of the Monasteries. As vicar-general, Cromwell instituted (1535) a visitation of the monaster-

ies, with the intention of dissolving them and confiscating the property. The investigations were not conducted with such a degree of fairness as to give us full confidence in the accuracy of the results, and the "Black Book," in which the results of the investigations were minutely recorded, was destroyed during the reign of Mary; but they were probably, like monasteries in other parts of Europe, shockingly corrupt, and their dissolution was no doubt in the interest of reformation. The motives by which Cromwell and Henry were actuated in the dissolution of the monasteries were probably, first, the desire to replenish the royal exchequer, which had become exhausted; and secondly, the desire to overthrow what were certain to remain hotbeds of treason and centers of papal influence. Obedience to the pope was one of the fundamentals of the monastic orders, and to extirpate them was a far more feasible undertaking than to turn them from popery.

f. The Protestant Party during Cromwell's Ascendency. Cromwell was in favor of Protestantism so far as it could be made subservient to his absolutist policy. Anne Boleyn was by interest, and probably at heart, a Protestant. She owed her queenship to the anti-papal policy. Her marriage was bitterly denounced by Roman Catholics and zealously defended by Protestants. Moreover, she was greatly influenced by Cranmer, to whom she was under obligation. She had for chaplains Shaxton and Latimer, earnest Protestants, whom she protected and promoted to bishoprics. She did what she could to encourage Protestantism.

Cranmer came more and more under the influence of German Protestantism, yet he had little sympathy with the fierceness of German polemics. His moderation was remarkable and his prudence unfailing. Sometimes he acted boldly and contradicted the king for a time; but he did it in such a way as not to exasperate him, and he knew just how far it was safe to press his views. We must say, therefore, that Cranmer was from the first a friend of the Reformation, and that his desire for reform increased year by year; but that his prudence amounted to lack of moral courage, and that on many occasions he weakly refrained from declaring the whole counsel of

God and acquiesced in unevangelical measures with the hope that a more favorable opportunity might occur afterward for emphasizing the truth.

With Henry the principal motives in all his actions were lust, greed of gain, greed of power, and pride. He had written in defense of the Roman Catholic system, and was unwilling to seem to have veered around to the position of his fierce assailant. He shrank from the criticism of the Roman Catholic rulers, many of whom approved of his rejection of papal authority, but would have regarded his interference with doctrine as spiteful and unwarrantable. He had, doubtless, some regard for the prejudices of the masses of the people whom the priests and monks might incite to rebellion in case radical religious changes should be made.

On the other hand, Cranmer strove to impress upon him the fact that papal doctrines and practices rested on the same foundation as papal supremacy, and that the only way to make sure of immunity from papal interference was to encourage Protestantism.

The suppression of the monasteries caused a widespread popular dissatisfaction and a great rebellion was the result. The monks and many clergy were brought into the sharpest antagonism to the government. The rebellion was suppressed, the leaders were put to death, and Henry was thoroughly exasperated. He now went so far as to destroy images and shrines, even the shrine and the relics of Thomas à Becket, the most venerated saint of England.

At Rome Henry was now assailed by a host of writers, who compared him with Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, Diocletian, and Julian the Apostate. The pope published a terrible bull, pronouncing the kingdom under interdict, forbidding the allegiance of his subjects, exhorting the Catholic princes to seize his realm, and anathematizing Henry and his favorers (1538).

In 1537 the king published "The Godly and Pious Institutions of a Christian Man," which constitutes a summary of doctrine. While most Roman Catholic doctrines are retained, the tone of the book is very moderate, and it gave considerable encouragement to the Protestant

party. Especially noticeable was the blow struck at sacerdotalism. During this year, also, Henry gave his warrant for the unrestrained reading of the English Bible by all his subjects. Cranmer rejoiced "that he saw this day of reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God's word did shine over it without any cloud." He assured Cromwell, through whom the favorable action of the king was secured, that in this he had shown him more pleasure than if he had given him a thousand pounds.

Provision was made by law for setting up copies of the Bible publicly in the churches, so that all could read. Every encouragement was given to the reading of the Scriptures. At about the same time various papal superstitions, the adoration of images, the invocation of saints, etc., were forbidden or discouraged.

There was all along an influential Romanizing party in the royal court, which availed itself of every opportunity to prejudice the king against Protestantism. The fall of Anne Boleyn (1536) was promoted by this party and greatly encouraged Romanists everywhere. The birth of a son by his next wife, Jane Seymour (October, 1537), had the reverse effect.

The leading Romanizers, especially Gardiner, now made a great pretense of satisfaction with Henry's ecclesiastical proceedings. They denounced the religious houses and commended Henry for suppressing them. They professed to be much concerned for the order and stability of the kingdom, and urged the king to exterminate sacramentarians and other heretics.

Moreover, the king was displeased because Cranmer and other prelates of Protestant proclivities would not consent to the appropriation of all the abbey lands to the royal use, but insisted upon the application of a large part of the same to educational and philanthropical purposes. Cranmer desired to have a theological seminary in every diocese, a grammar school in every shire, hospitals and workhouses wherever needed.

g. The "Six Articles" or "Bloody Articles." The influence of Cromwell and of Cranmer had greatly declined by 1539, and the king had grown more hostile to Protestantism. The "Six Articles" were enacted and

promulgated notwithstanding the most earnest opposition of Cranmer. Denial of *transubstantiation* is declared heresy, to be punished by burning at the stake without abjuration. Preaching or disputing against *communion in one kind*, *celibacy of the clergy*, *observance of vows of chastity*, *private masses*, and *auricular confession*, is declared felony, to be punished with death. This was the severest blow that Protestantism had yet received in England. The article on celibacy implicated Cranmer himself, who had married some years before the niece of the German theologian, Osiander.

The fall of Cromwell (1540), which resulted partly from the fact that he had been chiefly instrumental in making a disagreeable match between the king and Anne of Cleves, left the king without a consistent policy, and the Protestant party, with Cranmer at its head, without a great protector.

h. From the Fall of Cromwell till the Death of Henry VIII. Henry soon became involved in wars with France and Scotland, and his attention was withdrawn, in large measure, from domestic religious questions. Effort after effort was made to compass the ruin of Cranmer, but the king knew that Cranmer was loyal and, notwithstanding Cranmer's known Protestant proclivities, he protected him to the end.

Persistent effort was made by the Romanizers to suppress the English Bible. In 1543 an act was passed forbidding absolutely the use of Tyndale's version, and any reading of the Scriptures in assemblies without royal license. Noblemen and gentlemen might cause the Bible to be read to them. Householding merchants might read it. But no women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, or laborers might read it. In the place of the Scriptures they might read the "Institutes of a Christian Man," and other religious works promulgated by the king's authority.

Many Protestants were imprisoned and some put to death under the cruel Bonner, who succeeded to some of Cromwell's power in the administration of the government. Yet the reading of the Scriptures continued, and the Protestant party steadily gained ground until the death of King Henry (1547).

(2) *Protestantism under Edward VI.* (*1547–1553*). Protestantism cannot be said to have become the State religion in England until the accession of Edward VI., the son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, who at nine years of age succeeded to the crown. He had been brought up a Protestant, and was in every way a most amiable child. He is said to have been a prodigy of precocity. Cranmer was appointed a member of the regency and throughout the reign his influence, in religious matters, was predominant. By this time he had become substantially a Calvinist. He soon succeeded, by deposing Romanizing bishops, in placing Protestants in many of the most important bishoprics.

He brought over from the continent, to teach in the universities and to aid him in organizing the Protestant movement, a number of able theologians, especially Martin Bucer, next to Zwingli and Œcolampadius, the most influential of the early Reformed theologians; Peter Martyr and Bernardo Ochino, learned and zealous Italian Protestants; Paulus Fagius of Strasburg, Tremellius, Dryander, and others. John á Lasco, the noted Polish reformer, who had resided for some years at Emden in East Friesland, settled in London (1550) as pastor of a mixed congregation of foreigners (Germans, Dutch, French, Walloons, and Italians). Melanchthon was invited, but could not be spared from the University of Wittenberg and the Saxon work. Calvin was in close correspondence with Cranmer, Edward VI., and the Duke of Somerset, and exerted a powerful influence throughout England. John Knox, who had been liberated through English influence from a French galley (1549), was invited to participate in the English Reformation, and did noble service.

Various reforms were introduced; the laws against Lollardism were rescinded; the "Six Articles" were repealed; images were removed from the churches; the clergy were allowed to marry; communion under both kinds was instituted; tables were substituted for altars; an English Liturgy was introduced; Protestant Articles of Faith were made authoritative. Translations of writings by the leading Lutheran reformers were now freely

circulated in England, as were also those of Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin.

In the "Book of Common Prayer" Cranmer and Ridley retained much that had come down from the past and was without scriptural warrant. This they did with a view to conciliating the great mass of the clergy and people, who were still addicted to popish superstitions, and who were inclined to resist anything like Calvinistic simplicity in worship. They argued, that while traditions in matters of faith are to be rejected, in matters of rites and ceremonies custom is often a good argument for the continuance of what has been long used.

"The Forty-two (afterward Thirty-nine) Articles" were prepared chiefly by Cranmer and Ridley (1552). These are thoroughly Protestant, and are Calvinistic or Melanchthonian rather than Lutheran. The absolute and exclusive authority of Scripture, justification by faith alone, the Calvinistic (Melanchthonian) view of baptism and the Supper are distinctly set forth. These articles were regarded by their authors as far more fundamental in their nature than the Prayer Book.

During the same year the "Book of Common Prayer" was revised.

Here also the influence of Calvin, Melanchthon, and Bucer is manifest. Consecrated oil, exorcism, crossing, prayer for the dead, auricular confession, consecration of the baptismal water, and other Roman Catholic ceremonies are omitted, and it is carefully explained that kneeling in the eucharist implies no adoration of the elements, Christ's body and blood being not in earth, but in heaven. Common bread is substituted for the thick wafer that had previously taken the place of the thin ones used in the mass.

The policy of Cranmer was one of great moderation. He used his power as discreetly as could have been expected in that age. But the civil administration was exceedingly corrupt. The public money was recklessly lavished upon the newly created nobles. The people were wofully oppressed by the transference of the abbey lands to the crown and to the nobles. A formidable rebellion arose, the demands of the rebels being the restoration of the church property and of the Roman Catholic religion. After all that was done by Cranmer and his associates, the great majority of the English people were

Romanists at heart. Edward died in 1553, and was succeeded by Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon.

The "Act of Uniformity," which aimed to enforce upon all conformity to these standards, proved very oppressive to Catholics and Puritans alike.

The "Court of High Commission," founded by Elizabeth, was a powerful instrument of ecclesiastical tyranny in her hands.

Such Puritans as could not make up their minds to conform were obliged to flee from England. Many of these became Separatists, yet the Puritan party was steadily advancing, and was destined, before the middle of the seventeenth century, to become predominant.

(3) *The Catholic Reaction under Mary (1553-1558).* The reformatory movement under Edward had been almost wholly of a political character, and had been artificially stimulated by the importation of learned theologians from abroad. There had been little religious enthusiasm in the introduction of the new order. Cranmer, the foremost leader, was notoriously a man of policy rather than of principle, and the English Reformation had partaken largely of his opportunist character. A large proportion of the clergy and of the people were still Catholic at heart. Bad as England was at the beginning of the Reformation, it was no doubt considerably more shockingly immoral at the death of Edward VI. The pernicious example of Henry VIII. in his treatment of his wives, countenanced as it was by Parliament, Convocation, and such theologians as Cranmer, could not fail to debase the public conscience. A few men, like Latimer and Ridley, denounced the vices of the time and foretold the coming of divine vengeance. Theologians like Cranmer, who were ready for any compromise of principle, could yet participate in the burning of godly women and men for deviations from church dogma.

Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Aragon and Henry VIII., had steadfastly remained a Roman Catholic notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Edward and his counsellors to win her to Protestantism. All her interests lay in adherence to the old faith, which was that of her foreign relatives and supporters. The harsh treatment

she had received from Henry and Edward had deeply embittered her against Protestantism. Her priestly advisers (representing the pope himself), had instilled into her mind the conviction that it was her duty, if she ever attained to the sovereignty of England, to blot out heresy from her realm; and it had been arranged by her politico-ecclesiastical advisers, with her concurrence, that she should marry Philip, the heir of the Spanish throne, and should unite England with Spain in defense of the Catholic faith. The attempt of some of the Protestant nobles and prelates, aided by the dying Edward, to thrust upon the throne the Lady Jane Grey, Edward's cousin, failed, and Mary, supported by a large proportion of the nobles and clergy, soon overcame all opposition. It was entirely in accordance with the spirit of the time that she should proceed to punish severely those who had been prominent in denying her legitimacy and in seeking to prevent her succession.

Once established in power she promptly repealed all the anti-papal legislation of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., restored much of the sequestrated church property, and arraigned, condemned, and burned a large number of the Protestant leaders (including Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Philpot, Rogers, and Bradford). Thousands of foreign Protestants and thousands of English evangelicals took refuge in the Netherlands, Germany, Geneva, etc.

Her marriage with Philip occurred in 1554. Finding it impossible to attach England to Spain, he felt it necessary to leave England the next year in the interest of his Spanish succession. Mary's chief ecclesiastical advisers were Gardiner, Bonner, and Cardinal Pole. The last, on behalf of the pope, received England back into the bosom of the church (1554), and became Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge. Gardiner died in 1555, when Bonner became the chief agent of the queen in the carrying out of her bloody measures. The number of victims (less than three hundred) was inconsiderable in comparison with those of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands, Austria, France, Poland, etc.; but this persecution aroused a mighty reaction that made England forever Protestant. It has well been said that "the excesses of this bloody reaction

accomplished more for the Protestantization of England than all the efforts put forth under Edward's reign." A large number of the brightest intellects of England spent the years of their exile in mastering and becoming thoroughly mastered by the principles of Calvinism, the most rigorous type of Protestantism, and were ready to return, on the death of Mary, to make of England, if possible, a Christian theocracy.

(4) *Elizabeth (1558-1603). a. Policy of the Queen.* Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, had been brought up a Protestant, with Cranmer as her spiritual guide; but partly as a measure of prudence (her life was for some time in danger under Mary) she had outwardly conformed to the Catholic religion. On prudential grounds she refused to declare herself on the religious question until her position was fully assured. On the one hand, she feared that by antagonizing the Catholic Church she might provoke Spain to join hands with France in supporting Mary Stuart in her pretensions to the English crown; on the other hand, the papacy had stigmatized her as a bastard, and a mighty reaction had set in against papal intolerance as it had been exemplified in Mary's administration, and while the evangelicals may still have been in a minority they had on their side by far the largest share of statesmanship, theological learning, religious zeal, and capacity to do and dare. England was more than ever determined to keep out of the clutches of Spain, and was already dreaming of maritime and commercial ascendency.

Elizabeth's first Parliament was opened with the celebration of the mass and the preaching of an evangelical sermon. Her personal preference was no doubt for Catholic worship. As late as 1560 the pope sent a nuncio to seek to persuade her to remain Catholic. But she was not long in making up her mind that her interests lay in the adoption of Protestantism, and that this course alone was practicable. Almost immediately after her accession eight evangelicals were added to her council. Bonner was at once discredited, and she forbade the elevation of the host in her chapel, where, however, she continued to hear mass. The indications of her favorable attitude toward the new faith were sufficient to induce the return of thousands of exiles. She entertained favorably, and afterward carried out, a written proposal by one of her councillors that the Church of England be "reduced to its former purity," that those who had been prominent in Mary's service be gradually "abased," that those

who had been enriched by Mary's favor be compelled to restore their wealth to the crown, that sheriffs and justices who had served under Mary be supplanted, that little attention be paid to extreme reformers (Calvinists), it being judged better that "they should suffer, than her highness or the commonwealth should shake or be in danger," and that a commission be appointed to revise the Prayer Book, all innovation meanwhile being strictly prohibited. An interim arrangement forbade giving audience to "any manner of teaching or preaching other than to the Gospels and Epistles, commonly called the Gospel and Epistle of the day, and to the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue without exposition of any manner, sense, or meaning to be applied and added." The common litany used in her own chapel and the Lord's Prayer and the creed in English should alone be used in public services until such matters should be fully determined by Parliament.

It was evidently the policy of Elizabeth and her advisers to avoid extremes in religion.

b. Revision of the Prayer Book.

The committee appointed to revise the Prayer Book was strongly evangelical in its sentiment, but Elizabeth was anxious to satisfy moderate Catholics, and would gladly have retained the use of the cross, of processions, and of copes in communion, of prayers for the dead, and of kneeling at the reception of the elements. These suggestions were promptly rejected. A disputation was held in Westminster Abbey between eight representatives of the Romanizing view and eight evangelicals regarding the propriety of using a language unknown to the people in the services, the right of every church to appoint, change, or set aside ceremonies, the scripturalness of regarding mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. The Romanizers were dissatisfied with the methods of discussion adopted by the government and two of their bishops were committed to the Tower for contumacy.

Elizabeth's Prayer Book was a revision of that of Edward (1552). Significant is the omission of the prayer, "from all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities . . . good Lord deliver us."

c. Restoration of the Royal Supremacy. In January, 1559 Parliament restored to the crown supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters (designating the sovereign "supreme governor," not "supreme head," of the church), with the right to nominate a court of High Commission as the organ for the exercise of her supremacy. The oath of supremacy was also restored. Only a hundred and eighty-three of the nine hundred Catholic clergy refused it. In June following, the Act of Uniformity, making the revised liturgy universally obligatory, was

adopted. Fifteen of the sixteen bishops who had served under Mary refused the oath of allegiance and were obliged to retire. Matthew Parker, who had been a friend of Anne Boleyn, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated by three bishops who had been banished by Mary. Parker, in turn, consecrated the newly appointed bishops, and thus the succession was preserved.

d. Revision of the Articles of Faith. The forty-two articles were at first adopted, but were revised (1563).

The more significant modifications are the omission of a direct denial of the real presence. "The body of Christ is given, accepted, and eaten in the Supper only in a celestial and spiritual manner. But the medium through which Christ's body is accepted and eaten . . . is faith" (Art. 28). Transubstantiation is declared to be "adverse to the plain words of Scripture" and "the occasion of many superstitions." In the original draught it was expressly denied that the wicked and those destitute of living faith are partakers of Christ. This was omitted in the printed Latin edition of 1563, but was restored in the English edition of 1571. In Art. 20 the church is declared to have the right of establishing ceremonies and authority in controversies respecting the faith, although it is not lawful for the church to institute anything that is adverse to the written word of God.

e. Convocation and Universities still Catholic. While under Mary only five divines of the Lower House of Convocation had been bold enough to protest against the recatholicization of the Church of England, under Elizabeth the same body, although aware of her Protestant leanings, voted unanimously in favor of transubstantiation, the sacrificial view of the mass, the supremacy and divine authority of the pope, and the incompetence of the civil power to deal with spiritual things. In this they had the concurrence of the universities.

f. Elizabeth becomes more Pronounced in her Protestantism. Elizabeth's chief counselors were ardent Protestants. Walsingham, secretary of State, is said to have been "a great hater of the popes and the Church of Rome, and no less favorable to those of the Puritan faction." Leicester and Raleigh were almost equally pronounced in their antipathy to popery and its appurtenances. The attempt of Mary Stuart, supported by France, and to some extent by Spain, as well as by

part of the English nobility, to deprive Elizabeth of her throne (1569), the conspiracies against the queen's life, supposed to have been fostered by pope and Jesuits (1570–1571), and the pope's vigorously worded bull against her as an apostate, brought her into open warfare with the papacy. The attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada (1588) completed the triumph of Protestantism in England.

From 1569 onward English colleges for the education of missionaries to England were established at Douai, Rheims, and Rome, and by 1585 as many as three hundred priests are said to have come secretly to England to propagate their faith, and if possible, to overthrow and destroy England's great queen.

g. The Act of Uniformity and the Puritans. Elizabeth's difficulties were greatly increased by the fact that nearly all the learned and masterful men in the Church of England were clamoring, as was Parliament itself, for a more complete reformation of the church and the putting aside of everything that savored of popery.

Archbishop Parker was strongly averse to cap, surplice, and wafer-bread. Bishop Jewel called the ecclesiastical vestments the "habits of the stage," the "relics of the Amorites," and wished to see them "exterminated by the roots." Bishop Pilkington spoke of them as "popish apparel," which should have been left behind with popery, and as not "becoming those that profess godliness." Yet they thought it better to conform than to break the peace of the church. It occasioned much embarrassment to the evangelical prelates and clergy that the queen insisted on maintaining in her private chapel a Romanizing service, and that when called on to officiate there they were obliged to countenance so much of popery.

Nearly all the bishops consecrated by Parker were pronounced Calvinists and most of them scrupled at the Prayer Book. The universities, especially Oxford, were soon full of Calvinists, many of whom went to the length of nonconformity. Parker felt obliged to enforce with moderate rigor the laws against Nonconformists. Grindal, his friend and successor (1575), had spent several years in Switzerland and in Germany during Mary's reign and was in deep sympathy with the nonconforming Puritans, now becoming aggressive in their protest against Romanizing rites and ceremonies, and, refusing to use his authority for the suppression of Puritan

"prophesying," was sequestrated by the queen and would no doubt have been forced to resign, had not death intervened (July, 1583).

Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the primacy (1583) and though a hyper-Calvinist (supralapsarian) in theology was a stanch defender of the Episcopal establishment with its rites and ceremonies and was intolerant of opposition. He maintained the freedom of the church as regards rites and ceremonies, and its competence to adapt itself in these things to times and circumstances. Scripture precept or example he did not consider indispensable to the validity of rites and ceremonies. "The outward signs of the sacraments do not contain in them grace, neither yet that the grace of God is of necessity tied unto them."

Having become primate, Whitgift left the literary controversy with the Puritans regarding the applicability of the scriptural principle to rites and ceremonies and to church polity to Hooker who, in his monumental "Ecclesiastical Polity," while insisting on the scripturalness of episcopacy, is yet chiefly concerned to prove that the existing church polity (with its episcopacy, rites, and ceremonies, and its relation to the civil government) is promotive of good order (useful), is reasonable (in accord with the nature of things), and, reaching back in its main features to remote antiquity, involves no innovation. The abuse of rites by the papists is no sufficient ground for their rejection. He insisted on the freedom of the church as regards polity. He was essentially a rationalist in his antagonism to the Puritan insistence on scriptural authority for rites and ceremonies, as well as for doctrine, arguing that it is by reason we know the Scriptures to be the word of God.

Bancroft (to become primate in 1604), in opposition to the Puritans, argued the divine right and exclusive validity of episcopacy, no other form of church government having ever been dreamed of from the days of the apostles till the time of the Puritans, whose interpretation of Scripture, as contradicting that of the Christian interpreters of the ages, must needs be erroneous.

These views, promulgated in 1589, were by no means popular at the time, as English churchmen were, for the most part, desirous of keeping in fellowship with the evangelical churches of the Continent that had discarded episcopacy; but they laid the foundation of the High Church party that was soon to come forward with great strength and aggressiveness. Bancroft insisted that rebellion against rulers is inherent in the very nature of Presbyterianism

(Puritanism), the Puritans' idea of fidelity to God and his word requiring them to disregard royal commands to the contrary and to use force for the overthrow of ungodly sovereigns. It was as rebels against her government that Elizabeth persecuted the Puritans.

Before the middle of Elizabeth's reign Puritanism had gained the ascendency in Parliament and in Convocation and earnest efforts were repeatedly made in both bodies for the removal of Romanizing elements from the Prayer Book. The most zealous and influential of the Puritans of the time was Thomas Cartwright, of the University of Cambridge. He has been called, "The earliest complete incarnation of Puritanism on its controversial and theological side." He believed that the Genevan system of church government was clearly prescribed in the New Testament.

In a published admonition to Parliament (1570), he denounced the tyranny of the bishops, exhorted Parliament to abolish popish remnants and ceremonies, and insisted that only properly qualified ministers be placed over the churches. He said that ministers are now appointed by "letters commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sort of the people, to the scandal of the gospel." He further described them as "popish mass-mongers," "men for all seasons," "King Henry's priests," "Queen Mary's priests," etc. Deprived of his professorship (1570) and of his fellowship (1571) he spent the next year among the Calvinists of the Continent and engaged in sharp polemics against the English Establishment, Whitgift being his chief antagonist. Though favored by the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and employed by them in writing a confutation of the Rhemist (Roman Catholic) version of the Scriptures, he was unable to live continuously in England and in 1585 was cast into prison.

In 1574, Walter Travers published in Latin a book on church discipline, which Cartwright translated and published in English. It set forth Presbyterianism pure and simple. Among the most interesting of the Puritan polemical writings of this time are the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, an anonymous series of writings in which Whitgift, Aylmer, Cooper, Wickham, and other persecuting prelates are mercilessly satirized and the iniquity of the Establishment is most effectively exposed. The authorship of these tracts was never discovered, but it has been somewhat confidently ascribed to Henry Barrowe, then in prison for nonconformity and afterward executed.[1]

Puritanism, even when it went the length of non-

[1] See Dexter, "History of Congregationalism."

conformity, was radically opposed to Separatism. Separatist communities of Lollards had existed in considerable numbers up to the Reformation time and may have persisted till the age of Elizabeth. Small bodies of Anabaptists, chiefly foreigners of the Hofmannite and Mennonite types, were arraigned before the authorities from time to time (1534 onward) and were in some cases banished, in others burned. It might have been expected that here, as on the continent, there would be a blending of the old evangelical with the Anti-pedobaptist life, and it is possible that in some instances Lollard congregations, or members thereof, became Anabaptists; but we have no documentary evidences that such was the case. After the outbreak of the persecutions in the Netherlands (1567) thousands of Dutch evangelicals, many of them Mennonites, took refuge in England, where the rapidly developing textile industries offered to artisans a ready means of support.

h. Separatists under Elizabeth. About 1578 Robert Browne, a relative of Lord Burleigh and liberally educated, reached the conviction that Presbyterianism had as little scriptural support as Episcopacy and that apostolic precept and example required the formation of local churches absolutely independent one of another, and that each local body should be a pure democracy, each member being a truly regenerate believer and all having absolutely equal rights and privileges, the only headship belonging to the Lord Jesus Christ. Separation from a corrupt and apostate church is not only a right, but a duty of believers. "The kingdom of God . . . is not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few." Learning of some like-minded brethren in Norwich, he journeyed thither, and in co-operation with Robert Harrison, a Cambridge graduate, gathered a small congregation of zealous Separatists.

It is highly probable that Browne was indebted in some measure for his advanced views on Congregationalism, the separation of Church and State, and the unreserved carrying out of Scripture precept and example, to the Mennonites who abounded in this region.[1]

[1] See Williston Walker, "A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States," p. 30, *seq.*

In 1581, he fled with his congregation to Middelburg, Zeeland, where he published several works in defense of his principles. One of the most important of these is "A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the Wickedness of those Preachers which will not Reform till the Magistrate command or compel them." Browne became discouraged (perhaps mentally deranged) in 1583 and ultimately returned to the Established Church.

In 1586 or 1587, we meet with a congregation in London led by John Greenwood, Henry Barrowe, and John Penry, all highly educated and deeply earnest Nonconformists. These leaders were thrown into prison and after several years were executed as criminals (1593).

During their imprisonment they were enabled by their writings to influence a large number in favor of radical reform. They were far less pronounced in their Congregationalism and in their opposition to State interference in religious matters than Browne had been, but they had reached the conviction that under existing circumstances the organization of separate churches to be presbyterially governed was a necessity.

About 1593, Francis Johnson, a Puritan minister who had been exiled to Zeeland, was converted by reading one of Barrowe's tracts, the publication of which at Middelburg he was seeking to prevent. He conferred with Barrowe in prison shortly before his death and soon after this event led a large body of English Separatists to Amsterdam, where with the learned Henry Ainsworth as his associate, a Presbyterian form of Separatism was for years vigorously maintained.

Shortly after their settlement in Amsterdam "divers of them fell into the errors of the Anabaptists . . . too common in these countries, and so persisting were excommunicated by the rest." So wrote Johnson in 1606. It was the opinion of leading churchmen of the time that Puritanism logically led to Separatism, and that Separatism had its legitimate issue in Anabaptism. Dr. R. Some wrote: "If every particular congregation in England might set up and put down at their pleasure, popish and Anabaptistical fancies would overflow this land; the consequence would be dangerous, viz, the dishonor of God, the contempt of her majesty, the overthrow of the church and universities, and the utter confusion of this noble kingdom."

A number of individuals had before the end of the reign of Elizabeth been led to feel the inconsistency between the Congregationalists' insistence on a pure church-mem-

bership and the practice of infant baptism. Recent research has brought to light two small Anti-pedobaptist congregations among the exiles in Holland (Champlin Burrage, "Early English Dissent").

Among the results of Elizabeth's long reign was the almost complete extirpation of Roman Catholicism, which she had found the dominant form of religion. But her Protestant subjects had become hopelessly divided. Her political strength was sufficient to enable her to have her way and to enforce a rigorous uniformity in opposition to the wishes of a large majority of the people and against the judgment of some of her ablest statesmen. The foundations had been laid by a few overzealous churchmen (like Bancroft) for what would long afterward be known as the High Church party, that would gather to itself all the Romanizing elements that were not willing to defy the laws by the actual practice of Roman rites. In the large, intelligent, and earnest Puritan party that thought it wise for the time to conform and yet hoped for a reformation of the church on a Calvinistic basis, we have what would long afterward be known as the Low Church, or evangelical party. While in the nonconforming Puritans and in the Separatists we have the beginnings of the great dissenting bodies that have constituted so marked a feature of the religious life of England and her colonies, and especially of North America.

(5) *James I. (1603–1625). a. The Accession of James and the Millenary Petition.* James Stuart, son of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and Henry Stuart (Lord Darnley), had succeeded his mother (1587) as James VI. of Scotland. Being a lineal descendant of Henry VII. and after the death of Elizabeth the next heir to the crown, he succeeded without opposition. He had a good theological education and had submitted with a reasonably good grace to the domineering of the Scotch Presbyterian Establishment, and it was confidently expected by the Puritans of England that his administration would be strongly in the interest of their cause.

Soon after his arrival in England a petition signed by seven hundred and fifty Puritan clergy, including a number of bishops, deans, and other officials (called the "Mil-

lenary Petition" as purporting to represent a thousand clergy), was presented to the king for the removal of all popish elements from the worship of the church and the adoption of hyper-Calvinistic articles of faith (the Lambeth Articles). While he condescended to argue with the representatives of the petitioners, he treated them with scant courtesy and soon convinced them that their party could suffer only tribulation at his hand.

James was thoroughly convinced that the theocratic views of the Presbyterians were inconsistent with royal absolutism and that the divine right of kings could best be safeguarded by a recognition of the divine right of bishops as well.

b. The Hampton Court Conference. With a view to a better understanding of the religious situation in England and the peaceable settlement of the differences that had arisen between the contending churchmen and the Puritans, a conference was arranged at Hampton Court (January, 1604), to which six Puritan ministers and nineteen of their opponents (nearly all bishops and deans) were invited to appear before the king and to discuss in his presence and with him the points at issue. He had already committed himself to the maintenance of the existing order with such reforms as might be proved needful. The Puritans afterward complained that they were not sufficiently represented and that their arguments were treated frivolously and contemptuously by the king. The churchmen were highly gratified with his display of wisdom, wit, learning, dexterity, perspicuity, and sufficiency, declaring that they had never heard the like before.

In answer to the Puritans' demand for better church government, the king answered in a rage: "If you aim at a Scotch Presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, will meet and censure me and my council." Their request for certain additions to the catechism and the revision of the English Bible were granted. It should be said that the king discussed with the utmost freedom and confidence with the prelates many alleged abuses and received from them such explanations and palliations as they were able to make.

c. The One Hundred and Forty-one Canons. As a final answer to the Puritans one hundred and forty-one

canons, which had been drafted by Bishop Bancroft, were adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury with the king's authority (April, 1604).

These pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon any who should impugn the true and apostolical character of the Church of England, or any part of its authorized worship or ceremonies. Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer under protest or with mental reservation was prohibited, only those being allowed to subscribe who could do so willingly and *ex animo*. Full provision was made for the enforcement of uniformity.

Bancroft became primate the following December and proceeded with great vigor to carry into effect the regulations he had been chiefly instrumental in foisting upon the church. A large number of Puritan ministers were silenced by the *ex animo* test. With Bancroft as his chief ecclesiastical adviser and the Court of High Commission as his instrument, James would doubtless have carried out his inquisitorial proceedings against the Puritans to still greater lengths had not these proceedings aroused the antagonism of the judges.

In 1605 Bancroft complained to the privy council that five hundred and seventy prohibitions had been granted by the judges to the proceedings of the ecclesiastical Court of Arches. On a number of occasions the judges delivered by writs of *habeas corpus* those who had been imprisoned by the High Commission Court. The judges refused to allow that the king, with the High Commission Court, could, without a special act of Parliament, deprive Englishmen of their rights established by law. One of the judges was arrested by the High Commission Court and heavily fined. Bancroft persuaded the king that he had a right to coerce the judges. Sir Edward Coke withstood king and archbishop, insisting that the ecclesiastical courts must take the law from the judges as interpreted by them. The ecclesiastical courts had no right to fine or imprison except for heresy. The Parliament of 1610 severely censured the Court of High Commission, and the king's speech in its defense was heard in silence.

A Cambridge jurist published about this time "The Interpreter," in which he asserted: "It is uncontrollable that the king of England is an absolute king." Convocation asserted in an unqualified way the divine right of kings. Parliament, alarmed at such encroachments on British liberty, imprisoned the author of "The Interpreter" and suppressed the book.

Parliament demanded (July, 1610) that the deprived Puritan ministers be restored, and complained of the existence of gross abuses, such as plurality of benefices, non-residence, and unwarranted excommunication. It was evident that Parliament was enthusiastically

sympathetic with the Puritan cause, and that the old spirit of British liberty had become thoroughly reawakened.

The king directed the archbishop to remedy such abuses as were recognized as existing, and some ineffective efforts at reform were made. In its autumn session, Parliament reiterated its demands, expressed its disgust at the methods employed by the archbishop, and dissolved in a spirit that augured ill to ecclesiastical authority.

d. Hopes of the Romanists. Romanists had hoped for an alleviation of their sufferings at the hands of the son of Mary Stuart who had shown himself so averse to extreme Protestantism. The discovery of a Jesuit plot early in his reign led to the adoption of drastic measures. Within a short time five thousand five hundred and sixty were convicted of recusancy, *i. e.*, refusal as Roman Catholics to take the oath of supremacy and to make other required declarations. Another great plot discovered in 1605 (the Gunpowder Plot) led to still more rigorous measures. Suspected Catholics must not only attend the parish churches, but must also partake of the Lord's Supper therein.

e. Abbot's Moderate Administration. Under Archbishop Abbot (1611–1633) the Puritans enjoyed considerable ease. A thorough-going Calvinist himself, he had little inclination to enforce the Act of Uniformity.

He considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church or conformity to the articles or canons established he made little inquiry and took less care; he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin and for his sake did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. If men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what they would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him and at least equally preferred by him.[1]

Abbot seems to have encouraged the king in burning heretics (Bartholomew Legate and Edward Wightman, 1612), as was consistent with his rigorous Calvinistic principles.

Many Puritans who had been in exile returned under Abbot's encouragement. The king's daughter, Elizabeth, was married to

[1] Clarendon, "History of the Great Rebellion," Vol. I., p. 68, *seq.*

Frederick of the Palatinate, a Calvinist. James sent his Calvinistic theologians to the synod of Dort (1618), with instructions to "favor no innovations in doctrine, and to conform to the confessions of neighboring reformed churches." He had been trained in Calvinistic theology and was still sympathetic with the doctrinal side of Calvinism.

His attitude toward Calvinism, on the one hand, and Catholicism, on the other, underwent a remarkable change at about this time. His desire for the marriage of his son Charles to the Spanish Infanta caused him to refuse support to his son-in-law, Frederick, in his war with Ferdinand for the Bohemian crown, and also to treat Roman Catholicism in England with some consideration.

He now promised the king of Spain "that no Roman priest or other Catholic should henceforth be condemned upon any capital law; and although he could not at present rescind the laws inflicting only pecuniary mulcts, yet he would so mitigate them as to oblige his Catholic subjects to him."

f. The Rise of Laud. Archbishop Abbot was no longer in favor. A new ecclesiastical adviser now appeared (1621) in the person of John Williams, who made terms with the corrupt Buckingham and became Lord Keeper in succession to Francis Bacon, who had been convicted of the most shameful venality and degraded along with others to satisfy the demands of Parliament for reform, without the sacrifice of Buckingham, the king's favorite. Williams, though not distinctively a High Churchman himself, soon brought to the front William Laud, the typical High Churchman, who was to be almost omnipotent under Charles I., and the author of his many woes. Parliament, already bitterly antagonistic to the king because of his lawless methods of raising money (sale of offices and monopolies, forced benevolences, etc.) and the shamelessness of the lives of his courtiers, now became alarmed at the favor shown to Romanists and clamored for war with Spain.

High Churchmen, like Montague and Laud, along with their advocacy of extreme ritualism and of the divine right of bishops and kings, now began to promulgate a type of theological teaching which because of its coincidence with that of the Remonstrants of the Netherlands was denominated Arminianism, but which

was in reality the semi-Pelagianism of the Roman Catholic Church. The visit of Charles to Spain in 1623 aroused Puritan England to anti-papal fury, which was somewhat allayed when the abandonment of the Spanish match was announced. As an offset to the bitter opposition of Parliament to the royal policy, Convocation, which was now strongly anti-Puritan, voted the king a subsidy of four shillings in the pound for four years (1624).

g. Nonconformity under James. During the early years of James' reign large numbers of Nonconformists and Separatists followed those who had already taken refuge in the Netherlands and had formed congregations there. About 1606, John Smyth, a Cambridge graduate, after a long struggle felt compelled to separate from the establishment and gathered a little congregation of Separatists at Gainsborough. To this congregation and its out-of-town adjunct at Scrooby Manor belonged a number of men who were to become famous in the New World as well as the Old, such as William Brewster, William Bradford, Richard Clyfton, John Robinson, Thomas Helwys, and John Murton. About 1606, John Robinson became pastor of the Scrooby congregation. Persecution caused the emigration of Smyth and his people to Amsterdam (about 1608). Robinson and his flock followed somewhat later and settled at Leyden. Smyth and his associates soon found themselves at variance with Johnson and Ainsworth, pastors of the older Congregational church at Amsterdam.

h. An English Anti-pedobaptist Movement. By 1608 Smyth, Helwys, Murton, and a number of their associates, had reached the conviction that their baptism, church order, and the ordination of their minister, having been received in an apostate church, were invalid, and that infant baptism was without scriptural authorization and was inconsistent with regenerate church-membership. Accordingly they repudiated their church organization, baptism, and ordination, and introduced believer's baptism anew, Smyth, it is said, baptizing first himself and then others and the newly baptized congregation organizing itself anew with Smyth as its pastor. Immersion seems not to have been practised.

Smyth and a majority of his company soon became convinced that they had made a mistake in introducing

baptism and church order anew when a body of baptized believers that claimed apostolic succession (the Mennonites) could have given them a legitimate introduction to apostolic ordinances and order. They were disfellowshiped by Helwys, Murton, and a few others who insisted upon the legitimacy of their proceedings and regarded with great disfavor Smyth's craving for apostolic succession. Smyth and his followers sought admission into a Mennonite church. Exceedingly cautious and fearful of disturbing their own fellowship, the church postponed their final admission until 1614, three years after Smyth's death.

In 1611 Helwys, Murton, and their associates, encouraged no doubt, by the comparatively tolerant administration of Archbishop Abbott and convinced that duty required them to propagate their principles at home, returned to England, where within the next fifteen years they published several noble pleas for liberty of conscience.

In 1526 they had five congregations in different parts of England. Controversy had arisen among them regarding the deity of Christ and other matters and both parties earnestly sought the countenance and support of the Mennonites in Holland. Socinianism, which had by this time greatly influenced the Mennonite body and in which Smyth had become deeply involved, was evidently dominant in the teachings of the English Anti-pedobaptists of this time.

i. The Pilgrim Fathers. Robinson's congregation settled at Leyden, where the pastor established intimate relations with the university and became recognized as a stanch defender of Calvinism against Arminianism, which was disturbing the life of the institution and city. By 1618 they found the conditions of life at Leyden so severe as to make their gradual diminution and ultimate extinction imminent, and they began to cast about for some means of extricating themselves. It was finally arranged through friends in England that they should emigrate to New England. Their poverty was such as to make it impracticable for them all to go at once. It required the greatest sacrifices on the part of all to arrange for the transportation of the Pilgrim Fathers to their new home. It was arranged that the pastor would go or stay with the major part, and as the major part remained

behind he finished his life at Leyden. After suffering untold hardships the party landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and nearly half of these succumbed to the severity of the winter and lack of proper food and housing. Thus was laid the foundation for the Congregational life of the New World.

j. A Mother of Congregational and Baptist Churches. In 1616 Henry Jacob, a highly educated Puritan minister who had been pastor of an exiled congregation at Middelburg, felt it his duty to adventure his life in an effort to establish a pure church in the neighborhood of London. This congregation suffered much persecution, but became the mother of most of the Congregational and Baptist churches in England.

The arbitrariness, corruption, and untrustworthiness of James in his political and ecclesiastical administration had provoked a mighty reaction in favor of civil liberty and ecclesiastical reformation. Puritanism and civic reform had joined hands for the overthrow of despotism. James had cast in his lot with the High Church advocates of the divine right of kings and the divine right of bishops, a policy that was to lead to a revolution in the next reign. Separatism which had begun under Elizabeth was greatly fostered by James' tyranny. The settlement of Virginia for purposes of exploitation had been effected (1609 onward) and Anglican worship had been established in this part of America. With the Pilgrim Fathers the principles of civil and religious liberty, suppressed in England for the time, were transplanted to the New World, where they were to have a marvelous development.

(6) *Charles I. (1625–1649). a. Character and Policy of the King.* Charles simply perpetuated the civil and ecclesiastical policy of his father. With far less education and devoid of the thorough grounding in Calvinism that James had enjoyed, more deeply assured than his father had been of the absoluteness of his authority as a matter of divine right, and persuaded by his civil and ecclesiastical advisers that policy lay in the line of unswerving assertion of irresponsible authority, the disregard of Parliament and of the constitutional rights of the people, and the use of force for the overcoming of

all opposition, he goaded the Puritans and the advocates of civil liberty into revolt that resulted in his overthrow and execution and in the disestablishment of the church with the abolition of the hierarchy.

Charles' mother was a Roman Catholic at heart, and he had married a Roman Catholic French princess. If he had been free, there can be no doubt but that he would have avowed himself a Romanist. From the beginning William Laud was his chief counselor in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

b. The Laudian Régime.

Born in 1573, while still at Oxford Laud became deeply imbued with High Church principles, and defended baptismal regeneration in a thesis. He became Bishop of St. Davids (1621), Bishop of Bath and Wells (1626), Bishop of London (1628), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1633). In 1627 he was made a privy councilor, and was promoted from stage to stage in the civil administration until he became Lord Chancellor in 1628. Till the outbreak of the Civil War in 1641, he was the power behind the throne. He was completely dominated by the idea of the divine right of kings and bishops. The type of his theological teaching was throughout Roman Catholic. He attached the utmost importance to the minutiæ of ecclesiastical furniture and its arrangement, ecclesiastical vestments and the manner of putting them on and wearing them, ecclesiastical festivals, the radical distinction between clergy and laity, the magical efficacy of priestly functions and especially of the sacraments, and could not tolerate the slightest deviation from the established forms. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission became in his hands a veritable Inquisition. Spies were sent out into all parts of the country to detect any violation of the Act of Uniformity, and those who were proved guilty of disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws or censured through the press the corrupt and tyrannical ecclesiasticism that prevailed were seized, tried, tortured (sometimes shamefully mutilated), and thrust into prison. The reign of Laud has been characterized as a reign of "Thorough." It might well be called also a reign of terror.

The forces of opposition that had been developed under Elizabeth and James grew stronger and stronger in proportion as the civil and ecclesiastical administration became more and more despotic.

While Laud did not see his way clear to restore England to the papacy, he did not hesitate to declare his essential agreement with the Church of Rome. "The religion of the Church of Rome and ours is all one." He laid much stress on "the beauty of holiness," meaning thereby elaborate church decoration and elaborate and solemn ritual. He promoted the restoration of religious pictures,

crosses, and altars. He regarded the altar, which must be set against the east end of the church within the chancel, as "the greatest place of God's residence upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis 'This is my body'; but in the other it is at most, but 'This is my word.'" His idea of the Supper was the Romanist, namely, that of a sacrifice. Hence the altar.

c. The Scotch in Rebellion. James had, in 1610, attempted to enforce Episcopacy upon the Scotch, and had provided a fully equipped hierarchy. Late in his reign he had been accompanied by Laud to Scotland, and the two had discussed plans for the uprooting of Presbyterianism and the assimilation of the Scottish to the English church. Once in full authority as the trusted counselor of Charles, he proceeded to enforce the Anglican ceremonies upon the Scotch by drastic measures. In 1635 canons were imposed upon the Scotch which involved recognition of the royal supremacy and the use of an edition of the English liturgy specially prepared by Laud, which included consecration formulæ, the ceremonial blessing of the baptismal water, and intercession for the dead. His thought seems to have been, that as force would have to be employed in any case, a little additional Romanizing would make little difference. The result was the signing of a new covenant by the Scottish Presbyterians (1638), and a general uprising against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny.

d. Calvinistic Preaching Prohibited. With a view to crippling the Puritans, who were found preaching the doctrines of Calvinism, Charles (Laud) appended to the Prayer Book a prohibition of "all further curious search" about the great questions that divided Calvinists from Arminians. As the rank and file of the clergy were ignorant and vicious and incapable of preaching to edification, many Puritan communities had employed able ministers to preach or lecture at hours different from those required for the prescribed services. Laud strictly prohibited all services that were not conducted in the prescribed manner and with the use of prescribed portions of Scripture, and required of all regular attendance on the church services. Certain church endowments had been so far under the control of individuals that Puritan preaching could be fostered despite kings

and bishops. Laud put an end to such irregularities, and completed the centralization of control in the crown. James had sought, in 1618, by issuing a "Book of Sports" for Sundays and compelling all the clergy to announce the sports from the pulpits, to destroy the Puritan Sabbath. Charles and Laud were equally bent on the promotion of the Roman Catholic view and use of the Lord's Day.

e. The Short Parliament and the Longer Convocation. In 1640 Charles thought it wise to convoke Parliament, after ruling for years without consulting the people, in order to secure aid in suppressing the religious uprising in Scotland. Parliament was so clamorous for reform and so outspoken in its protest against the further trampling on constitutional liberty, that it was dissolved after sitting for three weeks (Short Parliament). Convocation, against all precedent, was allowed to continue its sessions after the dissolution of Parliament, and under Laud's guidance adopted seventeen canons, which asserted the unlimited power of the king as a matter of divine right and as in accord with the very nature of things, and the right of the crown to the possessions of subjects without their consent, and imposed on the clergy an oath never by counsel or act "to alter the government of this church by archbishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc." This "*etcetera* oath," which bound the clergy to they knew not what, aroused such a furor that Charles felt compelled to suspend its operation.

It was inevitable that Scottish Covenanters should now join hands with English Puritans against their common enemies.

f. The Long Parliament and the Civil War. Parliament was again convoked in November (the famous Long Parliament). From the beginning the relations between king and Commons were exceedingly strained, and the result was the outbreak of the Civil War, the conviction of Strafford, Charles' chief civil adviser, and Laud, of high treason (the former was executed May, 1641, the latter January, 1645), and the overthrow and execution (1649) of the king. In 1641 the prelates were excluded from the House of Lords, and the Episcopal Establishment was virtually abolished.

g. The Grand Remonstrance. As early as December 1, 1641, Parliament had passed a "Grand Remonstrance," in which it had expressed a desire for the calling of a "general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church." The co-operation of the Scotch Presbyterians and of the Calvinists of the continent was evidently in mind. The Scotch would co-operate only on condition that Parliament on behalf of England should accept the Solemn League and Covenant, which involved the preservation of Presbyterianism in Scotland, its adoption in England and Ireland, and uncompromising "endeavor" for "the extirpation of popery, prelacy, . . superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness . . . and that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms." This document was accepted by the English Parliament (1643).

h. The Westminster Assembly. On June 1, 1643, the Commons voted "for the calling an assembly of learned and godly divines" to meet "at Westminster . . . on the first day of July." They were instructed to confer regarding "the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, . . and to deliver their opinion and advices . . . to both or either of" the houses of Parliament.

Many moderate Episcopalians were invited, but only a few attended. A large number of conforming Puritans, including some of the greatest scholars of the land (Lightfoot, Coleman, Selden, etc.), participated. A number of Independents (most of whom had been in exile, but had returned under the encouragement of the Long Parliament: Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Burroughs, Simpson) and two Independent laymen, Sir Henry Vane and the Viscount Saye and Seal, also participated. A considerable number of able Scotch theologians (including Gillespie, Henderson, Baillie, Rutherford, and Edwards) were active participants. Several New England theologians (Cotton, Davenport, and Hooker) were invited, but did not attend. It was the avowed aim of the assembly to enforce absolute uniformity throughout England, Scotland, and

Ireland, no regard being had to the consciences of Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Independents, or Baptists. Toleration was denounced by leading members of the assembly as the "last and strongest hold of Satan." By 1648 it had produced a Longer and Shorter Catechism and a Confession of Faith, which rank among the ablest symbolical works of the Reformed churches, a Directory of Church Government and Discipline, and a Directory for Worship. It was the aim of the Presbyterian Parliament to enforce the system of doctrine and church order elaborated by the assembly upon the entire population, and to this end it was decided that house to house visitation should be made and that every responsible individual should be compelled to sign the Solemn League and Covenant.

i. New England Puritanism. During the early years of Charles' reign, thousands of Puritans emigrated to New England, having secured charters more liberal than such a ruler might have been expected to grant. In 1628 a colony of nonconforming Puritans settled at Salem, Mass. It was largely reinforced in 1629. A far larger and more important colony was planted in 1629 on Massachusetts Bay, which in a few years had several thousand members, including such leaders as Winthrop, Saltonstall, Dudley, Noel, Johnson, and Pynchon, and was soon equipped with such highly educated ministers as John Cotton, Hugh Peter, Thomas Hooker, John Wilson, and Richard Mather.

The Massachusetts Bay colonists claimed to be loyal churchmen and esteemed it an honor to call the Church of England their dear mother. Even the Salem men declined to be regarded as Separatists; but they were soon brought by the influence of the Plymouth colonists and the force of circumstances to such pronounced Separatism that they would not administer the ordinances to members of the Massachusetts Bay Colony because they belonged to no reformed church. The Massachusetts Bay colonists soon became as pronounced as any in their opposition to the forms and ceremonies of the English church and proceeded to establish a theocracy like that of Geneva, in which citizenship was made dependent on fellowship in a church, fellowship in a church on a personal profession of saving faith, and the validity of a church organization on the sanction of the churches already organized.

Similar colonies, strongly Presbyterian in sentiment, were formed in Connecticut, chiefly by Puritans from Massachusetts Bay (1633 onward), and in New Haven, chiefly by a company of London Puritans, under the leadership of John Davenport (1637).

f. The Founding of Providence and Liberty of Conscience. Providence was founded in 1636 by Roger Williams, a zealous Separatist, who had so irritated the Massachusetts authorities by his objections to the charter, his denunciation of the government for requiring the citizens' oath of allegiance, his extreme Separatism, and his opposition to the theocratic government, with its inherent intolerance and disregard of the consciences of its subjects, that his banishment had come to be regarded as a matter of necessity. The colony was formed on the basis of absolute liberty of conscience, the land having been purchased from the aborigines, who alone, in Williams' opinion, had a right to dispose of it. He became convinced soon after his settlement at Providence (if not before) that infant baptism was without scriptural warrant, and with a company of others introduced baptism anew and organized the first Baptist church in America (1639).

In 1638 a number of men and women, who had been forced to leave Massachusetts because of their disagreement with the Standing Order (Antinomians, etc.), settled on Rhode Island, and under the guidance of William Coddington and John Clarke drew up a constitution of a somewhat theocratic character, God's word being made law. In 1641 they declared their government a democracy and proclaimed anew the principle of liberty of conscience which had been earlier adopted. Williams and Clarke succeeded in securing from the Long Parliament a most liberal charter for the union of Providence and the Rhode Island towns as Providence Plantations. Again we have democracy and liberty of conscience embodied in explicit terms in the new constitution. This community was to furnish to the world an object-lesson, demonstrating the practicability of the great principles of civil and religious liberty and of absolute voluntaryism in religion. By 1644 (probably earlier) John Clarke was pastor of a Baptist church at Newport.

g. Calvinistic Baptist Churches in England. In 1633 a portion of the congregation that had been ministered to by Henry Jacob, and of which John Lathrop, soon to be driven to America by persecution, was at the time pastor, adopted Anti-pedobaptist views, and partly

on this account and partly because of the inconvenience of meeting in large companies during the Laudian *régime*, withdrew peaceably and formed a new congregation. There had been native Anti-pedobaptists of the Arminian type in England since 1611 at least; but the lines were very closely drawn at that time between Calvinists and Arminians and agreement on the baptismal question was not likely to form a basis of fellowship. Several other groups of Anti-pedobaptists withdrew from the mother church before 1640. At this time the question of immersion came to be much discussed.

It appears that Henry Jessey, who was at this time pastor of the Jacob church, was already convinced of the importance of immersion. Those Anti-pedobaptists who believed immersion to be the only valid form of baptism and who considered it important in restoring correct baptism to have a properly baptized administrator, sent one of their number, Richard Blacklock, who knew Dutch, to Holland, where they had been informed immersion obtained by succession was available. He probably secured immersion from the Rhynsburg Collegiants, a small party that combined Socinian and Mennonite elements and may have derived its immersion from the Polish Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptists (Socinians). On Blacklock's return large numbers were immersed (1641). For some years John Spilsbury, a well-educated minister, had been pastor of one of the Calvinistic Anti-pedobaptist congregations. He repudiated with great earnestness the theory that baptizedness is essential to the administrator of baptism, maintaining that it was popish in its tendency. It is very possible that Spilsbury had introduced immersion independently some time before its importation from Holland. The idea of the necessity of apostolic succession in the matter of baptism was soon generally abandoned; but the belief that immersion is the apostolic form of baptism from which those who would be obedient to Christ and follow his example have no right to depart, when it had once laid hold upon the English and American Anti-pedobaptist conscience rapidly gained general acceptance and in a few years was a marked feature of the teaching and practice of the Particular (Calvinistic) and General (Arminian) Baptists.

After the breach between king and Parliament (1641) both parties multiplied. By 1643 there were in and around London at least seven congregations of the former, who united in drawing up and subscribing a Confession of Faith, which is in accord with the views of the great mass of modern Baptists. In 1645 Henry Jessey himself became a Baptist and continued for some time as pastor of the original Jacob church, part of whose members were still Pedobaptist.

l. Congregationalists and Baptists control the Army. Congregationalists and Baptists had by 1648 become predominant in the parliamentary army. After the battles of Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645), the importance of the Scotch Presbyterians as a military factor was greatly diminished and dissatisfaction with the high-handed measures of the Presbyterian Parliament and the Westminster Assembly in seeking to foist Presbyterianism upon England became more and more outspoken. Cromwell, Fairfax, Fleetwood, Ireton, Overton, Desborough, Lilburne, Harrison, Fiennes, Hutchinson, and most of the other officers in the parliamentary army, were Independents (several of them Baptists).

m. Execution of the King and the Inauguration of the Commonwealth. In December, 1648, the army, encouraged by the Independent minority in Parliament, occupied London, expelled the Presbyterian members of Parliament, and compelled the remnant of Parliament to execute the king (January 30, 1649), who had been held for some years prisoner. Cromwell, as head of the army, now assumed authority, which was of necessity strongly military; but he sought to give religious equality to the chief evangelical parties so far as they were not suspected of disloyalty to the government, and Congregationalists, Presbyterians and evangelical Churchmen were eligible for the pastorates of the parish churches, if they were loyal and intellectually and morally qualified and were wanted by the parishioners.

In 1644 Roger Williams, then in England on the business of his colony, published his "Bloody Tenet of Persecution," the most telling exposure of the enormity of efforts to force conscience that had ever been made. It was bitterly attacked by New England Congregationalists (Cotton, *et al.*) and by Scotch and English Presbyterians. Not all of the English Independents were willing to go as far as Williams in his assertion and vindication of absolute liberty of conscience. But he went no further than Hubmaier had gone in the early Reformation time or than the English Arminian Anti-pedobaptists had gone (1614–1624).

Thus the period closes in England with the overthrow of monarchy and episcopacy, which had overreached

themselves by asserting their divine right and trampling on the civil and religious liberties of the people, the overthrow of Presbyterian government, which was seeking to establish a Presbyterian theocracy by an equal disregard of the rights of conscience, and the temporary triumph of Independency (Baptist and Pedobaptist).

VIII. THE REFORMATION IN OTHER LANDS.

The spread of evangelical life and thought beyond the great centers where it became dominant must be briefly treated here.

1. *Italy.*[1] (1) *Religious Condition of Italy at the Beginning of the Protestant Revolution.* Italy was unspeakably corrupt during the later mediæval time. The papal court had set the example of shameless licentiousness, venality, and devotion to secular interests. The Renaissance had undermined faith in the dogmas of the church and created a strong aversion to scholasticism with its barbarous Latin and its fruitless methods; but in only a few minds had it produced sane theological thinking with a return to the primitive and inspired sources of Christianity and to a genuine faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Savonarola's fervid denunciations of the social and civic vices of the time and of the fearful corruptions of the ecclesiastical administration did not have in them the note of genuine evangelical reform, but were simply the utterances of enthusiastic asceticism.

(2) *Attempted Catholic Reforms.* Luther's early reformatory utterances and proceedings awakened considerable interest in Italy, and in 1523 fifty or sixty clergymen, earnestly desirous of a religious revival, united to this end in "The Oratory of the Divine Love." Among the members of the Oratory were Caraffa, afterward Pope Paul IV., Thiene, who with Caraffa was to found the order of the Theatines (1524), Sadoleto, who

[1] See Gerdesius, "*Specimen Ital. Reformationis*," 1765; Erdmann, "*Die Reformation u. ihre Martyrer in Italien*," 1855; Sixt, "*Petrus Paulus Vergerius*," 1855; McCrie, "Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy," 1833; Cantu, "*Gli Eretici d' Italia*," 1865–1867; Comba, "*Storia della Riforma in Italia*," 1881, and "*I nostri Protestanti*," Vol. II., 1897; Benrath, "Bernardino Ochino of Siena," 1876; Young, "The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," 1860; Duruy, "Carlo Caraffa," 1882; Symonds, "The Catholic Reaction" (in "The Renaissance in Italy"), 1887; articles on the various persons concerned, by Hauck-Herzog.

as cardinal was to contend unsuccessfully with Calvin for the possession of Geneva, and Carnasecchi, who after serving as papal secretary became a disseminator of evangelical opinions and a victim of the Inquisition (1567). This movement also was devoid of the true evangelical spirit. Whether or not Contarini belonged to the Oratory he was likeminded with its members, and earnestly strove to promote ascetical piety among clergy and monks.

(3) *Circulation of Lutheran and Reformed Literature.* The invasion of Italy and the sacking of Rome by a Lutheran army in the service of Charles V. (1527), left multitudes of German Lutherans in Italy who found means of diffusing Lutheran influence. Several of Luther's writings, as well as those of Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Bucer, were reprinted in Italy (for the most part anonymously or pseudonymously), and were widely circulated. The writings of Augustine now received increased attention. A new translation of the Bible into Italian (1530–1532) greatly stimulated Bible study. This translation seems to have been made at Venice by Bruccioli.

(4) *Some Friends of the Reformation.* In Ferrara, the Duchess Renata, who was a French princess, was a friend of the Reformation, and gave protection and encouragement to evangelical teachers. In Naples, Juan de Valdes, secretary to the Spanish viceroy, was strongly evangelical in sentiment, and brought a large number to a knowledge of the truth (1526–1533). Valdes and his followers were not avowed Protestants, but were sympathetic with Protestant teaching.

(5) *Caraffa, the Theatines, and the Jesuits.* Up to 1541 the promoters of evangelical life and thought in Italy had enjoyed considerable freedom. The failure of Contarini to reconcile Protestants and Catholics at the Regensburg Conference, led to a change of policy on the part of the papacy. Caraffa, who had spent some years in Spain and become thoroughly imbued with the fierce and uncompromising spirit of Spanish Catholicism, now succeeded (1542) in securing the reorganization of the Inquisition. Ignatius Loyola, who had just gained papal recognition for his new order (Jesuits), was also influ-

ential in bringing about this change of policy. The Theatines, before the Jesuits had fully entered upon their reactionary work, were the chief agents under Caraffa, in the searching out and the extermination of heresy.

Italian Protestantism had neither the numerical strength nor the heroic devotion to the truth that would have enabled it to withstand the fierce and determined onslaught to which it was now subjected. Most of the leaders escaped to Protestant lands, where they usually developed liberalistic types of teaching that sometimes involved denial of the deity of Christ. Some suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Inquisition. Mention has already been made of the circle of Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptists that had its chief center in the province of Venice, and delegates from whose churches met at Vicenza in 1550, and of Biandrata and the Sozzini, whose names are intimately associated with the Anti-trinitarian movement in Poland. Among the more eminent of the other anti-Catholic leaders the following are worthy of special notice:

(6) *Italian Evangelical Leaders.*

a. Bernardino Ochino, vicar-general of the Capuchins, and one of the most eloquent preachers of his time, had been won to the gospel by Valdes, and had labored with apostolic zeal for more than ten years, when he was charged with heresy by the promoters of the Inquisition. Warned by Contarini, he escaped to Switzerland. After laboring for some years in Geneva, Strasburg, and Augsburg, as a pastor of fugitive Italian evangelicals, he removed to England under Cranmer's patronage (1547), and for seven years made his influence powerfully felt as a preacher and writer in London, where he ministered to an Italian congregation. On the accession of Mary he returned to Zürich. Like most of the Italian evangelicals of his time he became more liberal in his thinking than the current orthodoxy approved, and was suspected of Anti-trinitarian and even Anti-pedobaptist views. An expression in a dialogue that seemed to imply an approval of polygamy led to his banishment from Zürich (1563). Discredited, aged, and homeless, he died about December, 1564.

b. Somewhat similar was the career of *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, a Florentine noble, who, as prior of a monastery, came under the influence of Valdes and his associates. He had been for some time earnestly engaged in evangelical work (1541 as prior in Lucca), when he was obliged to flee for his life from the Inquisition (1542). He also took refuge in Zürich, and passed thence to Geneva and to Strasburg, where he was made professor of Hebrew. He also

was invited by Cranmer to England, where he was professor in the University at Oxford till Mary came to the throne. He spent the remainder of his days in Zürich, dying in 1562.

c. To the same circle belonged *Galeazzo Caraccioli*, Marquis of Vico and nephew of Caraffa. Born in 1517, he was early brought to a knowledge of the truth under the influence of the evangelism of Valdes and Peter Martyr. In 1551 he fled to Geneva, where, till his death in 1586, he ministered to the Italian population and was one of the stanchest of Protestants. Few in that age gave up more for the gospel than did Caraccioli.

d. Of still more significance was the conversion of *Vergerio*, a learned jurist, who, when thirty-two years of age, had entered the church (1530). He soon gained great distinction as papal secretary and diplomatist, and was rewarded with the bishopric of Capodistria (1536). In 1544, while engaged in writing a work, "Against the Apostates in Germany," he was converted to evangelical views. In 1549, after he had long been under suspicion, he was deposed by the pope as a heretic. Escaping the Inquisition by flight, he went to Switzerland and then to Germany, where he became counselor to the Duke of Württemberg.

e. Aonio Paleario, the evangelical humanist, is also worthy of mention. Born in 1500, educated in Rome (1520–1527), he was for many years professor at Siena and at Lucca. In 1542, he was arraigned for heresy because of the publication of a work on "The Fullness, Sufficiency, and Satisfaction of the Suffering of Christ"; but his defense was so brilliant as to lead to his acquittal. After many years he was again charged with heresy and died at the stake (July 3, 1570).

As has already been said, the later anti-Catholic religious life of Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century was tinged with Anti-trinitarianism, combined in many cases with Anti-pedobaptism. The Inquisition succeeded in a few years in freeing Italy from all kinds of heresy and giving to the Roman Catholic Church an exclusiveness of authority that it had never enjoyed even in the mediæval time.

2. *Spain.*[1] (1) *Catholic Reformation Before the Protestant Revolution.* The political and religious condition of Spain at the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution has already been briefly sketched (p. 13). A little additional emphasis should, perhaps, be given to the great Catholic awakening in Spain that preceded the Lutheran Reformation. The zeal that had been fostered by centuries of

[1] See Wilkens, "*Gesch. d. Span. Protestantismus*," 1896 (also English tr., 1897); Lea, "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain"; Ticknor, "History of Spanish Literature"; Robertson, "Charles V.," ed. Prescott; Prescott, "History of the Reign of Philip II."; McCrie, "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain," 1829; Boehmer, "*Bibliotheca Wiffeniaus*"—"Spanish Reformers from 1520," 1874–1883; Betts, "Translation of Works of Spanish Reformers," 1869–1883; Stoughton, "The Spanish Reformers," 1883; Meyrick, "The Church in Spain," 1891; "*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*," 20 vols., 1848–1863; Llorente, "*Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*," 1817, 1818.

contact and conflict with Mohammedanism and had been brought to a white heat by the final struggle that resulted in the expulsion of all the Moors who would not accept the Catholic faith, had produced in the civil and ecclesiastical rulers an earnest desire to eliminate from the national church all elements of weakness and to make of Spain the greatest and most aggressive of the political forces of Europe, the model Catholic State. The national spirit was at this time peculiarly strong. Neither sovereigns nor prelates had much sympathy with the Renaissance or with the popes of the latter part of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, who subordinated religion to luxury and private interests and were far more concerned about the fine arts than they were about orthodoxy. There was no intention, however, to overthrow the papacy. It was desired only to reawaken it to the necessity of devoting itself undividedly to the promotion of unity and harmony throughout Christendom and the extension of the Catholic faith throughout the world. It is not to be supposed that this fanatical zeal for the universal dominion of the Catholic faith was accompanied by any great amount or wide diffusion of learning or by any particularly exalted ideas of morality. The masses of the people and even of the priests were densely ignorant. There was little regard for truth-telling or honesty. Licentiousness abounded, and a disregard for human suffering and life unsurpassed by that of the most savage peoples was general.

The chief ecclesiastical promoter and the finest example of the Catholic reformatory movement in Spain at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries was Ximenes de Cineros, who, born in poverty, attained to the greatest eminence in the Spanish church. As confessor to Queen Isabella, he inspired her and King Ferdinand with his ideals. Having been appointed provincial of the Franciscan order and having been armed with a papal bull procured by his royal patrons, he introduced such rigor into the administration of monastic life as to drive more than a thousand monks from the country. As Archbishop of Toledo he was unmerciful in his discipline of the clergy. The Complu-

tensian Polyglot Bible is a monument to his interest in the promotion of biblical learning. He devoted himself zealously to improving the instruction in the universities, seeking to avail himself of the good elements of humanism without introducing its skepticism and indifferentism. The revival of the study of the writings of Thomas Aquinas was one of the most marked features of his reform in the realm of theological education. To complete the extirpation of heretical modes of thought that survived the expulsion of Mohammedans and Jews the Inquisition, that had been established by Ferdinand and Isabella with papal consent (about 1478), was vigorously maintained, Ximenes himself serving for many years as Grand Inquisitor of Castile. The Spanish Inquisition was quite as much a political as a religious agency, and it became a means of building up a civil and ecclesiastical despotism almost unexampled in Europe.

Thus it appears that at the beginning of the Protestant Revolution Spain was far better fortified against attempted innovations than any other of the European States, and it was Spanish Catholicism that gave tone and policy to the Counter-Reformation.

(2) *Dissemination of Lutheran Teaching.* The anti-Catholic spirit was first disseminated by humanism, which had obtained some currency in Spain during the thirty years preceding the Reformation. A considerable number of persons came under the influence of Lutheranism while attending the Emperor Charles V. during his various sojourns in Germany. In the Netherlands also, where old evangelical thought and life, humanism, Lutheranism, and Zwinglianism had greatly weakened the hold of the Roman hierarchy, many Spaniards were led to adopt evangelical views. Among the imperial court officials who became more or less Protestant in their sympathies were the twin brothers Alphonso and Juan de Valdes. Of the highly influential evangelical activity of the latter during his residence at Naples we have already had some account. Alfonso served as Secretary of State from Charles' coronation to the Peace of Nuremberg (1532) and participated in several of the most important Diets in which negotiations with Protestants found place. The independence of Charles in

relation to the papacy and his conciliatory attitude toward the Protestants was no doubt due in some measure to Valdes' influence.

(3) *Spanish Evangelical Leaders.* The two chief centers of evangelical influence in Spain were Seville and Valladolid.

a. The first to awaken interest in Protestant teaching in Seville was *Roderigo de Valero*, who, as a street preacher, denounced the corruptions of the church with such violence and preached the gospel with such enthusiasm that he was imprisoned as a madman. Yet he had won to the evangelical cause Juan Gil, the chief cathedral preacher of the city, who became a mighty proclaimer of evangelical truth, and Ponce de la Fuente, an imperial chaplain.

b. Gil promulgated evangelical views in Valladolid (1555) and brought his influence to bear powerfully upon Domingo Derojas and Agostino Cazalla, who had been eminent among the priests of the city.

c. The Spanish version of the New Testament that had been made by *Francisco Enzinas* (1543) was a chief agency in the diffusion of evangelical light. Enzinas (Dryander) early left Spain for the Netherlands and afterward visited Wittenberg, where, in Melanchthon's house and with his aid and encouragement, he prepared his translation of the New Testament, the publication of which in Antwerp led to his imprisonment. Having escaped in 1545 he was thenceforth homeless, spending some time in Wittenberg, Strasburg, Switzerland, and England, and dying in Strasburg (1552).

d. Mention was made in an earlier section of *Juan Diaz*, an earnest and able Spanish Protestant, who was assassinated in 1546 through the procurement of his fanatical brother Alfonso, an official in the Roman Curia.

e. Juan Perez, who embraced evangelical views at Seville, fled to Geneva, where he published (1556) a new Spanish version of the New Testament and afterward a catechism and a translation of the Psalms.

f. Bartholomew Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, who had assisted in the persecution of Protestants in England under Mary, became imbued to some extent with evangelical principles. The publication (1558) of a new catechism brought upon him the charge of heresy. The Council of Trent pronounced the catechism orthodox, but Philip insisted on subjecting him to the Inquisition. He was sent to Rome for trial and required to abjure sixteen heretical statements. He died almost immediately after sentence had been pronounced. A number of monasteries in Seville and Valladolid were considerably influenced by evangelical teaching. From the south of France Protestantism spread into Aragon.

It is probable that about 1556 there were as many as two thousand Protestants in Spain widely scattered and meeting secretly in small groups.

(4) *Exterminating Measures of Philip II.* Charles V. was too much occupied with imperial interests outside of Spain to give the attention that was needful for the extirpation of heresy. Philip II., 1556 onward, had been educated under Jesuit influence and was full of fanatical zeal against heresy. From this time onward the Inquisition proceeded with all vigor to crush out the new teaching, and in 1570, as a result of numerous *autos da fe* at Valladolid and Seville, those who were not burned at the stake had been compelled to abandon their faith or had been driven from the country.

Most of the Spanish evangelicals seem to have been Lutheran in their sympathies, but those of Aragon were Calvinistic.

The Protestant movement in Spain is of interest as showing how much could be accomplished by a few zealous and determined men in the face of the fiercest and most unrelenting opposition, and the impossibility of continuing the work after its extirpation had been seriously taken in hand by the Inqnisition urged onward in its work by the fanatical king.

3. *Scandinavian Lands.*[1] (1) *Union and Disunion—Swedish Independence.* Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had been united in 1397, but Sweden had withdrawn from the union in 1448. Christian I. had forcibly restored the kingdom in 1457 and had added Schleswig-Holstein in 1457. Sweden again rebelled under the powerful leadership of Sten Sture. Supported by the archbishop, Gustav Troll, Christian II., an energetic and ferocious ruler, made a determined effort to subjugate Sweden (1518–1520). In the latter year the Swedes were forced to yield, but secured a promise of universal amnesty. In violation of his promise, Christian proceeded to slaughter the Swedish leaders ("Stockholm bath of blood," November, 1520).

(2) *Gustavus Vasa and the Swedish Reformation.* This act of treachery aroused the patriotism of the Swedes and under the leadership of Gustavus Vasa (April, 1521–1523), they were able to gain a glorious independence.

[1] See Weidling, "*Schwed. Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref.*," 1882; Butler, "The Ref. in Sweden," 1883; Fryxell, "*Leben u. Thaten Gustavus Vasa*," 1831; Münter, "*Kirchen Gesch. von Dänemark u. Norwegen*," 1823–1834; Lives of Tausen, by Rou (1757), and Suvh (1836); and Boyesen, "Hist. of Norway," 1890.

Gustavus had formed Luther's acquaintance some time before, while a fugitive, and had been deeply impressed by his personality (1517–1519). When fully established in authority he demanded of the Roman Curia a recognition of his right as king freely to deal with all ecclesiastical and religious matters in his lands, and refusing longer to permit his people to serve under a foreign yoke. He entered at once into close relations with the Saxon Protestant movement, secured the services of Andreæ, a leading Lutheran divine, had a translation of the Bible into Swedish made (N. T. by Andreæ, 1526), and in every way sought to promote the dissemination of the Lutheran teaching and to discourage Catholic effort.

The rupture between emperor and pope (1527) furnished a suitable occasion for the formal disowning of papal authority. A public disputation was held by royal authority, in which Olaf Petersen, who had studied at Wittenberg, triumphantly defended the Lutheran cause and the king threatened to abdicate (which would have been disastrous to Swedish independence) unless the national Diet would place at his disposal all ecclesiastical property and the revenues to be derived from it, grant freedom in preaching "God's pure word and gospel," and allow the nobles to take back all property they had alienated to the church since 1454. He proceeded to divide up the larger bishoprics and to bestow them upon Lutheran ministers. Lars Petersen was made Archbishop of Upsala (1531) without judicial authority over the other bishops. A Lutheran liturgy and a Lutheran hymn book were prepared by Olaf Petersen. An insurrection with which Catholic sympathy had much to do (1537–1543), was effectually suppressed. Under John III. (1568–1592), who had come under Jesuit influence, an unsuccessful effort was made to re-establish Roman Catholicism.

(3) *Christian II. and the Danish Reformation.* In Denmark as well as in Sweden the power and wealth of the nobles, and especially of the bishops, greatly interfered with the establishment of strong royal authority. Christian II., who was a nephew of Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, had been led to consider favorably the adoption of

Lutheranism as a means of overcoming the power of the bishops and strengthening and enriching the crown. On his conquest of Sweden (1520), he requested his uncle to send a Lutheran preacher for Copenhagen. Martin Reinhard was sent, but proving inefficient was soon allowed to return. Christian now made a strong effort to secure Luther himself. Carlstadt came and labored for a while, but was discredited by Luther and had to retire. Without waiting for any considerable instruction of his people in evangelical truth the king made a public breach with Rome by forbidding all appeals to Rome, permitting the clergy to marry, limiting the temporal power of the bishops, and reforming the monasteries. These innovations aroused much opposition and Christian was driven from his kingdom in 1523. His uncle, Frederick I., succeeding him, was obliged to swear allegiance to the old faith and to burn the statute book of his predecessor. Yet Lutheranism once introduced made rapid headway. Hans Tausen, the "Danish Luther," returned from Wittenberg in 1524 and proclaimed the new faith with great zeal. Persecuted for a time, he at last gained the royal favor (1529) and was made royal chaplain and pastor of one of the principal churches in the capital. The king had become a Lutheran, and in 1530 authorized the preparation of a Confession of Faith. Frederick died in 1533. Christian II., supported by the chief commercial cities, sought to regain the crown, and Frederick's sons, Christian and John, the one as a Protestant supported by the nobles, the other as a Catholic supported by the bishops, contended for the succession. The former triumphed and as Christian III. devoted his energies (1533–1559) to the completion of the work of reformation. Joh. Bugenhagen, one of Luther's trusted colleagues, was sent from Wittenberg to crown him (August, 1537) and to assist in the organization of the Danish church. Bugenhagen ordained seven Protestant bishops in place of those who had been deposed and the episcopal form of government has continued in Denmark to the present time.

(4) *Norway and Iceland.* Norway, which had for a time supported Christian II. and resisted the introduction

of Lutheranism, soon fell into line with the Danish movement and the highly influential archbishop of Trondhjem was compelled to yield. Iceland resisted with still more determination, but Lutheranism was introduced in 1539 by Gisser Einarsen, who had studied at Wittenberg and who was made bishop of Skalholt. A violent Catholic uprising under Bishop Arasen (1548) was finally suppressed in 1554.

In all these Scandinavian lands the nobles were conciliated by being allowed to participate largely in the spoliation of the church.

4. *Poland.*[1] (1) *Variety of Faiths and Toleration.* The religious and political situation of Poland at the beginning of the Reformation was peculiar. A large part of the population of Lithuania professed the Greek Catholic faith. Multitudes of Jews banished from Germany had taken refuge there. Considerable numbers of Hussites and Bohemian Brethren were present as a result of immigration and evangelizing effort from the neighboring Hussite States. Long before the Reformation a spirit of toleration had resulted from the presence of a variety of faiths, each represented by nobles or other influential personages. The royal authority was relatively weak.

(2) *Introduction of Lutheranism and Opposition of Sigismund I.* Lutheranism found early entrance and for a time made rapid headway. In 1523, King Sigismund sternly prohibited the sale and possession of Lutheran writings; but the rapid progress of Protestantism in the neighboring Prussia, close intercourse with the cities of Germany, attendance of a number of young noblemen at the University of Wittenberg, and a general popular desire for reform made this prohibition ineffective.

The municipal authorities of Dantzig promoted the introduction of the new faith. Other cities followed this example and the peasantry began to agitate violently for social and religious reform. The efforts of Sigismund I. to suppress heresy by violent means (1526) were only temporarily successful. The prohibition of attendance

[1] See Krasinski, "Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland," 1838; Lucaszewicz, "*Gesch. d. 'Reformation in K. in Lithuanien,*" 1841; Theiner, "*Vetera Documenta Poloniæ et Lithuaniæ,*" 1861–1863; Dalton, "*Joh. á Lasco,*" 1881 (Eng. tr., 1886); and Henschel, "*Joh. Laski,*" 1890.

at heretical universities was disregarded by the nobles, and Polish students were to be found at Wittenberg, Strasburg, and (somewhat later) at Zürich and Geneva. From 1540 onward, Calvinism made rapid headway at the expense of Lutheranism.

(3) *Sigismund II. a Friend of the Reformation.* Sigismund II. (1545–1572) gave free course to the Reformation and corresponded with Calvin and Melanchthon.

(4) *Measures for Evangelical Union.* In 1555 the various evangelical parties held a conference at Kozminek and the leaders of the Bohemian Brethren made a strong effort to induce the rest to unite with them as the older party and to accept their church order. A number of evangelical nobles met at Petrikau and proposed that the king should call a national council to which Calvin, Beza, Melanchthon, and John á Lasco (a learned Polish nobleman who had for years labored in the evangelical cause in the Netherlands and in England) should be invited and which should determine the religious future of the kingdom.

(5) *Rise and Spread of Anti-trinitarianism.* Reference has been made in an earlier section to the rapidity with which from this time onward Anti-trinitarianism and Anti-pedobaptism, chiefly through the influence of Italian refugees, spread in Poland. Racov became the center of the Unitarian (Socinian) propaganda. A university with four hundred students, many of them sons of noblemen, and a liberally supported printing press, diffused the Socinian influence not only throughout Poland, Siebenbürgen, and Hungary, but less intensely, throughout the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. In 1570 the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Reformed joined forces against the rapidly growing Anti-trinitarianism, but with little effect. In 1573 Catholic and Protestant nobles were placed upon a basis of equality by the Diet at Warsaw, each having the right to determine the religion of his subjects. The Jesuits availed themselves of the opportunity offered by this arrangement and were soon able to inspire the Catholic nobles with persecuting zeal and gradually to win other nobles to their faith. Socinianism proved no match for Jesuitism, the former tending to produce religious indifferentism,

the latter promoting a fiery enthusiasm that made its subjects willing to sacrifice everything to secure the triumph of its principles.

5. *Bohemia and Moravia.*[1] Bohemia and Moravia had remained Hussite in sentiment until the Reformation time. Bohemian Brethren abounded in both countries and had many supporters among the nobles. Luther's views were acceptable to a large proportion of the Hussites (Utraquists). The Bohemian Brethren found his doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist difficult of acceptance. We have already noticed the rapidity with which the Anabaptist movement spread in Moravia under the fostering care of some of the nobles (1526 onward). This growth was largely from immigration; but it is probable that several thousands of the older evangelicals embraced the faith of Hubmaier and Luther. Up to 1535 the Bohemian Brethren had themselves rebaptized such as came to them from the Roman Catholic Church. When to escape the application to themselves of the sanguinary Edict of Speier they repudiated Anabaptism, it is probable that many who were dissatisfied with the decision of the majority united with the more consistent Anabaptists.

From 1555 onward Moravian and Bohemian nobles claimed the right to protect their subjects in their profession of Protestantism by virtue of the provisions of the Augsburg treaty. As the Augsburg Confession was the only standard for tolerated Protestantism, most of the evangelicals soon became nominally Lutherans; though many no doubt still scrupled at Luther's doctrine of the Supper. Maximilian II. was devoid of persecuting zeal, if not sympathetic with Protestantism, and evangelical teaching had free course during his reign (1564–1576). There was so much in common between Utraquist Hussitism and Lutheranism that Hussites had little difficulty with the Augsburg Confession. German-Bohemian and German-Moravian Hussites became and remained for the most part ardent Lutherans. But during the latter part of the century Calvinism, everywhere

[1] See Pescheck, "The Ref. and the Anti-Ref. in Bohemia," 1845 (from the Germ., 1844); Gindely, "*Gesch. d. Gegenreformation in Bohmen*," 1894, "*Gesch. d. Bohm. Bruder*," 1857–1858; De Schweinitz, "The Hist. of the Church known as the *Unitas fratrum*," 1885; and Vickers, "Hist. of Bohemia," 1895.

aggressive, made rapid strides, especially among the Slavic and Magyar populations and among the Bohemian Brethren, with whose view of the Supper Calvinism was in substantial accord. To protect themselves against the machinations of the Jesuits, the Protestants of Bohemia formed a union in 1575 on the basis of a Confession of Faith in which it was sought to harmonize the Lutheran and Reformed systems. So powerful were the Protestant interests that Rudolph II., though a bitter enemy of the evangelical faith, felt obliged in 1609 to grant full toleration to the adherents of the Bohemian Protestant Confession and to grant the Protestants a charter with the right to have in connection with the royal court a Board of Defensors to look after the enforcement of its provisions. The violation of the provisions of this charter was the immediate cause of the Thirty Years' War.

6. *Austria*.[1] In the upper and inner Austrian Provinces (Tyrol, Saltzburg, Styria, Görz, Carinthia, Carniola, etc.), Lutheranism had early entrance. For some years (1526 onward) the Anabaptist form of evangelical life and thought was by far the most energetic and widely accepted. After the promulgation of the Edict of Speier (1529), and especially after the Anabaptist name had become doubly odious on account of the Münster Kingdom, Lutheranism increased in relative importance, a large proportion of the nobility becoming supporters of the new faith and refusing to obey the mandates of the Hapsburg rulers for its suppression. After the treaty of Augsburg they claimed the right to protect on their estates the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and the Hapsburgers, who required their assistance against Turkish invasion, were obliged to recognize the validity of their claim.

The way in which the flourishing Protestantism of this region was, toward the close of the sixteenth century, overcome by Jesuits and Hapsburgers, must be narrated in the chapter on the Counter-Reformation.

7. *Hungary and Siebenbürgen*.[1] (1) *Introduction of Evan-*

[1] Loserth "*D. Gegenreformation in Inner-oesterreich*," 1898

[2] See Krasinski, "Religious History of the Slavonic Nations," 1851; Fabo Andras, "*Monumenta Evangelicorum . . . in Hungaria*," 1861-1873; Lampe, "*Hist. Eccl. Ref.*

gelical Teaching. Evangelical teaching was early introduced into Hungary and Siebenbürgen by native students returning from Wittenberg, by merchants who visited the great trade fairs, etc. The efforts of Ludwig II. to suppress its early diffusion proved ineffective. The battle of Mohacz, in which the king fell, turned the tide in favor of Protestant teaching. Zapolya opposed the Reformation, but he was soon driven to Poland and the evangelicals had a free hand.

(2) *Joh. Honter and his Reformatory Work in Siebenbürgen.* The cause of reform here was under the leadership of Joh. Honter, a graduate of the University of Vienna and a man richly gifted in literature, art, pedagogic skill, and the capacity for enthusiastic and successful leadership. After spending some time in Germany and Switzerland he returned to his native Kronstadt (1533), and by 1542 had brought the city and the surrounding regions to the evangelical faith. He introduced the first printing press into this region and gave much attention to the establishment of schools and to the training (1523) of ministers. In 1523 and 1525 rigorous imperial laws were promulgated against the spread of the new doctrine. "All Lutherans are to be extirpated from the kingdom, and wherever they may be found are to be freely seized and burned, not only by ecclesiastical but also by secular persons" (Diet of Pesth, 1525). Five free cities of Upper Hungary, Kaschau, Leutschau, Seben, Bartfeld, and Eperies, at a synod held at the latter place, now declared in favor of Lutheranism. Honter's work in establishing and organizing evangelical work in Siebenbürgen was professedly Lutheran, but with a strong leaning toward the Reformed doctrine.

(3) *Devay and the Hungarian Reformation.* A work of similar magnitude was accomplished in Hungary by Matthias Biro Devay, a man of noble birth, who had studied at Krakau and had as a member of a monastic order labored earnestly for some years before he was led

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in Hungaria et Transylvania," 1728; St. Linberger, "*Gesch. d. Evg. in Ungarn sammt Siebenburgen,*" 1880; Brod, "*Historia Hungarorum Ecclesiastica,*" 1888-1890 (written about 1756); Haner, "*Hist. Ecclesiarum Transylvanicarum,*" 1694; Teutsch, "*Urkundenbuch d. evang. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen,*" 1862-1883, "*Gesch. d. Siebenburg. Sachsen,*" 1874, and "*Ref. in Siebenb. Sachsenland,*" 1886; Wolf, "*Joh. Honterus,*" 1894; Höchsmann, "*J. Honter, der Reformator Siebenbürgens,*" 1896; articles on Honter, Devay, etc., in Hauck-Herzog.

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to embrace the new faith. In 1529 he entered the University of Wittenberg in order to fit himself for the theological combats in which he was to engage. For a year and a half he was hospitably entertained by Luther and in 1531 he returned to Hungary full of enthusiasm and thoroughly equipped. After preaching for some time at Ofen and at Kaschau, he was cast into prison and subjected to prolonged inquisitorial proceedings in Vienna. Having escaped, he returned to a part of the country that supported the cause of Zapolya; but he was again apprehended and this time was held for nearly three years (1532–1534). Once more at liberty he carried on an extensive evangelizing activity under the protection of the educated, wealthy, and liberal Count Nadasdy. With the co-operation of Joh. Sylvester, who afterward became professor in the University of Vienna, and with the financial and moral support of Nadasdy, he published a Hungarian version of the New Testament, a large body of evangelical literature, and a number of secular textbooks. In 1541, as a result of a Turkish invasion, the enemies of the Reformation gained the upper hand in this region, Devay's school and printing establishment were destroyed, and he was compelled to fly. He visited Wittenberg and was befriended by Melanchthon. But a visit to Switzerland led to his rejection of Luther's view of the Supper and from this time onward he aligned himself with the Reformed theologians. Luther became his bitter enemy and sought to guard the evangelicals of Hungary against the turncoat. Devay was able after a year or two to return to his work and from this time onward the evangelical cause went forward with irresistible energy. Several Roman Catholic dignitaries, the Provost Joseph Hervat, of Zipser, and the bishops of Neitra and Weszprim, cast in their lot with the evangelicals. Ferdinand felt obliged to tolerate them after requiring of them a Confession of Faith. They presented on this occasion (1549) an extract from the Augsburg Confession; but they were already much divided respecting doctrine. Controversy arose between Lutherans and Reformed, the latter (chiefly Magyars) putting forth a Reformed Confession at Zenger (1557), the former (representing the mountain cities and being chiefly Saxons) publishing

a counter Confession (1558). In 1567, at a synod at Debreczin, the Magyar Protestants adopted the Second Helvetic Confession. Bullinger's influence had by this time come to be predominant among the Reformed of this region. In 1563 the synod of Tarczal adopted Beza's Confession of Faith, which represented extreme Calvinism.

A colony of Saxons had been invited into the Siebenbürgen region in the twelfth century with large privileges. The Saxons still held together in civil and religious matters, and their adoption and maintenance of the Lutheran faith can be readily understood.

(4) *Faction and Destruction.* From 1567 onward the country was in a state of turmoil caused by religious faction. Not only were Reformed arrayed against Lutheran, but Reformed and Lutheran factions were arrayed against each other. Anti-trinitarianism and Anti-pedobaptism, combined and separate, soon became important factors in the religious life of the country, which became assimilated to Poland as a seat of religious strife. Like Poland, Hungary, and Siebenbürgen, it fell an easy prey to the Jesuits, who from 1560 onward were carefully laying their plans for the crushing of all forms of evangelical teaching and the restoration of papal authority.

IX. THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES.

LITERATURE: Dorner, "History of Protestant Theology"; Heppe, "*Gesch. d. deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555–1581*," 1852–1858; Galinich, "*Kampf u. Untergang d. Melanchthonismus in Kursachsen in d. Jahre 1570–1574*," 1866; Seehauer, "*Zur Lehre von Brauch d. Gesetzes u. zur Gesch. d. späteren Antinomismus*; pertinent sections in the works on Ch. Hist. and Hist. of Doctrine, and articles on controversies and leaders in Hauck-Herzog, Lichtenberger, and McClintock and Strong.

1. *General Characteristics of the Protestant Theology.*

(1) *The formal element* of the Protestant theology of the Reformation period was adherence to the Scriptures as the only and sufficient guide of faith and practice. This was held to at first unconditionally, in opposition to the papal theory, which gives to tradition a place side by side with Scripture, while making Scripture and tradition alike dependent for their authority on the church. Most

of the Reformers came to make a distinction between tradition in doctrine and tradition in practice. In arguing with the Papists they rejected papal practices, not so much because they were without scriptural authorization (though they usually insisted upon this), as because they rested upon and, in turn, promoted false (anti-scriptural) doctrine. In arguing with the radical reformers, however, they defended such practices as they had chosen to perpetuate, although without scriptural precept or example, on the ground that they were not contradictory of the teachings of Scripture; that they were good in themselves; and that they were matters of immemorial usage. In his tract on "Vows," written while he was at the Wartburg (1521–1522), Luther condemns, unconditionally, whatever falls short of, is apart from, or goes beyond Christ (*vel citra, vel præter, vel ultra Christum incedit*), and gives the lie to the papal proposition, "that all things have not been declared and instituted by Christ and the apostles, but that very many things were left to the church to be declared and instituted." He declared moreover, "that whatever is without the word of God is, by that very fact, against God" (*eo ipso contra Deum, quod sine verbo Dei*). He frequently cited, in support of his position, the passage in Deut. 4 : 2 : "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it." Such citations might be multiplied. But when he saw what radical changes in ecclesiastical practice were likely to result from so thorough-going an adherence to Scripture authority, he promptly modified his view in this wise: "Nothing [that is, no ecclesiastical practice] ought to be set up without scriptural authority, or if it is set up, it ought to be esteemed free and not necessary" (*extra Scripturas nihil esse statuendum, aut, si statuitur, liberum et non necessarium habendum*). Yet again, when hard pressed by the consistent advocates of the scriptural principle on the positive and the negative sides, Luther allowed himself to write: "What is not against Scripture is for Scripture, and Scripture for it." However inconsistently held to by the Reformers, the doctrine of the supreme authority of Scripture must still be regarded as the formal principle of the Protestant theology.

(2) *The material element* of the Protestant theology was the doctrine of justification by faith alone, maintained in opposition to the doctrine of justification by faith and works—the works meaning, with the Papists, ceremonial observances, almsgiving, the purchasing of indulgences, masses, etc., and the giving of money for the building and endowment of churches, monasteries, etc. This doctrine of justification by faith alone exerted a molding influence upon Protestant theology. Held thus polemically, in opposition to the mediæval system of works for merit (*opera operata*), it could hardly escape a distorted development, and was sure to lead, in some instances, to Antinomianism. The absolute rejection of the efficacy of works in securing salvation assumed in some minds the form of denial of any freedom of will whatsoever in man; and some advanced to the Manichean position, declaring that original sin is the very essence of human nature. The maintenance of justification by faith alone was sure to lead to controversy as to the manner in which Christ's redemptive work is applied to man. Some held that justification is a mere judicial act, conditioned on man's belief in the Redeemer; others, that through belief man is transformed in character, and that his justification occurs only in connection with, and in consequence of, his sanctification. But what is the nature of faith, the medium through which the redemptive work of Christ is applied to man? Some held that it is chiefly an assurance of justification through the merit of Christ; others, that it involves a complete surrender of the subject to Christ, a radical turning away from sin and the love of it, and an inward appropriation of Christ as the controlling principle.

Again, if justification is by faith alone, what place is to be assigned to the sacraments? The seven Roman Catholic sacraments rest upon the doctrine of justification by works, which, in turn, rests upon sacerdotalism. The number of the sacraments was reduced by the Protestants to two, baptism and the Lord's Supper. How were these to be looked upon? As mere symbols of spiritual facts or as possessing in themselves mystical efficacy from their connection with the spiritual facts? Does the believer in submitting to baptism receive re-

mission of sins in the outward act, or is baptism a mere symbol of the cleansing and the consecration which are mediated by faith? In the Lord's Supper does the believer actually partake of the material body and blood of Christ, or does he partake spiritually of Christ's body and blood, or is the eating and the drinking of the bread and the wine merely symbolical of the believer's spiritual appropriation of Christ's merits, the bread and the wine commemorating the incarnation and the death of Christ? Controversy on these questions could not easily have been avoided. So, also, the relation of the children of Christian parents to the church and to these ordinances had to be determined. How could the baptism of infants be reconciled with the doctrine of justification by faith alone, on the one hand, and the doctrine of mystical and immediate efficacy in the rite, on the other? This question led to much confusion and controversy.

Again, if it be maintained that the body and blood of Christ are materially present in the Lord's Supper, and the power of the priest to transform the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ be denied, how is this real presence to be accounted for? Those who advocated the real presence defended it by the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature, which they based upon the doctrine of the communication of idioms, in accordance with which the divine nature in Christ communicates all of its attributes to the human, and the human its attributes to the divine. Is the divine nature ubiquitous? So must the human be. Hence the body and blood of Christ, everywhere potentially present, are actually and efficaciously present in the Supper. Those who denied the real presence denied also the ubiquity of Christ's human nature.

The Reformers were in general highly conservative. They rejected, without hesitancy, manifest corruptions in doctrine and in practice; but they were slow to call in question the doctrinal statements of the Councils and Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The leading Reformers regarded with sufficient (possibly with excessive) reverence the theological results of the Nicene and post-Nicene age. To speak more definitely, if they erred in this matter at all it was not in the fact that they

zealously maintained the Nicene and Athanasian formularies, but in the spirit in which these creeds were adhered to. If they be maintained because they most perfectly harmonize the various elements of Scripture teaching, it is well; if they be regarded as possessing independent authority, the case is entirely different. The latter was probably too much the case with many of the Protestant theologians.

On the matters of anthropology the writings of Augustine were looked upon as containing an almost perfect exposition of the teachings of Scripture. As with the schoolmen Aristotle was ranked next to the inspired writers in matters of philosophy and of formal reasoning, and became virtually the authoritative interpreter of the Scripture teachings, so with the Protestant theologians was Augustine. Such was the reverence of the Protestant leaders for post-apostolic antiquity; but such submission to human standards was opposed to the spirit of Protestantism. There were not wanting those who recognized this fact, and controversies arose on what have long been regarded as fundamental doctrines of Christianity —the trinity, the divinity of Christ, the hereditary guilt of man, etc.

Apart from Confessions of Faith and catechisms which abounded, most of the theological discussions of this period took the form of polemical tracts on particular doctrines. Printing was already common and cheap, and theological tracts were circulated to an extent not greatly surpassed since. Pamphleteering subserved, in part, the ends of the modern newspaper. During several years of his life Luther must have written, on an average, more than a pamphlet a week, and many other writers were scarcely less prolific. The mediæval system of discussion by theses was likewise still employed. Luther abhorred Aristotle and the schoolmen, and had little esteem for philosophy or systematic theology in general. His mind was creative rather than organizing, and while he furnished materials for systems (the plural is used advisedly) of doctrine, he himself wrote no "*Summa Theologiæ*." The great systematizers of the age were Melanchthon and Calvin. These writers (the former in his "*Loci Communes*," the latter in his "*Institutiones*").

while they treat systematically the doctrines emphasized by the Protestants, and systematically refute the opposing views of the Papists, impress us with the fact that the system is for the sake of the doctrine and not for its own sake. No greater degree of completeness is aimed at than is demanded by the practical end in view. The theology of this period was intensely practical in its aim, and the form adapted itself to the practical needs. Yet before the close of the sixteenth century the freshness and the elasticity of the new theology had disappeared, and in its place had come a scholasticism almost as formal and lifeless as that of the Middle Ages.

2. *Controversies between Lutherans and Reformed.*

(1) *On the Lord's Supper.* This may be regarded as the great subject of controversy between Lutherans on the one hand, and Zwinglians and Calvinists on the other. Nothing has been so influential in preventing Lutherans and Reformed from heartily co-operating against their papal enemies as persistent divergence of views with respect to the meaning of Christ's words: "This is my body." "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins."

It has been well remarked (by Dorner and, after him, by Schaff and others) that Luther and Zwingli assailed the Roman Catholic system on entirely different sides. Luther had had bitter experience of the *Judaistic legalism* of the mediæval system, and it was against this that he first of all directed his blows. The immoralities fostered by the system called forth in him far less of resentment than the enslavement of conscience through sacerdotalism, etc. His realism, combined with other influences, led him to take a very conservative position with regard to ecclesiastical practices. Zwingli, on the other hand, had experienced most keenly the evils of the *heathen element* in the mediæval system. In his anxiety to get rid of idolatry he not only cast down the idols, but he also made haste to purge the ordinance of the Lord's Supper of any idolatrous element. Luther and the Lutherans kept closer to the mediæval theology in their views of the person of Christ. The exaltation of the human in Christ to infinity, and the practical denial of

the persistence of the properly human element, was characteristic of Lutheranism. In other terms, Lutherans approximated Eutychianism. Zwinglians, on the other hand, among whom humanism was more influential, dwelt more upon the human element in Christ, and so approximated Nestorianism. Luther, as a realist, could see no meaning in an ordinance in which only the sign was present. The things signified must also be present. Hence, while rejecting transubstantiation, as realists usually did, on philosophical grounds, he still held firmly to the real presence of the body and blood along with the bread and wine. This view was closely connected with Luther's view on the mystical union of the believer with Christ, and was made easily credible by his view of the exaltation of Christ's human nature to ubiquity. If Christ be present in the sacrament at all, his body and blood must be present, for Christ is never separated from his body and blood. The body and blood of Christ, according to the theory, are received not only by the pious, but even by the impious, if such partake of the consecrated elements. Zwingli, in accordance with his humanistic view of the person of Christ, his aversion to mysticism, and his detestation of idolatry, maintained that the Lord's Supper is a simple memorial or sign of the spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ.

Bucer, and afterward Calvin, partly because, from their geographical relation to the two parties and their subjection to the influence of both, they sympathized with both parties and had elements common to the two, and partly because they were irenically disposed and felt the necessity of harmonizing Lutherans and Zwinglians, assumed an intermediate position—namely, that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of really, but spiritually, by the believer.

Such was the breach, such was the chief attempt to heal it. From 1528 onward various public attempts were made to bring Lutherans and Zwinglians, if not into complete harmony, at least into the attitude of mutual toleration. The Marburg Conference (October, 1529) was the first occasion on which the leaders of the German Reformation and the leaders of the Swiss Reformation met

each other face to face. Encouraged by the divisions among the Protestants, and being in the majority in the Diet, the Catholic electors had voted at Speier (March, 1529) to prohibit all further aggressive work on the part of the Protestants. Later in the same year the emperor had concluded a peace with the pope and with the king of France. The position of the Protestants was now critical, for, to all appearances, it had been due to the foreign engagements that the execution of the Edict of Worms had been kept in abeyance, and that the Protestant cause had been saved from utter overthrow. The crisis has come. How is it to be met? With solid or divided ranks on the Protestant side? The Protestant ranks are in sad disorder, how are they to be united and strengthened? The landgrave, Philip of Hesse, on the one hand, and Martin Bucer, on the other, earnestly sought to form a Protestant league for mutual defense against the impending attacks of the Roman Catholic powers, under the leadership of the emperor, Charles V. To this end the Marburg Conference was called. Luther, Melanchthon, Brentz, Jonas, etc., were confronted by Zwingli, OEcolampadius, etc. Bucer acted as mediator. The two parties agreed upon fourteen and a half of fifteen articles embracing the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism. On the remaining half article they could not agree—namely, as to whether the body and blood of Christ are corporeally in the bread and the wine. Luther and OEcolampadius conferred together for three hours, the chief result being to convince the Basel Reformer that in him of Wittenberg he had fallen upon another Eck. Zwingli and Melanchthon discussed the point at issue for six consecutive hours, in which Zwingli became more than ever convinced of the lubricity of Philip, who, Proteus-like, transformed himself into all things. Luther stood firmly upon the Scripture, "This is my body," and refused to recognize as brethren those who interpreted these words otherwise than literally. It was Luther's private opinion that God blinded Zwingli and OEcolampadius so that they were not able to bring forward any arguments worthy of notice, and thus gave him an easy victory. He thought that these foolish men, so little skilled in disputing, must have been convinced

by the weight of his arguments, but refused to yield, rather from fear and shame than from malice. So little capable was Luther of putting himself in the place of an antagonist and estimating the weight of arguments from any other point of view than his own. He was so fully convinced of the invincibleness of his own position, that the failure of another to be convinced by the full presentation of his arguments was to him inconceivable. It was finally agreed that, although Luther would not recognize the Swiss as brethren, the two parties should manifest Christian love one toward the other, as far as the conscience of each would allow.

The Lutherans soon afterward came to feel that they had compromised themselves in even so far agreeing to differ on the eucharistic question, and they made haste to set forth their own views clearly and unequivocally in the "Swabach Articles."

Bucer, by no means discouraged, continued to labor for conciliation. About 1531 he won Melanchthon, heretofore uncompromisingly Lutheran in his view of the Supper, to his own mediating position. Bucer now professed belief in the real presence, but insisted that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of only by believers. Luther persistently maintained that they are partaken of by believers and unbelievers alike. The position of Bucer was an exceedingly embarrassing one. Luther was uncompromising. Most of the Swiss were just as firmly attached to the original Zwinglian view. Yet Bucer felt it to be his duty to make the two parties believe that they were in substantial agreement. In conference with the Swiss, therefore, he represented the views which he was seeking to make the basis of union as excluding the corporeal presence of the body and blood, which he and they believed to be locally in heaven. When he would gain the good graces of Luther, as we shall see, his representation was very different.

From this time onward Melanchthon co-operated earnestly with Bucer in these mediating efforts, and with a view to inducing the Swiss to subscribe the Augsburg Confession he made various changes in the document. These modifications culminated in the "Augsburg Variata" (1540).

The "Wittenberg Concordia" (1536) marks the next stage in the efforts to harmonize Lutherans and Reformed. Luther never had much faith in the success of these compromising measures. In his view the two positions were so distinct and so antagonistic that harmony could be secured only by utterly abolishing one of them. Up to 1535 he persistently discouraged the mediating efforts of Bucer, Capito, and Melanchthon. He now expressed a faint hope, and in 1536, after preliminary negotiations, held a conference with Bucer and Capito. For the time he was in a conciliatory mood, a thing altogether unusual with Luther. Bucer and Capito professed belief in the real presence, yet refused to allow that the body and blood of Christ are partaken of by the impious. Luther relented so far as to admit that the impious were not worth quarreling about, and saluted Bucer and Capito as "dear brethren in the Lord." A moment of supreme joy this to Bucer. What, for years, he had been devoting all his energies of heart and brain to bring to pass he saw accomplished before his eyes! The unyielding Luther had yielded. The greeting that he had haughtily refused seven years earlier to Zwingli he had at last brought himself to accord to these disciples of peace. We do not wonder that Bucer shed tears of joy.

Bucer had gained his point with Luther; but he had made concessions far beyond what the Swiss had authorized him to make. The Swiss must now be induced to ratify the transaction. This was by no means an easy task. But Bucer believed it could be done, and he did it in a measure. Yet those of the Swiss who accepted the Wittenberg Concord did so in a sense very different from Luther's. Many refused to accept it at all. Controversy was suspended for a few years, only to be renewed with more than pristine bitterness in 1544, when Luther, now in his dotage, published his "Short Confession on the Supper," in which he dishonored the memory of Zwingli, and set forth his own views in the sharpest antagonism to those of the Swiss. From this time onward, for many generations, the antagonism of Lutherans and Reformed was scarcely less bitter than that between Protestants and Catholics. The annals of succeeding controversies give but a sorry view of the

spirit of Protestantism, and Romanists may well have taken courage. The growing degeneracy of Protestantism accounts in large measure for the rapidity with which the Romanists retrieved their losses from 1555 to 1618.

(2) *On the Ubiquity of Christ's Human Nature.* The points involved in this controversy have been already stated at sufficient length. Perhaps we may say that here, more than elsewhere, lies the root of the antagonism between Lutherans and Reformed. Upon the positive or the negative answer to the question as to the ubiquity of Christ's human nature depends, in large measure, the answer to the question whether Christ is corporeally present in the Supper. If all could have agreed as to the ubiquity, all could probably have agreed as to the real corporeal presence. They have never agreed on either the one or the other.

3. *Controversies Among the Lutherans.*

It is remarkable that almost all of the great doctrinal controversies arose among the Lutherans. The vehemence of Luther and the illogical constitution of his mind led him frequently to express himself extravagantly and inconsistently. His writings abound in contradictions, and it was exceedingly easy for his disciples, by laying hold upon extreme statements in this or that direction, and by attempting to formulate such statements into systems, to create an indefinite number of divergent systems. Calvin, on the other hand, was above all things else, logical and clear. There was no mistaking his meaning. Whatever appeared in a given treatise might be unreservedly taken as his mature opinion, which the next treatise turned to would not contradict. Controversy could occur here, therefore, only by way of sheer contradiction to the system as a whole, such as we see in Arminianism. We shall have space at present only for a brief account of the more important Lutheran controversies.

(1) *On the Law—the Antinomian and the Majoristic Controversies.* In his intense hostility to the Judaistic element in the mediæval Christianity, Luther had employed the strongest language in disparagement of the law: "Christ is not harsh, severe, biting as Moses. .

Therefore, away with Moses forever, who shall not terrify deluded hearts." "The gospel is heavenly and divine, the law, earthly and human; the righteousness of the gospel is just as distinct from that of the law as heaven from earth, as light from darkness. The gospel is light and day, the law darkness and night." Pages of such expressions might be easily collected from Luther's earlier writings.

The evil effects of such disparagement of the law soon became manifest to Melanchthon who, in his "Visitation Articles" (1527), urged upon pastors the importance of teaching repentance and remission of sins, after the example of Christ. The common method, he asserts, is to vociferate about faith, which, without repentance, without the doctrine of the fear of God, without the doctrine of the law, accustoms the people to a certain carnal security worse than all papal errors. Melanchthon was promptly assailed by John Agricola, yet controversy was repressed for the time through Luther's influence. But ten years later Agricola put forth his Antinomian views in eighteen theses, which, in the course of their secret circulation, came into the hands of Luther. Luther published these theses, and in six disputations refuted them. Agricola held that "repentance must be taught, not from the Decalogue or any law of Moses, but through the gospel. Without anything whatsoever the Holy Spirit is given, and men are justified . . . without the law, solely through the gospel concerning Christ. The law of Moses need not be taught either for the beginning, the middle, or the end of justification. The law, without the Holy Spirit, convicts unto damnation; the gospel not only condemns but at the same time saves." He was accused, moreover, of using still more objectionable language, which could not but have a licentious tendency.

In opposing Agricola, Luther defined his attitude toward the law, guarding against the irreverent disparagement in which he had formerly indulged. He now maintained that the law is really from God, planted by God in our hearts, and imparted by God to Moses; that it is, therefore, essentially good and holy. He now insisted that only through the law is that contrite and penitent state of mind induced which eagerly lays hold upon Christ as

a Saviour. Agricola was silenced for a time through the influence of Luther and of the civil authorities; but many years afterward he reasserted his views.

Through this controversy with Agricola and the observed evil effects of Antinomianism, Melanchthon became more and more decided in his teaching with regard to the importance of the law and the necessity of practical morals in the Christian system. He made good works a condition, or *causa sine qua non*, of salvation, and insisted upon a certain degree of freedom of will in man.

Under Melanchthon's influence George Major declared, in opposition to Nicholas Amsdorf (1552), that "good works are necessary to salvation," that "no one will be saved through evil works or without good works"; that "while good works do not merit salvation, they are the necessary fruit of faith, their absence being a sure sign that faith is dead."

Amsdorf maintained, in opposition to Major and Melanchthon, that "good works are hurtful to salvation." Musculus, a disciple of Agricola, asserted that "those that teach that we must do good works belong to the devil, with all that follow them." This controversy was an exceedingly bitter one, yet Melanchthon and his party maintained a large measure of moderation.

(2) *On Justification—the Osiandrian and Stancarist Controversies.* The nature of justification by faith and the relation of justification to sanctification furnished the subject-matter of these controversies. Does justification mean to make righteous or simply to declare righteous? This was the chief question at issue.

In the writings of Luther two classes of expressions with regard to justification may be distinguished—those in which he represents justification as a forensic act on the part of God in consideration of faith, and without any regard to the character of the subject, and those in which he represents the Christian as transformed in character through the Holy Spirit. Luther himself thus formally distinguished "two parts of justification." The forensic element, however, was most emphasized and naturally made most impression upon Luther's followers.

Osiander, learned, profound, mystical, regarded this

theory of forensic imputation of Christ's righteousness as "more frigid than ice." True righteousness must be something positive. It is not merely immunity from punishment, but essential goodness. This essential goodness can be communicated to man only through the incarnation of God. Through the mediation of humanity divinity comes into us. By faith we take Christ into our hearts and become members of Christ. Christ must be our righteousness, not by being in heaven, but by being in us. The gospel, he maintained, has two parts: the first, that Christ has satisfied the justice of God; the second, that he cleanses and justifies us by dwelling in us. According to Osiander we are saved solely by the divine nature in Christ, although without the human nature we should not have been able to discover, seek for, and apprehend the divine.

Most of these views Osiander expressed as early as 1524, yet Luther was able to suppress controversy thereon. In 1549, three years after Luther's death, having been appointed professor at Königsburg, he set forth his views polemically and inaugurated one of the fiercest controversies of the age. The Königsburg disputants became so madly pugnacious as to carry firearms into their lecture rooms. Osiander's enemies caused it to be believed that the devil wrote his books for him while he was enjoying his meals.

Among the most noted opponents of Osiander's views, were Melanchthon, Brentz, Moerlin, Bugenhagen, and Staphylus, who sought to make clear the distinction between justification and sanctification, which Osiander, in their opinion, practically obliterated, and to maintain the efficacy of the divine and the human in the salvation of men.

In extreme opposition to the Osiandrian view, that the divine nature in Christ is the chief element in man's salvation, Francis Stancarus (1551) advanced the view that not the divine but the human in Christ is our righteousness; arguing that, as no one can be a mediator of himself, Christ, being one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, cannot be a mediator between God and man according to his divine nature. He fortified his view by those passages of Scripture in which "the blood of the

cross" and "the death" of Christ are represented as securing our peace and reconciliation with God. Especially did he lay stress on 1 Tim. 2 : 5 : "There is one God and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." He strangely appealed to the mediæval theologian, Peter Lombard, who, in his estimation, was worth more than one hundred Luthers, two hundred Melanchthons, three hundred Bullingers, and four hundred Calvins, all of whom, beaten up together in a mortar, would not yield an ounce of true theology. Osiander, though a mystic, was not exceptionally meek, and took a very lively interest in current affairs. It is no cause for wonder that the hot-blooded Italian soon found Königsburg an undesirable place of residence. He asked to be relieved of his professorship, on the ground that he could not safely walk the streets on account of the bloodhounds Osiander and Aurifaber.

And were these fighting Lutherans disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus? Surely they manifested the minimum of his Spirit. And yet no one of these men transcended Luther himself in violent denunciation. But Luther was a violent polemicist, and much more; some of these disciples of Luther were fierce controversialists, and little besides.

(3) *Controversy on the Communication of Idioms.* In close connection with the Osiandrian and Stancarist controversies other controversies arose, especially on Christology (1561 onward). The doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* was warmly discussed between the Melanchthonian Martin Chemnitz, on the one hand, who denied the capacity of human nature for divinity, and the strictly Lutheran Brentz and Andreæ, who taught that Christ's humanity possessed, from the very moment of its origin, absolute majesty and exaltation to the right hand of the Father. In his mother's womb the body of Christ was already omnipresent. Not only was there a communication of all divine attributes to the human nature, but also a communication of all human attributes to the divine. God makes the passion his own, undergoes it as a person, is not otherwise affected thereby than if it befell himself. As already stated, Luther himself maintained as a fundamental doctrine this commu-

nication of attributes, and made it the basis of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

(4) *Controversies on Free Will and Original Sin—the Synergistic and Flacian Controversies.* In his controversy with Erasmus, Luther had, at an early period, committed himself to an absolute denial of the freedom and assertion of the slavery of the human will. From this position he never withdrew, but continued to the close of his life to regard his "*De Servo Arbitrio*" as his masterpiece, and the very truth of God.

Melanchthon adopted Luther's views on the will, and emphasized them in his early writings, especially in his notes on the "Epistle to the Romans" and his "Hypotyposes." Influenced partly by Erasmus' arguments, and partly by the observed licentious tendency of Luther's views, Melanchthon gradually and quietly withdrew from this extreme position. In the "Augsburg Confession," drawn up by Melanchthon (1530), while it is taught "that men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works, but are justified gratuitously, for Christ's sake, through faith," it is not asserted that faith is involuntary, or even that prevenient grace is necessary to faith. Moreover, free will, in civil matters, is distinctly recognized.

In 1532 Melanchthon disowned his early annotations on Romans, and published a completely transformed edition. In this he asserts that "not all obtain the benefits [of redemption through Christ], because many resist the Word. And it is manifest that to resist belongs to the human will, because God is not the cause of sin." In his "*Loci Communes*" (1535) he ascribes conversion to three causes: the Word, the Holy Spirit, and the human will. In 1545 he writes: "There is in us some cause of discrimination, why Saul is rejected and David accepted."

Thus Melanchthon came gradually to the position known as Synergism. He was reluctant to antagonize Luther, and refrained, during Luther's lifetime, from stating his views polemically; but he was forced by the power of argument and by his sense of the practical needs of men to reject the almost fatalistic views of his master.

Controversy on Synergism first became vehement

and general when Pfeffinger, of Leipzig, maintained polemically in a disputation (1550), and in a published treatise (1555), the views that Melanchthon had quietly and cautiously advanced.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Nicholas Amsdorf entered the lists against Pfeffinger. At Jena the controversy reached its greatest intensity. Flacius, who was regarded as the great representative and champion of the old Lutheranism, was called to Jena (1557) to oppose doctrinal innovations. He promptly announced, upon his arrival, that he was not afraid to maintain his views against any and all that might be disposed to call them in question. This challenge called forth a manifesto from the Wittenberg theologians.

In the University of Jena itself Flacius found determined opposition in the persons of Strigel and Schnepf. In 1559 Flacius prepared and Duke John Frederick promulgated a confutation and condemnation of the various forms of error that had been introduced into the Lutheran body, including Synergism and Calvinism. Jena now became the scene of the most violent and indecent polemics. The house of Flacius was stormed by students. Strigel's house was broken open by a mob, and he himself taken prisoner, etc. With a view to securing peace, Duke John Frederick arranged a colloquy between Flacius and Strigel (1560). Flacius was now led by the pressure of his antagonist to declare that "man has been transformed into the image of Satan, marked with his stamp, and thoroughly infected with poison, so that he is necessarily or inevitably always and vehemently in antagonism to God and to true piety"; nay, that "original sin is the very substance of human nature." This view of Flacius is essentially Manichæan, as was pointed out by his opponents.

The Flacians were victorious at Weimar; but they employed their victory in so tyrannical a way at Jena that the right of excommunication was, by civil authority, withdrawn from the preachers. The Flacian party denounced this action as an unwarranted subjection of the church, a suppression of pure doctrine, etc. The duke in turn, thoroughly exasperated, deposed the turbulent Flacian professors, and filled their places with

Wittenbergers (1561). So little fidelity to principle did the civil rulers in that day manifest, and so prone were they to favor the party that showed itself most subservient! These Wittenbergers, in turn, were supplanted by ultra-Lutherans in 1568. The proceeding of 1561 was repeated in 1573, and that of 1568 in 1574. (See below.)

The followers of Flacius went far beyond Flacius himself in his most objectionable teachings. For example, Saliger, of Rostock, taught that "original sin is the very substance of the body and soul of man," and that Christ assumed "flesh of another species" (ἑτερουσία), thus following the extreme type of Eutychianism, with which ultra-Lutheranism had much in common. So, also, he held to a view of the Lord's Supper differing little from transubstantiation (1568).

Several other important colloquies occurred, the aim of which was to settle the questions involved in this controversy: another at Weimar (July, 1571), one at Strasburg (August, 1571), others at Jena and Mansfeld (1572). The Flacians were usually worsted, most of the strict Lutherans having revolted against the sheer Manichæism of the Flacians.

(5) *The Eucharistic or Crypto-Calvinist Controversy.* We have seen that at an early period Melanchthon came to regret the divisions of Protestants on the nature of the Lord's Supper. In the "Augsburg Variata" (a recension of the Augsburg Confession, published by Melanchthon in 1540) he expressed himself on this subject harmoniously with the view of Bucer and Calvin. The "Augsburg Variata" was assailed by the strict Lutherans, Luther himself expressing his dissatisfaction. From this time onward two great parties may be said to have existed in the Lutheran body—the strict Lutherans and the Philippists. These party lines became more definite after the death of Luther (1546), and Melanchthon's leadership became more pronounced. Wittenberg became the stronghold of Philippism, while Jena became the rallying point of ultra-Lutheranism.

The controversy between Westphal of Hamburg and Calvin (1552) enhanced the bitterness of ultra-Lutherans against the Calvinistic view of the Supper and all who

sympathized with Calvinists. From this time onward the followers of Melanchthon were stigmatized as Crypto-Calvinists.

The antagonism of Philippists and Lutherans was still further intensified by the Synergistic and Flacian controversies (see above).

In 1561, after Melanchthon's death, a collection of his confessional writings ("*Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum*") was published by Melanchthon's son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, sustained by the authority of the elector. This collection embraced the "Augsburg Variata," the "Apology" for the Augsburg Confession, the "Saxon Confession," the "*Loci Communes*" of 1543, a treatise on "The Examination of Candidates for Ordination," the "Refutation of Servetus," and the "Response Concerning the Controversy of Stancarus." All of these documents, prepared by Melanchthon, represented Philippism as opposed to Lutheranism.

The elector, though an uncompromising Lutheran, as he supposed, was led by Peucer, his court physician, to believe that this collection represented true Lutheranism as opposed to the ultra-Lutheranism of the Jena theologians. The turbulence of the Flacian theologians at Jena and their resistance to the civil authority (see above), and the comparative gentleness and peaceableness of the Wittenbergers, predisposed him in favor of the latter. Accordingly he gave symbolical authority to the "*Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum*." Thus the fury of the ultra-Lutherans was still further heightened, and they determined, by all means, to bring the Philippists to grief. The Philippists, be it remembered, were not avowed Calvinists. While they agreed with Calvin in his rejection of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature and his denial of the real presence in the Lutheran sense, they were, as yet, far from avowing such divergence from the views of Luther.

In 1571 the elector was led to suspect that his theologians secretly disbelieved in the real presence, but they appeased him by an ambiguous statement ("*Consensus Dresdensis*"). Two years later (1573), the elector, having become regent of the Thuringian principalities, banished the remaining ultra-Lutheran theologians (Wi-

gand and Hesshus) from Jena, together with clergy within his jurisdiction who refused to subscribe the "*Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum*" Philippism was thus triumphant throughout Saxony. But the glory of the party was destined to be short-lived. Encouraged by their successes, the Wittenbergers thought it no longer necessary to mince matters. They avowed their substantial Calvinism (1574). Confidential correspondence between the Wittenbergers and the Calvinists in the Palatinate was discovered, very compromising to the former.

When the elector discovered that he had been beguiled into the support of Calvinism he became as furious as it is possible for a German to become. If a mine had been sprung beneath the theologians the shock and havoc could hardly have been greater. The leaders, Privy Councilor Cracan, Church Councilor Stössel, and Court Physician Peucer, were thrown into prison. The first two died in prison; the last, a man of remarkable talent and unsurpassed heroism, was destined, after lying in prison for twelve years, to write a history of the movement in which he was engaged and to spend an honored old age in comfort and quiet. The theologians and clergy were obliged to sign strictly Lutheran articles or go into exile. The four theological professors in the University of Wittenberg were banished.

From this time onward vigorous and persistent efforts were made to secure harmony in the Lutheran communion. Strict Lutherans, who yet rejected Antinomianism and Flacian Manichæism, came most into favor. The results of these strivings for harmony appeared in the "Formula of Concord" (1580), in which Antinomianism, Flacianism, Synergism, Calvinism (especially in its denial of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature and its rejection of the corporeal presence in the Supper), are condemned, and the old Lutheran doctrines on all of these points are emphasized. Yet the effect of the document sadly belied its name. Controversy with Philippists and Calvinists was unabated, if not intensified.

(6) *The Adiaphoristic or Interimistic Controversy.* A result of the Schmalkald War between the emperor, Charles V., and the Protestant princes of Germany was the com-

plete discomfiture of the latter (1547). Protestantism seemed now in imminent danger of extermination. Never since the Diet of Worms had the outlook of Protestantism been so gloomy. The emperor, however, assured the Protestants that their cause should be fairly adjudicated in a General Council, introducing a temporary ecclesiastical arrangement for the meantime (*interim*).

The Augsburg Interim (May, 1548) withdrew from the Protestants of Germany all privileges except marriage of the clergy and communion under both kinds. Four hundred Protestant clergy were expelled from Southern Germany. It was not thought practicable to enforce the Augsburg Interim in Saxony. In lieu thereof an arrangement was made between the Elector Maurice, on the one hand (through whose treachery the Protestants had suffered defeat), and Melanchthon, with a number of other theologians, on the other, which is known as the Leipzig Interim. On this occasion, more than elsewhere, Melanchthon manifested his weakness, and his reputation never entirely recovered from the shock it received.

The provisions of the Leipzig Interim were as follows: the retention of the doctrine of justification by faith along with that of the necessity of good works; the restoration of the mass, with most of its ceremonies, of the Roman Catholic baptismal and confirmation ceremonies, of episcopal ordination, of extreme unction, penance, fasts, etc. What Protestants had been struggling for during thirty years was now practically surrendered. So much of Protestantism was abandoned, that had this arrangement gone into effect it would have been almost impossible to prevent a complete relapse to popery.

Melanchthon was bitterly reproached by the strict Lutherans and by Calvin. He defended himself on the ground of necessity, and he made matters worse by maintaining that the points wherein he had yielded were *adiaphora* (matters of indifference). The Interim was never fully carried out in either of its forms, and was abolished as a result of a renewal of the war against the emperor by the Elector Maurice, whose treachery had not yielded him all the advantages he had expected.

The Peace of Augsburg (1555) removed the occasion of this controversy, in that it gave to the princes of Ger-

many the right of choice between Roman Catholicism and the Augsburg Confession, and provided that the religion of the subject should be the same as that of the prince. *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, was a motto long insisted upon by Catholics and Protestants alike.

The internal conflicts of Lutheranism disappear in the terrible Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), but other controversies soon afterward took the place of the old, and Lutheranism is almost as far from being harmonious today as it was three hundred years ago.

4. *Controversies among the Reformed.*

The teachings of Calvin were so self-consistent and were systematized with such logical rigor that there was little opportunity for his followers to be in doubt as to his meaning or to base upon his teachings diverse doctrinal conceptions. If controversy was to arise among his followers it must be either by way of a negation of his positions or by way of reaction against the dogmatizing of those who carried his teachings to extremes.

The controversy with Servetus is hardly in point, as Servetus was probably never in complete sympathy with the Reformed theology. But his type of thinking doubtless had more in common with the Reformed than with the Lutheran system. Reference has already been made to the irresistible tendency among Italian Protestants, who were for the most part more profoundly influenced by the Reformed than by the Lutheran theology, to reject the harsher features of the Calvinistic system and to go to the extremes of liberalism. The preponderance of humanism in their intellectual and spiritual outfit may account for the prevalence of rationalism among Italian reformers.

(1) *The Socinian Controversy.*[1] The Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptist movements in Italy and Poland have

[1] See "*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*" (contains the works of Faustus Socinus, Crellius, Slichtingius, Woltzogenus, Przipcovius, Wissowatius, *et al.*); Toulmin, "Memoirs of the Life, Character, Sentiments, and Writings, of Faustus Socinus," 1777; "Racovian Catechism" ("*Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Poloniæ*"), Eng. tr. by Rees, with "Historical Introduction," 1818; Sandius, "*Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum*"; Bock, "*Hist. Antitrinitariorum*," 1774; Trechsel, "*D. Prot. Anti-trinitarier vor. F. Socinus*," 1839-1844; Fock, "*D. Sociansmus.*" 1847; Burnat, "*Lælio Socin.*" 1804; Wallace, "Antitrinitarian Biography," 1850; Gordon, "The Sozzini and their School" (in "Theol. Rev.," 1879); articles on the various leaders in Bayle, Hauck-Herzog, and Lichtenberger.

already been briefly described. The anti-Calvinistic aspect of this movement to which Faustus Socinus gave his name and which was derived no doubt in large measure from the unpublished lucubrations of his uncle Lælius Socinus must here be outlined.

a. Characteristics of Socinianism. (*a*) In common with mediæval evangelicals and Anti-pedobaptists of nearly all parties, the Socinians rejected the Augustinian (Lutheran and Calvinistic) anthropology, with its denial of freedom of will, its predestination, election, irresistible divine grace, necessary perseverance of believers, and unconditional damnation of the non-elect. In other terms, their anthropology was Pelagian.

(*b*) They went beyond most of the mediæval evangelicals and most of the Anti-pedobaptists of the Reformation time in the zeal with which they opposed the Nicene and Athanasian formulæ regarding the person of Christ and the doctrine of the co-existence in the Godhead of three co-equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial personalities. The Italian and Polish Anti-trinitarians differed much in their Christological conceptions. Many (probably most of the Italians as seen at the Vicenza conference of 1550) denied the deity of Christ, insisting that he was "man and not God," but maintaining that by virtue of his perfect life and divinely inspired teachings he was worthy of all reverence and obedience and was in an important sense the Saviour of mankind. The Racovian Catechism, prepared in part by Faustus Socinus, recognizes the supernatural birth of Christ, his absolute holiness and righteousness, his possession of all power in heaven and on earth as a gift of God, his worthiness to be worshiped, and his prophetical, kingly, and priestly offices; yet it emphatically denies his consubstantiality, co-eternity, and co-equality with the Father, and insists upon the absolute unity of the Godhead. Their Christology was thus essentially Arian.

(*c*) As respects the ordinances, the Racovian Catechism regards the Lord's Supper as simply a memorial of the incarnation and atoning death of Christ, to be partaken of by baptized believers. Baptism is declared to be the immersion of believers on a profession of their faith as an act of obedience and consecration. Its appli-

cability to infants is emphatically denied and any mode of applying water other than immersion repudiated; but it does not consider a mere external rite a sufficient ground for a breach of fellowship with true believers who have not been rightly instructed in this matter. Faustus Socinus denied that baptism was meant to be a perpetual ordinance and, refusing to submit to it, was during most of his life disfellowshiped by the Anti-trinitarian churches of Poland.

(*d*) As regards the future state, they maintained the resurrection of the spiritual body of believers and the annihilation of the ungodly together with the devil and his angels.

(*e*) They were advocates in general of toleration and exemplified it in their practice, but they were far from having grasped in its fullness the great principle of liberty of conscience, and instances of intolerance among them are not wanting.

(*f*) Their method of propagating their views was not so much by boldly dogmatizing as by insinuating doubts regarding the validity of the doctrines of their opponents. There was much in common between their methods of undermining faith in the Lutheran and Calvinistic systems and that of the Jesuits.

(*g*) Socinianism claimed to involve a complete restoration of primitive Christianity with the abolition of extraneous elements. The inscription on Socinus' tomb "Lofty Babylon lies in ruins; Luther destroyed its roofs, Calvin its walls, but Socinus its foundations" (*Alta jacet Babylon: destruxit tecta Lutherus, muros Calvinus, sed fundamenta Socinus*), illustrates their conception of their mission.

b. The Rise of Socinianism. Reference has already been made to the Anti-trinitarian tendencies of such early Anti-pedobaptist teachers as Denck, Hetzer, Kautz, Bünderlin, and Servetus, and to the Italian Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptist movement of the next generation (1546 onward).

(*a*) *Lælius Socinus* (b. 1525), son of an eminent lawyer and himself destined to the bar, gave up the law for the study of theology and soon acquired a considerable knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages,

and remarkable familiarity with the Scriptures and with the great theolcgical problems that were agitating men's mind about the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1546–1547 he was closely associated with the circle of freethinking religionists that centered at Vicenza. Leaving Italy in 1547 he spent the next four years in France, Holland, Germany, and Poland, earnestly engaged in seeking a solution of the multitudinous questions that thrust themselves upon his skeptical, but deeply earnest mind, and entering into intimate association with many of the forem st theologians of the day. His amiability, his remarkable intelligence, his eagerness for further enlightenment, his freedom from dogmatism, and his purity of life, commended him to all. Melanchthon was so deeply interested in him as to use his influence with the Emperor Maximilian and Sigismund of Poland to get him appointed ambassador to Venice, which enabled him safely to return to Italy and settle his affairs.

His habit of prodding his theological friends with theological questions early proved distasteful to Calvin. In January, 1552, Calvin wrote the young skeptic as follows:

> You must not expect that I should answer your shocking questions. If you choose to soar among such airy speculations, leave me, I beg you, like an humble disciple of Christ, to meditate on those things which will tend to the confirmation of my faith. . . It greatly grieves me that the fine parts God hath given you should not only be employed in things vain and useless, but in pernicious fictions. I again seriously warn you of what I have before declared, that, unless you correct in season this luxurious inquisitiveness, it is to be feared you will bring on yourself heavy calamities. I should be perfidious and cruel, if, under the mask of tenderness, I indulged what appears to me a most hurtful vice. I had rather, therefore, you should be a little displeased with my harshness, than not reclaimed from the curiosity which flatters and bewitches you.

The remaining ten years of his life were spent mostly at Zürich, though he seems to have visited Poland a second time in 1558. He was cautious enough to publish nothing and to avoid committing himself orally to anything that would furnish ground for a charge of heresy; but there can be no doubt that he exerted a powerful influence on many minds in favor of liberal theological thought.

(*b*) In 1556 *Peter Gonesius*, a native of Poland, returned after a period of study at Wittenberg and in Switzerland. In the latter country he had doubtless come under the influence of Lælius Socinus and of the teachings of Servetus. At a synod of the Reformed churches at Secieminum he declared his rejection of the current doctrines of the Trinity and of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, of Luther's doctrine of the communication of idioms, and of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, all of which he regarded as human fictions. Two years later, at a synod at Brestia, he reiterated and emphasized his former objections to the Calvinistic and Lutheran theology and presented a treatise against infant baptism. Jerome Pieskarski espoused his cause, which soon found many supporters among the nobles.

(*c*) Controversy on these topics became more and more widespread and violent until 1565, when *Gregorius Paulus* was able to arrange for the thorough discussion and settlement of the issues involved in a general assembly of the Reformed churches of Poland. Gregorius had promised to support the Anti-trinitarian position by the authority of the Fathers, but being somewhat dilatory the Calvinistic majority decided that further discussion would do more harm than good and denounced the Anti-trinitarian minority as Arian heretics. This led to an open schism and the Anti-trinitarian faction soon effected a presbyterial organization with synods and assemblies like those of the Reformed.

(*d*) Diversity of sentiment soon appeared among the Anti-trinitarians themselves, some maintaining the supernatural birth of Christ and his pre-existence as the divine Logos, and led for a time by *Stanislaus Farnovius;* and others, led by *Simon Budnæus*, maintaining that Jesus was a mere man and not to be worshiped or adored.

(*e*) One of the most important personages in connection with this controversy was *George Biandrata* (b. 1515), member of a noble Italian family that had been protectors of heretics in the mediæval time. He went to Poland about 1550 as body physician to the queen, and afterward served the widow of Zapolya in Siebenbürgen in the same capacity. He returned to Italy for a while, but fear of the Inquisition caused his departure for Geneva,

where a large community of Italian evangelicals resided. Here he entered into prolonged discussions with the Italian pastor and with Calvin himself regarding the Trinity, alleging that the New Testament does not teach that God is a single substance in three persons, and asking whether prayer is to be offered to God or to the Trinity, the meaning of the expressions "eternal Word," "incarnation," etc., and whether speculation regarding the relations of the three divine persons is not needless. Calvin argued these questions with him until he was satisfied Biandrata was a confirmed heretic. As a means of testing the Italian congregation he arranged that they should all be at liberty to declare their opinions without fear of punishment. All but Biandrata and Alciati proved orthodox. These thought it advisable to leave the city. After a short stay at Zürich, Biandrata returned to Poland and the next year Calvin published a "Response to George Biandrata's Questions." Biandrata reached Poland after the Anti-trinitarian controversy had made considerable progress and soon gained the confidence and support of Prince Radziwil. Calvin sought to destroy his influence, but his Confession of Faith: "I believe in one God, the Father, in one Lord, Jesus Christ, his Son, and in one Holy Spirit, each of whom is essentially God. A plurality of gods I reject, since we have only one, according to his essence inseparable God. I confess three distinct hypostases and the eternal deity and generation of Christ, and one Holy Spirit, true and eternal God, who proceeds from both," seems capable of a thoroughly orthodox interpretation. Yet Calvin continued to denounce him as a godless man and a shameful pest, and finding his influence thereby impaired he went to Siebenbürgen (1563) as body physician to Prince John Sigismund. Here he became an avowed Anti-trinitarian, won the prince to his views, and with Francis David as his co-laborer gained many adherents. In 1566 they defended their principles against the Reformed ministers in a public disputation at which the court was present. He had great influence over Stephen Bathori, a later ruler, and was accused by Faustus Socinus of abetting the latter in the admission of the Jesuits and the persecution of the Anti-trinitarians.

(*f*) *Faustus Socinus* (b. 1539), son of an eminent professor of law at the University of Padua, nephew of Lælius Socinus, and connected on his mother's side with some of the most noted families of Italy, had spent twelve years in the court of the Duke of Tuscany in honorable employ and enjoyed his favor. In 1574 he reached the conviction that duty required him to leave country, friends, hopes, and wealth, and to devote his life to securing his own salvation and that of others. He went to Basel and remained for three years devoutly studying the Scriptures and evangelical literature. The MSS. of his uncle had fallen into his hands and these no doubt greatly influenced his thinking. Having satisfied himself that his conclusions were in accord with divine truth and that he had acquired the power to defend them effectively, he began (1577) to advocate them orally and in writing, first at Basel and then at Zürich. At this time (1578) he completed his work, "*De Servatore*" ("Concerning the Saviour").

By this time Biandrata and Francis David, in Siebenbürgen, had come into controversy regarding the honor and power of Christ, the latter denying that all power in heaven and on earth are his and that he is a fit object of worship. Biandrata invited Socinus to come to his aid and with a view to winning David to sounder views arranged to have Socinus board with him. The failure of this scheme and the subsequent imprisonment of David at the instigation of Biandrata, and on the ground in part of information furnished by Socinus, was injurious to the reputation of the two and Socinus was at much pains, many years later, to vindicate himself from the charge of treachery and the abetting of persecution. Socinus on another occasion admitted that obstinate heretics might properly be restrained by the magistrate from spreading their errors.

Removing to Poland the next year (1579) on account of an epidemic, he met with harsh treatment; but was hospitably entertained by Christopher Morsinius, a nobleman, whose daughter he married. His career in Poland was stormy and distressful. Changes in Italy deprived him of his rents, his wife was separated from him, the Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptist churches would have no

fellowship with him because of his rejection of baptism as a perpetual ordinance, and the followers of Francis David and Budnæus denounced him as responsible in a measure for the imprisonment and death of the former and for his too conservative views on the Person of Christ. With the Calvinists too, he was in perpetual controversy. His life was full of literary labors and of sufferings on behalf of what he regarded as the truth. He died in 1604 at the house of a wealthy disciple, who for six years had entertained him. He was undoubtedly the ablest controversialist among the moderate Anti-trinitarians of his time, and although he was not permitted to participate actively in the synods and assemblies or in the educational work of his brethren, he gave his name to the type of teaching that was characteristic of the Polish Anti-trinitarian Anti-pedobaptists. The views of this party are embodied in their most moderate and least objectionable form in the Racovian Catechism, of which Socinus was the principal author. It had been prepared some years before but was first published in 1605.

The writings of Socinus and other Anti-trinitarian leaders in Poland and Siebenbürgen were published for the most part in Latin and had a wide circulation throughout Germany and Switzerland, and especially in the Protestant Netherlands. They called forth many responses from the Reformed theologians during the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth, and directly and indirectly greatly influenced religious thought in these lands as well as in England and America.

(2) *The Arminian Controversy*.[1] By far the most im-

[1] See "*Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium in Federato Belgio*," 1620 (contains a remarkably full account of all the transactions to the close of the Synod of Dort from the point of view of the Remonstrants, with many important documents); "*Acta Synodi Nationalis . . . Dortrechti Habitæ Anno 1618 and 1619*." 1620; writings of Arminius (Eng. tr. by Nichols, Buffalo, 1853), Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, and other Remonstrants; "*Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ varii argumenti, inter quas eminent eæ, quæ Iac. Arminio, Conr. Vorstio, Sim. Episcopio, Hug. Grotio, Casp. Barlæo, conscriptæ sunt*," 1660 (exceedingly important as giving the inmost thoughts of the chief actors on the Remonstrant side in confidential correspondence); Brandt, "History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries" (Eng. tr.), 1720-1723; Motley, "Life and Times of John of Olden Barneveld"; Hales, "*Hist. Conc. Dordraceni*"; Van der Tunk, "*Joh. Bogerman*," 1869; Calder, "Life of Simon Episcopius," 1837; Cunningham, "Hist. Theology," Vol. II., pp. 317-513; Heppe, "*Hist. Syn. Nat. Dord.*" (in "*Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol.*," 1853); articles in Hauck-Herzog, Lichtenberger, McClintock and Strong, and Schaff-Herzog on Arminians (Remonstrants), Dort (Dordrecht), and the leading personages on both sides

portant revolt against Calvinism where it had become well established and had control of the State, during this period, was in the Netherlands early in the seventeenth century. The revolting party came to be designated "Arminians," from James Arminius, and "Remonstrants," from a document called a "Remonstrance" signed by the anti-Calvinist leaders.

a. Antecedents of the Arminian Controversy. (*a*) One of the results of the prolonged and heroic struggle with Spain, in which Calvinists were the defenders of civil and religious liberty against the tyranny and intolerance of Catholic Spain, was the development in many minds of a spirit of excessive liberalism in matters of religion. Intellectual activity went hand in hand with the growth of commercial prosperity, as is evident from the rapid founding and generous support of universities and the high quality of published works in every department of learning. At the beginning of this controversy the Dutch were the most enlightened and intellectually aggressive people in the world. Several of the most eminent men of the age were noted for their latitudinarianism. *John van Olden Barneveld*, the statesman who had been the guiding spirit of the United Netherlands in their struggle for freedom, had early taken as his motto: "To know nothing is the highest wisdom." His mind became more and more liberalized as time went on. He insisted on the utmost freedom, not only for Calvinistic thought over against Romanism, but even for types of thought regarded by the Calvinists as in the highest degree erroneous and dangerous. He would persecute neither Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, nor Socinians. He did not go so far, however, as to advocate absolute liberty of conscience.

Hugo Grotius, one of the greatest scholars of his age, who as the founder of international law was one of the greatest benefactors of modern times, and who was equally at home in statesmanship, jurisprudence, theology, and classical learning, was so liberal in his views as to elicit from some one the remark that "Socinus, Luther, Calvin, Arius, and the pope contended for his religion as did the eight Greek cities for the honor of being the birthplace of Homer."

(*b*) *Castellio's* anti-Calvinistic dialogues on predestination, election, free will, etc., were published posthumously in 1578 and exerted a considerable influence in the Netherlands in favor of liberal thought. The writings of *Socinus* and other Polish Anti-trinitarians had their circles of admiring readers among the Dutch at the close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.

(*c*) The *Mennonites*, who were now numerous, wealthy, and influential, like Anabaptists in general and like mediæval evangelicals, were strongly anti-Augustinian in their theology. Determined efforts on the part of the Calvinists to secure the enactment of rigorous laws against them were thwarted by the enlightened liberalism of the statesmen of the time sustained by public sentiment. Considerable controversy had found place with reference to the toleration of these inoffensive people. It may be remarked further, that Mennonites had come to a considerable extent under the influence of Socinianism and constituted one of the channels through which this type of thought had become so widely diffused throughout the United Netherlands.

(*d*) About 1602 the Reformed ministers at Delft set forth in writing a protest against Calvin's and Beza's doctrine of predestination, and *Kroonherts* assailed not only these great teachers but the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession as well. *Conrad Vorstius*, though not then in the Netherlands, had influenced Netherlandish thought by the publication (1597) of his work on "Predestination, the Trinity, and the Person and Office of Christ," which brought upon him the charge of Socinianism. He was to succeed Arminius in the University of Leyden (1610) and to become a stanch defender of liberal theology.

(*e*) Side by side with the growth of liberal sentiment we find about this time a remarkable development of extreme types of Calvinistic teaching. *Beza*, Calvin's successor at Geneva, had gone far beyond Calvin in the harshness with which he set forth the doctrine of predestination and the collateral doctrine of divine reprobation. He wrote: "That eternal decree of God concerning the manifestation of his glory in saving some whom it

has seemed fit to him to save through his mercy and in destroying some by just judgment, precedes in the order of causes not only the determination of man's corruption, but also that of his integrity, and so that of his creation itself." *John Piscator,* professor at Herborn, who by a process of violent reaction afterward became an Arminian, was even more reckless in his assertion of the arbitrariness of God in his dealings with his creatures.

In a controversy with Vorstius (1613) he advanced the following series of propositions: "1. Sins take place, God procuring and he himself willing that they take place, nay, absolutely so willing. 2. God wills that iniquity be done, although he does not delight in it, just as a sick man wills to drink a bitter potion, though he does not delight in it. 3. God willed that Judas should betray Christ and that the Jews should slay him, which nevertheless he prohibited them from doing. 4. What is unjust—*i. e.*, contrary to his precept—is consentaneous to the will of God. *E. g.*, that homicide of the Jews and that treachery of Judas, etc. 5. All things take place from God's decree, even sins themselves, and, indeed, from his absolute and special decree. 6. Because God wills to make manifest his justice and mercy, therefore also he wills that sins take place. 7. Because God procures that manifestation of his justice and mercy, therefore also he procures the sins themselves. 8. God procured that Absalom should debauch the wives of his father and that Shimei should curse his king. 9. God destined all men to sins, and this in order that he might save some out of mercy and punish and destroy others out of justice. 10. Because God decreed to permit sins, therefore it is necessary that they take place, because otherwise he would have decreed in vain to permit. 11. The unbelief of the Jews (and likewise that of all unbelievers) depends upon God's predestination." Another series of propositions may be quoted from the same work: "1. God does not wish individual men as such, or all men absolutely, to become saved, but only men of every race, *i. e.*, some of all. 2. God does not wish the conversion of every sinner, but only of those who in reality are converted. 3. God is not under obligation to exercise benevolence toward all men; nay, toward any one, in any manner. 4. God sometimes forgets his mercy in the execution of his judgment. 5. It depends upon God whether or not men that are called believe in Christ and become saved. 6. The will to save men is in God particular, and that from an antecedent decree made absolutely and precisely concerning particular individuals. 7. God justly predestined *precisely very many men* (*plerosque*) to eternal destruction and indeed absolutely all to sins themselves. 8. God justly wills that sins be committed by us, and indeed absolutely wills that they be committed; nay, procures in time these sins themselves. 9. God justly punishes and eternally destroys men on account of sins of this kind, although they are absolutely necessary and inevitable. 10. That God moreover teaches, prohibits, promises, etc., certain things which yet in

reality he neither wishes to do in us nor to be done by us. 11. Furthermore, that he justly exacts repentance and faith from those to whom he is unwilling to furnish help sufficient and simply necessary to this end. 12. Finally, that the process of this whole predestinatory business is just."

Piscator taught "That whatever things God wishes to take place in time (in any manner), these things in reality take place in time, and whatever things take place in time these things God precisely defined from eternity"; "That whatever things take place in the world (as well evil as good), these things take place from the absolute decree and special predetermination of God."

Gomar, the colleague and chief opponent of Arminius, taught that "God moves the tongues of men to blaspheme"; that "man cannot do more of good than he does"; that "nobody maintains that God absolutely decreed to reprobate men without sin; but as he decreed the end, so he likewise did the means; that is, as God predestinated man to death, so he predestinated him to sin as the only means of death"; "that God considered man in the decree of reprobation, not as fallen, but as before the fall, and even that the decree of reprobation preceded that of creation"; that "those who held a reprobation under or below the fall, robbed God of his wisdom, it being as much as to say, that the means were considered by him before the end."

With such a caricaturing of Calvinism as the above widely prevalent and becoming more and more reckless in its almost blasphemous utterances in response to the rapid growth of liberal sentiments indicated above, all the conditions were present in the Netherlands for the outbreak of a bitter controversy at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

b. Outbreak of the Controversy. (*a*) *James Arminius* (b. 1560), having been left a destitute orphan at an early age and afterward deprived of nearly all his relatives in the destruction of his native town by the Spaniards, was cared for and educated by various benevolent people until his great ability as a student in the University of Leyden led the burgomasters of Amsterdam to bestow upon him means for foreign study. In 1582 he went to Geneva, where he attracted the attention of Beza and

his colleagues and formed a lifelong friendship with his fellow-countryman, Joh. Uytenbogaert. Having offended one of the professors in a disputation on the philosophy of Peter Ramus, he was suspended for a time. He removed to Basel, where he won the high esteem of Gynoræus, was permitted to give courses of lectures, and could have received the doctor's degree if he had been willing. After three years of further study in Geneva under Beza (1583–1586), he traveled in Italy, where he heard the lectures of and associated with some of the great Catholic professors. It was rumored in Amsterdam that he had become unduly familiar with Bellarmine and other Jesuits, but he was able to satisfy the authorities as to his theological soundness, and in 1588 entered upon his work in Amsterdam as pastor of one of the principal churches. By this time he was recognized as among the ablest and most learned men of his time. His expository sermons were so lucid, eloquent, and well delivered as to attract large audiences. He was called upon from time to time to write against the opponents of Calvinism, which he did in a moderate and satisfactory way. When pestilence was raging in 1602, he distinguished himself by heroic service. Before this time his intimate friends had become aware of the fact that he was no longer in full sympathy with the extreme predestinarianism of Beza, and he had written an exposition of Romans 9 in an anti-Calvinistic spirit. This, however, was not published till after his death. He was sharply attacked by his colleague, Plancius, but through the good offices of Uytenbogaert and Tassin the matter was peaceably settled. The learned Junius, of the University of Leyden, had fallen a victim to the plague (1602) and Arminius was invited to succeed him. Francis Gomar, the only survivor of the Faculty, earnestly protested against the choice ; but Arminius was able to satisfy the authorities of his orthodoxy and was duly installed (1603). At this time he condemned explicitly the Pelagian teachings regarding natural grace, the powers of free will, perfection of man in this life, predestination, etc., and approved of all that Augustine and other Fathers had written against the Pelagians, and he promised that he would teach nothing at variance with the received doctrines of

the Reformed churches. In his public lectures he studiously avoided anti-Calvinistic utterances.

Prompted by Gomar, the authorities required him (1604) to deliver a course of public lectures on predestination. He defended the doctrine in a way that would have been acceptable to moderate Calvinists; but Gomar thought it necessary to supplement these lectures with a course of his own, in which he set forth the supralapsarian theory with a harshness that has been partially indicated in the specimens given above.

The students of the university were soon arrayed in hostile camps and the partisanship rapidly spread among the pastors and churches of Holland. In expressing his disapprobation of the harsh views of Gomar and his partisans, it is probable that Arminius, when among his partisans, was soon led to insinuate doubts regarding some features of the Calvinistic system proper. Doctrinal tracts embodying his views were privately circulated among his disciples. He was charged with commending to his scholars the reading of Socinian and Jesuit books that embodied semi-Pelagian teachings and to have spoken contemptuously of the writings of Calvin, Beza, Martyr, etc. Soon he began to profess openly that he had objections to the Reformed symbols which he would formulate at the proper time.

(*b*) In 1605, deputies were sent by the synod of the South and North Holland churches to confer with Arminius regarding the reports that had gained currency. He denied that he had given just cause for disadvantageous rumors and declined to discuss with them as deputies the questions on which he was suspected of holding unsound views. He was next admonished by the Leyden church authorities (July, 1605) to declare and discuss his views before the Presbytery. This also he declined to do.

At the synod of the churches of North and South Holland (August, 1605), the class of Dort insisted that the synod should take measures for composing the controversy as commodiously and as expeditiously as possible. Arminius sought to prevent unfavorable action and secured from his colleagues testimony to the effect that while there was more disputing among the students on these doctrinal questions than was agreeable to the professors, among the professors themselves there was no dissension in fundamentals.

At the synod of the South Holland churches (August

30, 1605), the deputies of the synod were enjoined to make diligent inquiry into the state of theological affairs at Leyden and to urge the curators of the university to compel the professors to declare openly and sincerely their views on the questions that were being agitated, and to require all pastors to subscribe the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. The deputies drew up nine questions which the curators of the university were requested to submit to the professors. This the curators declined to do, on the ground that this matter might await the assembling of the national synod, of which there was now some hope. Many pastors refused to subscribe the symbols.

(*c*) From this time onward the Calvinistic party bent all its energies toward the securing of a national synod, being confident that the party of Arminius would be found to constitute an insignificant minority and that drastic measures for its suppression might easily be adopted and executed by the civil authorities, under whose auspices it would be convened. It so happened that the desire of the Calvinists for a national synod was in thorough accord with the centralizing policy of Maurice of Nassau, the son of William the Silent and the great military leader of the United Netherlands, who had set his heart upon the transformation of the republic into a monarchy with himself as head. Theologically, Maurice was in sympathy with the Arminian party, having been much influenced by his court preacher, Uytenbogaert, Arminius' friend. Against Maurice was arrayed the great advocate of Holland and West Friesland, who deprecated the policy of centralization and defended with rare determination the rights of the individual States of the confederation. He was thoroughly sympathetic with the liberal theology of Arminius, and for this reason, as well as on political grounds, strove with all his might to prevent the calling by the States-General of a national synod with power to legislate in religious matters for the United Netherlands. The calling of the synod thus became a political question of prime importance. So long as Barneveld could hold in check the royal aspirations of Maurice, so long would the national synod be postponed and so long would the rigorous Calvinists be denied the

means of effectually crushing the Arminians. The Arminian sentiment was rapidly spreading and the party felt that it had everything to gain by the indefinite postponement of a synod the early assembling of which would inevitably prove its doom.

(*d*) An effort was next made to induce all pastors and professors to declare in writing their objections to the Reformed symbols, in order that these might be duly considered in the classes and properly formulated against the assembling of the national synod. The Arminians refused to be beguiled into a formal declaration of their views. Arminius promised to lay his views fully before the national synod when it should assemble. The States-General soon afterward called together prominent representatives of both parties to consult regarding the time, place, and manner of holding a national synod. It was decided that it should be held as soon as practicable, and that the place should be Utrecht. Grievances were to be first considered in the provincial synods and referred by these to the national. Each synod was to send to the national four pastors and two elders with power of final action. The Scriptures were to be the norm. Belgian Reformed churches outside of the confederation and all the Reformed governments of Europe were to be invited to send delegates. The States-General were to be represented. Arminius, Uytenbogaert, and the two Utrecht delegates objected to having the power of final decision vested in the deputies, and insisted on the right of deputies to withdraw for consultation with their constituents whenever they felt themselves aggrieved. They also urged the importance of a revision of the symbols and insisted on the insertion of a clause on revision in the letters of convocation. Another most artful but unsuccessful attempt was made to induce Arminius to declare his views.

Further steps were taken (1607) for compelling the pastors to declare their views on the controverted points. It was ascertained that the opinions of Arminius were rapidly gaining ground through the young ministers who were going forth from the University of Leyden, and that doctrinal discussions were becoming common among all classes.

(*e*) The Calvinists next attempted to induce the States-General to convoke a provincial synod of North and South Holland, with power to deal with the disturbers of ecclesiastical harmony. The preoccupation of the body with the work of arranging a truce with Spain prevented favorable action.

(*f*) With a view to frustrating the purposes of his opponents, Arminius now obtained (1608) from the States-General permission to have his cause adjudicated by the Supreme Court. As the accused person he compelled Gomar to take the initiative. Gomar must formulate his charges and prove them; it would be sufficient for him (Arminius) to defend himself against specific charges when made. Gomar regarded his attitude as insolent and objected strongly to the trial of an ecclesiastical cause before a civil tribunal. He was prepared before a legitimate synod to prove that Arminius had propounded doctrines at variance with the symbols. Gomar proposed that both Arminius and himself write out their views upon the points at issue. Arminius refused, and expressed surprise that after so much had been said about his heterodoxy no one could be found who dared to bring accusation. Gomar was thus provoked into an attempt to prove Arminius' unsoundness on the doctrine of justification. The court decided "that the controversies which had arisen between these two professors are not of great moment, being occupied chiefly with certain over-subtle disputations concerning predestination, which may be either omitted or dissimulated with mutual tolerance." Gomar replied that the points at issue were of so great moment that he "would not dare to appear before the judgment seat of God with the opinions of Arminius."

In August, 1609, the government made another effort to allay the strife. Arminius and Gomar, with four other ministers, were invited to discuss orally the questions at issue. The discussion lasted for several days and was continued in writing. In the course of it Arminius was prostrated with illness from which he died in October.

c. The Remonstrance and the Contra-Remonstrance. (*a*) The death of Arminius, instead of allaying the controversy made the liberals more aggressive than ever. A regard for his interests and his own conciliatory disposi-

tion had tended to restrain the zeal of his followers. In 1610 they set forth in a carefully prepared document, called the *Remonstrance*, their views on the five points that had come most prominently forward in the controversy. It was addressed to the government and constituted a plea for toleration. The first of these articles declares "that God, by an eternal and immutable decree in Jesus Christ his son, before the world was founded, determined out of the fallen, sinful human race, to save in Christ for Christ's sake and through Christ those who, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, believe on this his Son Jesus and shall persevere in this faith and obedience of faith, through this grace, even to the end; and, on the other hand, to leave the incorrigible and unbelieving in sin and under wrath, and to condemn them as alienates from Christ according to the word of the gospel in John 3 : 36." The second article declares that "Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, died for all men and for every man, so that he has obtained for them all, by his death on the cross, redemption and the forgiveness of sins; yet that no one actually enjoys this forgiveness of sin except the believer." The third article declares that apostate sinful man "can of and by himself neither think, will, nor do anything that is truly good (such as saving faith evidently is); but that it is needful that he be born again of God in Christ, through his Holy Spirit, and renewed in understanding, inclination, will, and all his powers, in order that he may rightly understand, think, will, and effect what is truly good." The fourth article asserts that "this grace of God is the beginning, continuance, and accomplishment of all good, even to the extent that the regenerate man himself, without prevenient or assisting, awakening, following, and co-operative grace, can neither think, will, nor do good, nor withstand any temptations to evil; . . but as respects the mode of the operation of this grace, it is not irresistible." In the fifth article, it is taught "that those who are incorporated into Christ by a true faith, and have thereby become partakers of his life-giving Spirit, have thereby full power to strive against Satan, sin, the world, and their own flesh, and to win the victory; it being well understood that it is ever through the assisting grace

of the Holy Spirit; and that Jesus Christ assists them through his Spirit in all temptation, extends to them his hand, and if only they are ready for the conflict, and desire his help, and are not inactive, keeps them from falling so that they, by no craft or power of Satan, can be misled or plucked out of Christ's hands."

(*b*) The Calvinists responded in a *Contra-Remonstrance*, in which there was far less of moderation and far more of polemical bitterness. This was followed by a large body of controversial literature, in which the Remonstrants mercilessly exposed and condemned the harsher features of the Reformed theology and the Calvinists made the most of the departures of their opponents from the standards of orthodoxy.

During eight years following the publication of the Remonstrance the two political forces referred to above were earnestly striving for the mastery. The centralizing policy of Maurice gained more and more the support of the patriotic portion of the nation, having the entire military interest at its back; while the party of Barneveld came to be looked upon as too friendly to Spain and too tolerant toward Roman Catholicism. Barneveld was finally unjustly accused of high-treason and was executed May 14, 1619. Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but managed to escape in 1621. The calling of the long-deferred national synod marked the triumph of Maurice and his Calvinistic supporters.

It is significant of the sense of isolation and the earnest desire for ecclesiastical sympathy felt by the Remonstrants, that in 1613, when the controversy was raging and their persecution seemed imminent, Uytenbogaert, on behalf of his brethren, entered into correspondence with the Patriarch of Alexandria, with the evident desire, if at all practicable, to symbolize with this ancient ecclesiastical organization.[1]

d. The Synod of Dort (November 13, 1618 to May 9, 1619). The aim of the States-General, now completely subservient to Prince Maurice, the Stadtholder, was to unify the religious administration of the United Netherlands and to make it a more perfect instrument of the

[1] See letter from the Patriarch Cyril, in "*Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*," pp. 369, *seq.* and 399, *seq*

centralized State. In many respects it was the most important meeting ever held by the Reformed churches. There were present eighty-four theologians and eighteen secular commissioners. The civil governments in which the Reformed type of Protestantism was supposed to prevail were requested to send at least three or four delegates, each of whom should have the right to vote. James I., of England, sent four eminent divines, Bishops Carleton and Davenant, Professor Ward, Joseph Hall (afterward bishop), and Balcanquall, the king's Scotch chaplain. The Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, and Bremen, were well represented by their ablest theologians. Delegates were appointed by the Elector of Brandenburg, and by the National Synod of France, but failed to appear. The expenses were borne on a liberal scale by the States-General. Joh. Bogerman, who had translated Beza's tract in defense of the execution of heretics, was made president. Only three Arminians were elected delegates and these, having been previously disqualified by charges of heresy, were compelled to surrender their seats to delegates appointed by the orthodox minority of the Synod of Utrecht from which they were appointed. Gomar was the chief upholder of Supralapsarianism. The majority represented a high form of Infralapsarianism.

Simon Episcopius, who since the death of Arminius had been the theological leader of the party, was summoned, along with thirteen others, to state and defend the views of the Remonstrants. The decision of the Synod was a foregone conclusion. The five articles of the Remonstrance were unanimously disapproved, while the five articles of the Contra-Remonstrance were as unanimously upheld. The Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism were confirmed in their position as standards of orthodoxy. Provision was made for a thorough revision of the Dutch Bible.

Episcopius made an elaborate and bold defense of the Remonstrants and an earnest plea for toleration; but the members of the Synod were in no compromising mood and were resolved to crush the Arminian heresy while it was still controllable.

The condemnation of the Remonstrants as heterodox

involved their exclusion from fellowship and of course the deposition of their ministers.

e. Persecution of the Remonstrants. The Remonstrant ministers who had been summoned to appear before the Synod were kept in custody after the adjournment of the body, although they had come under safe-conduct and supposed they had been guaranteed the right to return safely to their homes. On May 20 they were summoned before the lay commissioners, who represented the States-General, and asked whether "seeing that they had been deprived of their ministry, they would abstain from all ecclesiastical ministrations," and on condition of their compliance with the wishes of the government, they were promised a competent support. A promise not to write letters or publish books in the interest of the Remonstrant cause was exacted of Episcopius. They promised to cease ministering in the State churches, but their conscience would not allow them to promise to abstain from any effort to promulgate what they believed to be God's truth. Uytenbogaert feared lest Episcopius should suffer the fate of Barneveld and advised him to flee. The detained Remonstrants, failing to satisfy the commissioners, were taken to the Hague and on July 5 appeared before the government for sentence. Refusing to sign the "Act of Cessation," they were sentenced to banishment and threatened with severe treatment in case they should return without permission.

Among the coins handed to Episcopius for his expenses was one from the Duchy of Braunschweig, on one side of which was an image of truth trampling upon Calumny and Mendacity, with the inscription "Truth conquers all things"; on the reverse, the inscription "In doing right fear no man." He was so impressed with the applicability of these devices to his own condition and that of his brethren, that he had the coin mounted for preservation in his family as an heirloom.

A considerable number of the banished Remonstrant ministers were hospitably received and entertained by the lord of Walwick in the Catholic province of Brabant, with the cordial consent and co-operation of the bishop of Bois-le-duc. The latter may not have been quite disinterested in the favors shown to these persecuted Prot-

estants. However this may be, the following words said to have been addressed by him to Episcopius and his associates at the bishop's table, where they sat with two Jesuits and two Dominicans, are worthy of notice:

"I welcome you here, brethren; I call you brethren, for though we differ in many points, yet we all seek for salvation through one and the same Christ. Your oppression is a source of heartfelt grief to me. The Duke of Alva, by his rigorous and cruel persecutions, has done great mischief to the Catholic religion, and seriously injured our affairs. And if the States find their advantage in imitating conduct which has been ruinous to us, it will be matter of surprise." The bishop expressed his abhorrence of those Reformed doctrines to which the Remonstrants objected, and the Jesuits applauded. The Dominicans demurred from fear of favoring Pelagianism and prompted one of the Catholic pastors to denounce the Remonstrants. The bishop sternly rebuked him and sent a learned monk to make amends in a public discourse for this breach of courtesy.

Episcopius and others published extensively against the Synod of Dort and the intolerance of the government. They stigmatized the views of their opponents as "the iron and fatal tables of the Fates," "the most present bane of all religion," and as "Manichæan fatalism." They charged the Calvinists with being the murderers of Barneveld, "that most brave Atlas of Belgium and most prudent Nestor," and they were declared to be led by "the spirit of Antichrist." The Contra-Remonstrants, on the other hand, calumniated the Remonstrants as "haters of God," "injurious," "blasphemers," "calumniators," "murmurers," "querulous," "proud," "vainglorious," "inventors of evil things," "covenant breakers," "profane," "abominable wolves," "deriders of the whole Christian religion," etc. About two hundred Remonstrant ministers were deprived of their pastorates and those who would not agree to keep quiet were banished.

In 1625 toleration was granted to the Remonstrants. Five years later they were accorded complete freedom to live anywhere in Holland and to build and conduct churches and schools. Under Uytenbogaert's guidance they effected a presbyterial organization. They established a theological seminary at Amsterdam, in which such men as Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, Curcellæus, and Le Clerc, gave instruction, and which still survives.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

I. ATTITUDE OF THE PAPACY TOWARD THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION UP TO 1540.

1. *Leo X.* (*1513–1521*) was a son of Lorenzo de Medici, the Magnificent, the famous patron of literature and art. He was brought up in a humanistic atmosphere and without religious advantages of any kind. Made archbishop of Aix by the favor of the king of France on purely political grounds at eight years of age, and cardinal at thirteen, he was taught to regard ecclesiastical offices simply as sources of revenue, and his education under the most noted humanists of the time was purely secular. At sixteen he became an active member of the College of Cardinals and a papal legate. A fugitive under Alexander VI., the licentious, murderous, and despoiling Borgia, he came into favor again under the warlike Julius II., and was commander-in-chief of his army at the battle of Ravenna, where he was defeated and captured by the French. Escaping at Milan, he returned to Florence, and, Julius having died of a loathsome disease, he was able by shrewd bargaining with his fellow-cardinals to gain the papal chair. He was occupied almost exclusively with political measures for the advancement of the Medici family and with the promotion of literature and art. While he spent large sums in architecture, sculpture, and painting, employing such masters as Raphael and Michael Angelo, and upon the enriching of the Vatican library, he squandered vastly more upon the maintenance of the most luxurious and licentious court of Europe and in schemes for the political advancement of his relatives. His financial exigencies led to the shameless sale of indulgences that provoked the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution. He died deeply in debt. He regarded the Lutheran protest as a matter of small importance, and was utterly incapable of

realizing the widespread and determined demand for reform that Luther's bold utterances immediately called forth, or of devising any effective means for the prevention of schism. His vacillating policy in relation to France and Spain and his opposition to the appointment of either Charles or Francis to the imperial office in 1519 made it impossible for him to unite the great powers for the suppression of insubordination in Germany. He was completely out of sympathy with the stalwart and aggressive type of Roman Catholicism that had been developed in Spain and which applied the Inquisition to the extirpation of even suspected heresy. There was no chance for an effective Counter-Reformation under Leo.

2. *Hadrian VI.* (*1521–1523*) was born in Utrecht of obscure parents (1459), and was educated at Zwolle and Deventer, where he came under the influence of the reforming spirit of the Brethren of the Common Life, and afterward at Louvain, where he became deeply versed in Thomist scholasticism and in church law. As a Doctor of Theology in the University of Louvain he attracted large numbers of students and exerted a strong moral and religious influence. In 1507 he was called from his university work by the Emperor Maximilian to become tutor of his grandson, Charles (afterward emperor). He strove in vain to lead his pupil to take more interest in Christian learning than in military matters. In 1515 he visited the court of Ferdinand of Spain to adjust some differences that had arisen between him and his grandson and successor (Charles), and so impressed the aged king with his stalwart Catholicism and his masterful abilities that he was appointed Bishop of Tortosa and Inquisitor in Aragon. In association with Cardinal Ximenes he was soon at the head of ecclesiastical administration in Spain, and in 1517 he was created cardinal by Leo X. Partly through the influence of the emperor and partly because of his well-known administrative ability and his zeal as a churchman, he was unanimously chosen to succeed Leo X., greatly to the disgust of the Romans, to whom his austere and simple life was distasteful, and who feared the scourge of reform that he would be likely to apply. He was already en-

gaged in a life and death struggle in Spain, where his stern rule was all the more unpalatable because he was a foreigner. An equally bitter opposition awaited him as pope. The luxurious Italian nobles had monopolized the papal office so long that they resented the intrusion of a meanly born Dutchman, who cared nothing for polite literature and the fine arts, and who set his face as a flint against the licentious and luxurious life that had become customary at the Vatican. Though an earnest reformer, he could not be suspected of sympathy with Lutheran heresy, for he had heartily approved of the condemnation of Luther's writings by the University of Louvain, and as Inquisitor in Spain he had dealt with twenty-five thousand cases of heresy and had become famous as a scourge of Lutheranism. But the reforming members of the College of Cardinals and Catholic reformers everywhere hailed his election as the inauguration of a reformation of the church in its head and its members which would destroy all legitimate ground for schism and ruthlessly crush the enemies of the church. Hadrian was convinced that the doctrines of the church as expounded by such teachers as Thomas Aquinas needed no revision or restatement; but the church law, and especially the church discipline, was capable of indefinite betterment. He fully recognized the evils of the indulgence traffic, the sale of benefices and expectancies, and all other corrupt methods of raising money. The granting of dispensations to marry within prohibited degrees and to violate other moral laws he strongly disapproved. He frowned upon simony and nepotism. His attempt to carry out these reforms brought upon him the vilest slander and threats of assassination and poisoning. Only two of the cardinals were willing to stand by him in his extreme reformatory efforts. His attitude toward Lutheranism at the Diet of Nuremberg has already been set forth (p. 64, *seq.*). He had the utmost contempt for Luther and wished to see him treated as Huss and Jerome of Prague had been. Neither the emperor nor the king of France would give him the support that he needed for carrying out the practical reforms recommended and crushing out by inquisitorial methods all obstinate heresy. Francis I. proposed to

invade Italy, depose the pope, and secure the appointment of a pope subservient to himself. Hadrian died, September, 1523, a disappointed and discouraged man. Knowing his simplicity of life, the cardinals supposed that he had hoarded a considerable sum of money and pressed him on his death-bed to reveal its hiding-place. Only a thousand ducats remained, the rest of the papal income having been faithfully devoted to church work and charity. If Hadrian had been supported by the cardinals and by the king of France and the emperor, and had he been spared a few years longer, he would have introduced such reforms in clerical and monastic life and in papal and episcopal administration as would greatly have lessened the force of Lutheran criticism and might have effectually checked the progress of the Protestant Revolution. But it would have been simply the triumph of the Spanish idea of rigorous discipline within the church and merciless intolerance toward insubordination of every kind. The Inquisition, if he could have had his way, would have been established wherever heresy lifted up its head, and all other interests would have been subordinated to the maintenance of absolute hierarchical authority.

3. *Clement VII.* (*1523–1534*), a Medician of illegitimate birth, had been one of the chief administrative officials under Leo X., and was, like Leo, devoid of religious interest and concerned chiefly about the advancement of the political interests of his family. He simply revived the policy of his illustrious relative. His chief scheme was, by double-dealing, to secure favors from both the emperor and the king of France without becoming wholly subservient to either. For either to become too powerful in Italy would imperil the papal interests.

Reference has been made in an earlier section to the severity of the punishment administered to him and to the city of Rome by the emperor with the help of a Lutheran army because of his treachery. It has also been sufficiently emphasized that this conflict between pope and emperor, pope and king of France, and emperor and king, in its various phases was greatly in favor of the growth of Protestantism. Not only did Clement VII. utterly fail to carry forward the Counter-Reformation attempted by Hadrian, but he still further weakened the Catholic cause and strengthened the hands of his opponents.

II. POLICY OF THE PAPACY, 1641 ONWARD.

Paul III. (*1534–1549*), a member of the influential Farnese family, was in his tastes and principles much like Leo and Clement; but he vastly surpassed them in diplomatic skill and in political insight. He had come to realize fully the seriousness of the ecclesiastical situation and he sought to strengthen the Roman Curia by the appointment of several of the ablest ecclesiastical statesmen in Italy: Contarini, the zealous reformer, who stood for compromise and conciliation with Protestantism; Caraffa, the Catholic zealot, who had become imbued with the Spanish idea of reform through internal discipline and the universal application of the Inquisition; Pole, who was to figure so prominently in English affairs; Sadoleto, who was to strive with Calvin for Geneva; Fregoso, etc. Though grossly immoral himself and shameless in his devotion to the interests of his illegitimate children, he professed to have the reformation of the church at heart, and after the failures of the negotiations with the Protestants for the restoration of church unity in Germany, in which Contarini was the chief Catholic diplomat, Paul adopted without reserve the Spanish policy of discipline and inquisition represented by Caraffa and the Theatines and by the newly organized Society of Jesus.

This policy of uncompromising hostility to Protestantism in every form was from 1541 onward that of the papacy and of the Roman Catholic church as a body. It had come to be realized by the papacy that the church had suffered enormous loss in territory and influence, largely through the devotion of the popes to the promotion of selfish political schemes and the formation of unwise alliances. Political misfortunes and exigencies had convinced the papal counsellors that only a broad and comprehensive policy looking far beyond Italian interests, providing effective means for checking the progress of the Protestant Revolution, and retrieving ground that had been lost, would avail. The chief means that were used by the Counter-Reformation from this time onward were the Council of Trent, the Society of Jesus, and the Inquisition. These means of fortifying

the church and repressing heresy are closely interlinked. The Council of Trent, especially in its later and more important phases, and the establishment and working of the Inquisition, like the policy of the papacy in general, were due to Jesuit influence.

III. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545–1564).

LITERATURE: Theiner, "*Acta Genuina Conc. Trident.*," 1874; Le Plat, "*Canones et Decreta Sac. Œcum. Conc. Trident.*," 1779, and "*Monumentorum ad Hist. Conc. Trident. Spectantium Amplissima Collectio*," 7 volumes, 1781; Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom"; Döllinger, "*Sammlung von Urkunden zur Gesch. d. Conc. von Trent*," 1876; Froude, "Lectures on the Council of Trent," 1896; Littledale, "Short Hist. of the Council of Trent," 1888. Of less value are the works of Sarpi and Pallavicino.

1. *Occasion of the Calling of the Council.*

Luther and the German princes had from the beginning demanded the adjudication of their cause by a General Council that should be free from papal control, should make the Scriptures the criterion of doctrine and practice, and should undertake to reform the church in its head and members. Leo X. purposed the calling of a council, being fully assured that the entire body of prelates would decide against Luther and his followers and that the great political powers would unite in carrying out such repressive measures as the council might dictate. His early death prevented the execution of his plan. Grievances were continually coming before the imperial Diets until they amounted to several hundreds. Many of them came from Catholic princes. There was a widespread feeling of the need of a thorough reformation of the administrative and financial methods of the hierarchy and of the lives of clergy and monks, not only among those who were openly attached to Luther, but among those who still clung to the old faith as well. Paul III., who had been cardinal under three popes, was thoroughly familiar with the condition of religious life and thought throughout Europe and with the secrets of the Roman Curia, and had abandoned the policy of attempting to gain advantages from the antagonism of the great Catholic powers, saw that it would be bad policy to resist longer the demand for a council, and with a view to

testing still further the sentiments of the Germans, he sent out a legate to confer with the princes and other leading men, both Catholic and Protestant. The German Catholics, deeply distrustful of Italian diplomacy, declared themselves opposed to any council to be held in Italy. The Protestants agreed with the Catholics in this, and would have nothing to do with a council to be presided over by the pope. Nevertheless, Paul proceeded to issue a bull convoking a council to assemble at Mantua in 1537. Germany, France, England, and even Italy protested against the place. He next fixed upon Vicenza for 1538; but not a single bishop responded to the summons.

The readiness with which Catholic princes and prelates ignored the orders of the supreme pontiff furnishes the most striking evidence of the depressed condition of papal authority at this time. The papacy had deservedly lost the confidence of its constituency by reason of its corrupt administration, the devotion of the popes to personal interests, and the utterly unscrupulous diplomacy of the Roman Curia.

In 1541, Caraffa now being the power behind the throne with a fully developed policy of repression, the pope and the emperor conferred personally with reference to the reunification of western Christendom through a council, and Trent, an Austrian city only a few miles from the Italian border, was suggested as being outside of Italy, central, and as far as possible neutral. War again broke out between the emperor and the king of France, and nothing could be done toward the assembling of a council until peace had been made (December, 1544). One of the items of the treaty was an agreement of the potentates to co-operate for bringing about an early assembling of the long-deferred council. Under this influence a fresh papal bull was almost immediately issued, convoking a council to assemble in Trent, March, 1545.

2. *Conflicting Aims in the Calling of the Council.*

One of the chief difficulties in securing the co-operation of Catholic Europe in the assembling of the council and one of the chief causes of strife in the council when assembled was a radical difference of opinion between

the papal and the imperial parties as to the work to be attempted. The emperor had chiefly at heart the reunion of western Christendom as a means of strengthening the imperial power against Turkish invasion and putting an end to the ruinous internal strife occasioned by the Protestant Revolution. He had become convinced that Protestantism had become too firmly rooted to be forcibly extirpated. Any attempt at coercive measures would, he was sure, lead to a civil war, the results of which could not be foreseen, and would destroy for the empire the possibility of effective resistance to its external foes. Stalwart Catholic though he was, he fully recognized the terrible corruption of the ecclesiastical administration, the reality of the grievances that had long been accumulating, and the absolute necessity of such reforms as would lead to the conciliation of all who had not become hopelessly estranged from the church. In this policy France was practically at one with the imperial party. Gallicanism was still strong, and the idea of a council manipulated by the pope in his own interest was repulsive.

With the pope, on the other hand, the thing of fundamental importance was a minute definition of the doctrines of the church with the specific anathematizing of every current form of heresy. Such a definition of doctrine would furnish a convenient and highly effective instrument for the use of the Inquisition, which it was his design to establish wherever and whenever it was practicable. A complete body of Catholic doctrine had never yet been authoritatively set forth. Most of the earlier councils, as well as those of the Middle Ages, had been occupied with the definition of individual doctrines, or phases of doctrine, and great diversity of doctrinal definition existed in the writings of ancient and mediæval teachers that had been approved by the church. The time had come when it was of the utmost importance for the inquisitors of heresy to know precisely what the church taught and precisely what errors were outside of the pale of its toleration. Hence the policy of the Roman Curia was not to conciliate the Protestants by the abolition of abuses, but to cut off Protestantism from the fellowship of the church.

These two conflicting aims had to be harmonized before anything could be done by way of organizing the council for its work. It was early agreed that both reformation and the definition of doctrine should be attempted, but the question of precedence was more difficult to settle. The papal party insisted on defining the faith first and then giving attention to reformation, intimating that reformation was a delicate matter that would have to be proceeded with cautiously and deliberately, and that more harm than good might be done by rashly attempting the abolition of recognized abuses. The imperial party demanded that reformation be first attended to as the matter of most urgent importance and that doctrinal definition await its turn. It was finally agreed that the two departments of work should go on concurrently, each being entrusted to suitable committees and alternate sessions of the council being devoted to each.

A remarkably full record of the discussions of the various committees on doctrine and reformation has been preserved and has been recently made available (ed. Theiner). Freedom of discussion prevailed to an extent unknown in more recent Catholic gatherings and the utmost diversity of opinion was expressed on many matters.

3. *The Sessions of the Council.*

The first seven sessions of the council were held at Trent (March, 1545, to March, 1547). Pestilence broke out at this time, as the result, no doubt, of the congregation of a vast multitude of visitors in a comparatively small city without proper sanitation, and necessitated the removal of the council. The pope attempted to reassemble it at Bologna and a few unimportant and sparsely attended sessions were held there; but the opposition of the imperial party was so pronounced and determined that prorogation soon followed. The emperor demanded that the council be restored to Trent and entered into fresh negotiations with the Protestants, inviting them to send representatives to the council with the right "to deliver their opinions freely, without let or blame, in a council guided by the doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers." This proceeding aroused the indignation of the Roman Curia, now fully dominated by the Spanish-Jesuit policy of uncompromising warfare

against insubordination of every kind. The failing health of the pontiff and the bitter dissension between the papal and the imperial parties prevented the reassembling of the council until 1551, the year succeeding the death of Paul III.

Under Julius III. (1550–1555) the council was reassembled at Trent and proceeded slowly with its work for about a year. A number of Protestant ambassadors were present in response to the invitation of the emperor, but no satisfactory guarantee having been given that the deliberations would be free or that the questions at issue would be decided on their merits, they soon withdrew. In 1552 war broke out between the emperor and the Protestant princes (Schmalkald War) and Trent seemed in danger of a Protestant attack. This led to another suspension of the council.

War and the deaths of popes (Julius III. and Marcellus II., 1555, Paul IV., Caraffa, 1559), prevented the reassembling of the body until 1561. The accession of Elizabeth in England, with the final overthrow of papal authority and the exclusion of Roman Catholicism, the successes of the Huguenots in France, the rapid spread of Protestantism in the Austrian dependencies, and the rebellious attitude of the Dutch evangelicals, led Pius IV., soon after his election (1559), to begin negotiations for the reopening of the council. The Protestants were again invited, but they refused to make any further efforts at compromise. The Augsburg Treaty (1555), which had followed the successful conflict of the Protestants of Germany, aided by France, with the emperor and his allies, had been repudiated by the papacy, and they were content to abide by this settlement until they could see their way to something more advantageous. By this time the Jesuits were thoroughly entrenched in the control of the policy of the church and had entered with great energy and zeal upon the task of destroying Protestantism and every form of opposition to Roman dominance, root and branch. Some of the ablest leaders in the final sessions of the council were members of this great order. The council reassembled at Trent in 1561 and continued, with slight interruptions, till 1564, when its work was completed.

4. *Decrees of the Council.*

(1) *On Reformation.* A vast number of grievances were considered and dealt with. No effort was made to deny or to palliate the fearful corruptions that had led to the Protestant Revolution. Among the numerous reforms finally adopted by the council, the following may be specified:

a. It was provided that in churches where an endowment for a lectureship for the expounding of the Scriptures existed, it should be faithfully used for this purpose, and that where no such fund had been established a master shall be appointed to teach the clergy and other poor scholars gratuitously.

The Protestants were laying great stress on biblical training. The Tridentine councilors felt the necessity of meeting Protestantism on its own ground and supplying the popular demand for biblical instruction. Few of the priests were familiar enough with the Scriptures to be able to hold their own with Protestant ministers in argument based on the exegesis of the sacred records and the people were prone to follow those who seemed to draw their teachings straight from holy writ.

b. It is ordered that all clergy in parochial charge shall preach the gospel.

The great mass of the priesthood were too illiterate to preach the gospel or to speak effectively on any theme. The power of Protestantism had been seen to lie largely in preaching. "Dumb dogs," as Knox called them, could not hold their own in competition with well-educated and enthusiastic evangelical preachers. The Catholics must use to the full this means of influencing the masses.

c. Monks are forbidden to preach in parishes without the license of the bishop.

Nothing had worked more powerfully for the degradation of the parish clergy than the unlimited license that had been bestowed upon the monastic orders by the mediæval popes to preach in any parish without episcopal permission, to hear confession, and to usurp the functions of the local ministry. Being for the most part better educated and more attractive than the local clergy and to all appearances holier in life, they were able to supplant them in the esteem and the affection of the people and discourage in them efforts to fulfill their functions aright. The council recognized the evil and sought to remedy it.

d. Holders of several cathedral churches are required

to resign all but one, and in cases where more benefices than one are allowed, by special dispensation, suitable vicars are to be provided for such churches as are not personally cared for.

The evils of pluralities are recognized and a feeble attempt at reformation is suggested. Many of the most important ecclesiastical positions were held by men who were not expected to render any service in return for the revenues enjoyed and who made no suitable provision for the work thus neglected. The conferring of bishoprics and archbishoprics on young children was no uncommon occurrence.

e. Restrictions were put upon the appointment of disreputable and incompetent men to ecclesiastical positions; but there is no indication that the council had any serious intention of bringing the priesthood up to a high moral or intellectual standard. Bishops are instructed to use all diligence in efforts to promote order and good morals among clergy and people. The deplorable moral condition of the clergy is frankly recognized.

f. It is insisted that those appointed to the higher ecclesiastical positions be men of good birth and morals and proper age. The minimum age is fixed at fourteen.

g. The need of a better educated clergy is recognized and a general provision for promoting ministerial education is suggested.

The power of an educated ministry had become evident in the history of the evangelical churches. Catholics must have an educated priesthood or they could not hold their own in the conflict with Protestantism, much less win back to the church the alienated multitudes.

h. A thorough reformation of monastic life is decreed, based upon a recognition of the corruption of the monasteries charged by the Protestants.

i. Frugality is enjoined upon the cardinals and all the clergy, wasteful luxury being recognized as one of the chief causes of the church's woes.

k. Concubinage is acknowledged as prevalent among the clergy and is disapproved. It is ordered that the illegitimate sons of the clergy shall not hold benefices in connection with those of their fathers.

It is to be observed that while many of these suggested reforms seem highly commendable and would give the impression of a seri-

ous purpose of purifying the church on the part of the prelates assembled, their force is greatly weakened by the fact that it is distinctly and emphatically stated that these reformatory decrees are to be so interpreted as that the authority of the Apostolic See is not touched thereby. The power of dispensation possessed and from this time onward freely used by the popes, rendered practically nugatory the decrees that the prelates enacted to satisfy the demands of public opinion rather than to render the church pure. Jesuitical policy would use evangelical weapons and simulate evangelical life whenever and so far as expediency might seem to require; but there is no reason to believe that there was any intention of enforcing the new regulations.

(2) *On Doctrine.* The doctrinal work of the council was a far more serious matter than the reformatory. The former was intended for systematic and rigorous use in the prevention and the suppression of heresy, while the latter could be used or neglected as the exigencies of the church might dictate. A number of theologians of great ability were engaged in the preparation of the doctrinal statements. The distinctive features of Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, Anti-pedobaptism, and other forms of dissent from the Roman Catholic Church, are specifically anathematized. These views are not always formulated in a way that does entire justice to those that were responsible for them, but in most cases it is easy to connect the anathemas with the parties for whom they were intended.

It is somewhat difficult to characterize the doctrinal position of the council. On the doctrines with respect to which Augustine and Pelagius were at a variance the statements of the council are neither Augustinian nor Pelagian. The term semi-Pelagian might seem appropriate, were it not for the fact that the Jesuit Molina, followed by a large proportion of the theologians of his society and many others, went much farther in the direction of Pelagianism and were regarded by the strict adherents to the formulæ of the council as semi-Pelagians. Perhaps the term semi-Augustinian would be more appropriate. The following specifications, which as being partial and condensed statements cannot claim to be absolutely accurate, must suffice:

a. On the Canon of Scripture. The Old Testament Apocrypha are included in the canon and an anathema

is pronounced upon any who shall deny that each book as given in the Latin Vulgate is inspired in all its parts.

It is worthy of remark that, in accordance with the decision of the council to have a uniform and absolutely authoritative edition of the Latin Bible, Sixtus V. issued a text in 1590. In it were omitted third and fourth Ezra, third Maccabees, and the Prayer of Manasseh, and it was so marred by typographical and other errors that Clement VIII. felt obliged to call in the edition and to issue a better (1592).

b. Original Sin. When Adam transgressed the command of God he lost the sanctity and righteousness in which he had been constituted and incurred the wrath and indignation of God, and therefore death, and with death captivity, under the power of the devil. This penalty was incurred not for himself alone, but for his posterity as well, and deliverance is through the merit of Christ alone. By baptism this original sin is taken away, but the inherited tendency to sin remains, hence post-baptismal sins. But sufficient grace is given, if utilized, for the avoidance of these.

c. Justification. This is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inner man through the voluntary reception of grace and gifts. We are said to be justified by faith because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification. We are said to be justified freely because none of those things that precede justification (whether faith or works) merits the grace itself of justification. But though it is necessary to believe that sins neither are nor ever have been remitted, unless gratuitously by the mercy of God for Christ's sake, yet it is not to be said that sins are forgiven or have been forgiven to any one who boasts of his confidence and certainty of the remission of sins and rests on that alone. Neither is it to be asserted that they who are truly justified must needs without any doubting whatever determine within themselves that they are justified, and that no one is absolved from sins and justified unless he believes for certain that he is absolved and justified. This was aimed at Luther's doctrine of assurance. Having been thus justified, Christians increase day by day in that justice which they have received through the grace of

Christ, through the observance of the commandments of God and of the church, faith co-operating with good works. Again, good works are represented as fruits of justification and to these God has mercifully promised reward. Venial sins may be expiated by good works.

d. Predestination. This is treated under justification and the Calvinistic statements are condemned, but not so decidedly as by the later Jesuit divines.

e. The Sacraments. The seven sacraments long recognized by the Roman Catholic Church are elaborately defended against the Protestants, who were united in rejecting all but baptism and the Supper, and are accurately defined.

f. The Interpretation of the Doctrinal Decrees of the Council. While it was of great importance to the papacy to have a carefully formulated statement of doctrine as a criterion of orthodoxy, it was early foreseen that differences of opinion would arise as to the interpretation of these formulæ. Provision was made for their authoritative interpretation by the establishment of the Congregation of the Council as a department of the Roman Curia. As the infallible head of the church, the pope, of course, has the last word in all disputed interpretations.

IV. THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

LITERATURE: The fundamental publications of the Society described in the text (the author has in his library a collection of early editions of these fundamental writings that before and during the Thirty Years' War belonged to the library of the Jesuit establishment at Munich, the chief center of their operations in Germany); "*Doctrinæ Jesuitarum Præcipua Capita, a doctis quibusdam Theologis*" (Chemnitz, Boquin, Whitaker, *et al.*), 1584–1585; Taylor, "Loyola and Jesuitism," 1849; Rose, "Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits," second ed., 1891; Baumgarten, "*Ign. von Loyola*," 1880; Gothein, "*Ign. von Loyola u. d. Gegenreformation*," 1895; Steinmetz, "Hist. of the Jesuits," 1848; Thompson, "Footprints of the Jesuits," 1894; Cartwright, "The Jesuits," 1876; Pascal, "Provincial Letters"; Döllinger u. Reusch, "*Gesch. d. Moralstreitigkeiten in d. Romisch-kathol. Kirche seit d. 16. Jahrh., mit Beiträgen zur Gesch. . . . d. Jesuitenordens*," 1889; Reusch, "*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Jesuitenorden*," 1894; art. by Steitz and Zöckler on "*Jesuitenorden*," in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3, *Bd.* 9, *Seit.* 742-784; author's art. in New Schaff-Herzog.

From the preceding history of the Roman Catholic Church it might have been expected that such a crisis

as the Protestant Revolution would call forth a new monastic order precisely adapted in spirit and methods to the exigencies of the case. As the wonderful growth of dissent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought into the field the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders, which gathered up in themselves the energy and zeal of the corrupt mediæval church and hurled them against heresy in the form of enthusiastic popular preaching and improved theological literature and teaching, and devised more systematic and rigorous methods of searching out and destroying heretics, so the Protestant Revolution called forth the order of Jesuits, which represented the most enthusiastic, aggressive, and intolerant type of Roman Catholicism in a greatly intensified and thoroughly organized form.

Reference has already been made to the intense and intolerant character of Spanish Roman Catholicism at the beginning of the present period and to the influence of contact and conflict with Mohammedanism in producing it. It might have been expected that the country of Ferdinand the Catholic and Ximenes would give to the church its method, its leaders, and its organization in the great conflict with Protestantism, in which it must employ all its resources to the greatest advantage or else renounce its ambition to be and to be regarded as the Catholic church.

1. *The Founder of the Order.*

Ignatius Loyola (Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde) was the youngest son of the knight Beltran of Loyola, a member of one of the old noble families of Spain. Born in 1491, he received only a moderate education and spent his youth at the court of Ferdinand. Chivalry and reverence for saints and martyrs became deeply impressed upon his highly sentimental and imaginative nature. In 1521 he was severely wounded in the battle between the Spanish and the French at Pampeluna. During his long confinement, in the absence of works of chivalry in which he specially delighted, he read with absorbing interest a life of Christ and a book of legends of the saints. The images of heroic Christian service and sacrifice formed by his vivid imagination in reading these works deeply impressed themselves upon his nature. Such monastic leaders as Francis of Assisi and Dominic awakened in him a spirit of emulation. What they did he might also

do. Worldly thoughts, especially those involving ambition for advancement, and amatory desires inspired by the charms of his lady love, he came to attribute to Satanic prompting, while the desire to consecrate his life with chivalric devotion to the conversion of infidels in the Holy Land he accepted as divinely given. On his recovery he exchanged garments with a beggar and entered a Dominican monastery, where he hung his military accoutrements before an image of the Virgin. Rigorous asceticism, the performance of the most difficult and disagreeable services, and frequent confessions and masses, indicated his intense devotion to his religious ideal. From the monastery of Manresa he went to Barcelona, and in 1523 he journeyed to Palestine to enter upon his chosen life-work. Finding no opening for missionary activity in Jerusalem, after visiting the few holy places that were accessible to him, he returned to Spain. He had become convinced that a thorough university education was indispensable to the realization of his ideal of service. With almost incredible labor he mastered the elements of Latin at Barcelona. At Alcala he studied philosophy and trained a number of young people in the "Spiritual Exercises," which he had early prepared and which in their completed form embody very fully his religious ideals. Here and at Salamanca, where he continued his studies, he incurred the suspicion of the officers of the Inquisition and suffered considerable persecution.

In 1528, now thirty-seven years of age, he entered upon a course of study in the University of Paris, beginning again with grammatical work because of his conscious deficiencies. His religious enthusiasm might have been expected to thrust him all unprepared into the thick of the conflict; but he had come to realize that education was necessary for his work, and that if only twenty years of life were left to him he could afford to devote ten of them to arduous study. He lived on charity, spending his vacations in the Netherlands among his fellow-countrymen, who ministered liberally to his wants. But however much he became absorbed in the drudgery of acquiring an education he never for a moment lost sight of his great purpose. Wherever he could find any one disposed to subject himself to a course of training in the

"Spiritual Exercises" he rarely failed to master his will and to fill him with his own enthusiasm for self-sacrificing effort on behalf of the church. For disturbing the students in their studies by his "Spiritual Exercises" he narrowly escaped disgraceful punishment at the hands of the university authorities. Among the able youths who were completely mastered by his enthusiasm were Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, Alfonso Salmeron, Jacob Lainez, Nicholas Boabdilla (Spaniards), and Simon Rodriguez (a Portuguese). On August 15, 1534 (the anniversary of the assumption of the Virgin Mary), in the St. Mary's church at Montmartre, they unitedly took upon themselves the most solemn vows to enter, after the completion of their studies, upon hospital and missionary work in Jerusalem, or, the door being closed for such work, to go without questioning wherever the pope might send them.

In 1535 Loyola and his associates returned to Spain to arrange the affairs of the latter preparatory to their departure for the Orient. At the beginning of 1537 they betook themselves, with three recruits, to Venice, with the design of procuring transportation to Palestine. War between the Venetians and the Turks delayed them, and they entered enthusiastically upon hospital work, which brought them into relations with the Cardinal Caraffa that proved highly important to the society. Caraffa tried to win them to his Theatine order, which had much in common with the new society. Loyola next sent forth his followers as evangelists into the cities and towns of the republic. Reassembling at Rome they preached with great fervor in the market-place, on the streets, in the hospitals, and in private houses, and made a special effort to win the students of the university. Their labors were so abundant and successful that they were at last able to overcome the reluctance of the pope to the establishment of a new order, and on September 27, 1540, Paul III. issued a bull confirming the society but limiting its membership to sixty. This limitation was removed in March, 1543. Loyola was unanimously elected general and to set an example of humility he began his official career by serving as cook for a time. Then for forty-six days he devoted himself with un-

quenchable zeal and with remarkable success to the training of youth in the "Spiritual Exercises." From this time onward the society went forward in influence and in numbers by leaps and bounds, soon secured almost unlimited privileges, and was able to shape the policy of the entire Roman Catholic Church and furnish the most effective agents for the subjugation of the world to the hierarchy.

The facts that have been briefly given regarding the career of Ignatius Loyola reveal to us a man of remarkable power of will, mastered by a great purpose which he identified in the most absolute way with the will of God, idealizing the church by his vivid imagination so as to feel that its aggrandizement was a matter of supreme importance, self-sacrificing to the last degree on behalf of the object of his devotion, able by his zeal, his power of will, and his method of training readily to master the wills of those who came within the sphere of his influence, capable of planning and scheming with the utmost deliberation when it suited his purpose, intolerant in the highest degree of opposition to the church, which meant to him opposition to God himself, an enthusiast, but not a fanatic.

2. *Characteristics of the Jesuits.*

(1) *Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience.* In common with other monastic orders, the Jesuits are bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. To these is added a vow to go without questioning or hesitation wherever the pope may command. This last vow was introduced partly to overcome the reluctance of the pope to confirm the order and partly to emphasize Loyola's idea of absolute obedience to a single central authority.

(2) *Centralization of Authority.* The fundamental idea of the society is that of securing absolute domination over the spirits of men and of centralizing all power in one earthly head representing God on earth. Jesuitism is thus the most perfect embodiment of the papal idea.

(3) *Perfect Organization.* The society combines high enthusiasm with careful selection and thorough training of the individual members and with perfect organization. In such a combination, whether the principles involved be right or wrong, there is almost irresistible power.

3. *System of Selection and Training.*

This was admirably adapted to the securing of fit men for the purposes of the society.

(1) *A Course of Spiritual Exercises.* These were conducted with the use of the manual early prepared by the founder. When an individual had come so far under the influence of members of the society as to be willing to submit himself to a four weeks' course, he was isolated, and under the direction of an adept taken systematically through these wonderful exercises, the aim of which was to induce a state of complete subjection of the will and a habit of vivid contemplation and imaginative realization. The "Spiritual Exercises" are a masterpiece of psychological insight. We can hardly conceive of anything better calculated for securing a complete mastery over a susceptible youth. The twenty-eight general divisions into daily tasks are each subdivided into five hourly meditations. Each of these begins with a preparatory prayer followed by two preludes, the first consisting of the realization of the place, the persons, and the circumstances of the biblical event that forms the subject for meditation. The effort is to induce in the mind of the subject such a vision of these as an eye-witness would have. He is taught to see the angels fall, to see our first parents sin, to behold the judge pronouncing condemnation, and hell opening its abyss. He is taught to hear the Persons of the Trinity planning the scheme of redemption. He is made to realize that he stands on the banks of the Jordan at the baptism of Jesus and beholds the Spirit of God descending as a dove and hears the accompanying divine utterance. He tarries on the mountain of transfiguration and beholds the glorified Christ and his companions. He stands among the disciples at the last Supper. He realizes as if he were present the fires and fumes of hell, hears the despairing groans and utterances of the damned, smells the horrible stench of combustion, and realizes the endless duration of hell-torments. The second prelude of each hourly exercise consists in a prayer in which the candidate is led to weep or rejoice as the subject of the meditation demands. Each meditation ends with an invocation of Christ whose presence the candidate is expected to realize. The candidate is taught continually to examine himself, to realize vividly his sinful condition, each individual sin being made to stand apart in all its hideousness, and he is

taught carefully to record from day to day the progress made in overcoming his sins. He is taught to realize deeply the natural consequences of sin as seen in the condition of those suffering eternal torment and to rejoice in the salvation provided by Christ, the glories of which are realized as vividly as possible. These "Spiritual Exercises" have from the beginning been one of the most valuable instruments of the society in the accomplishment of its purposes.

(2) *The Novitiate.* In case the "Spiritual Exercises" have produced the desired effect and the subject is regarded as spiritually, mentally, and physically adapted to the purposes of the society, and no obstacles appear, he is invited to become a Novice. He is now carefully excluded from all intercourse with his relatives and former friends. Every earthly tie is broken. He is to have no will of his own as to his future course, but is to put himself into the hands of the director as the interpreter of heaven toward him. He is to be as a corpse or as a staff. Absolute obedience is the thing most insisted upon. His conscience must not assert itself in opposition to the will of his superiors. Absolute destruction of individual will and conscience is aimed at and to a great extent accomplished. The director studies with the greatest care the condition of the Novice from day to day. He is allowed to read nothing but a little devotional matter. He may not converse with other Novices. His obedience is fully tested by the requirement of the most disagreeable and arduous services. The novitiate usually lasts for about two years, and if the Novice is found to possess great energy and tact, and absolute obedience, he is accepted as a Scholar.

(3) *The Scholar.* This promotion is accompanied by a pledge on the part of the candidate that he will devote his life to the service of the society if so required. He now undergoes a protracted course of training in the various branches of secular and theological learning. The educational work of the Jesuits was from an early date thoroughly systematized, and was conducted with an enthusiasm and a devotion of effort to the meeting of the peculiar needs of each individual that placed their institutions of learning decidedly in advance of contem-

porary Catholic and even Protestant schools. The principle of selection having already been applied in the case of the Scholars, they were a body of picked men, thoroughly obedient to their superiors and devoted to their work. The utmost attention was paid to wholesome nourishment and physical culture; for the leaders realized from the beginning that to accomplish their purposes a sound and hardy physique was just as important as a well-trained and well-stored mind. If at the end of the course of study the Scholar was regarded as highly promising, he was made a Coadjutor.

(4) *The Coadjutor.* Those who have attained to this rank devote themselves entirely to the promotion of the aims of the society in spiritual or in secular work. Some are employed as teachers in the schools and colleges of the society. Some serve as priests and missionaries. Some attend to the business affairs of the society, which early assumed great importance. Coadjutors designed for secular duties were not so highly educated as those designed for teachers, priests, and missionaries.

(5) *The Professed.* A small proportion of the Coadjutors, limited to such as have proved themselves possessed in the highest degree of the qualities desiderated in the Jesuit, after a long enough period of responsible service in various capacities to test very thoroughly their fidelity and capability, are admitted to the rank of the Professed, which constitutes the inner circle of the society from which the officers are chosen and who are entrusted with its secrets.

(6) *Watchcare.* Each member of the society, including the general, is responsible to another, to whom he must regularly make confession of his inmost thoughts, and who is required to exercise a watchcare over him and to report every deviation from rectitude, according to the standards of the body.

The "Constitutions" of the Jesuits give minute direction as to the manner of admission to the various ranks, the tests to be applied, and the occupations of those belonging to each rank. The original educational scheme is carefully outlined. The manner of electing officers and the manner in which they are to be removed when the interests of the society require it, and the way in which undesirable members are to be disposed of, are embodied in this remarkable document, which, along with the "Spiritual Exercises"

must be regarded as one of the fundamental documents of the society.

The "Rules" of the Society of Jesus give minute directions to the members in the various grades as to their personal conduct in the religious houses and in the world. Much of worldly wisdom is blended with some genuinely Christian precepts. In early editions Loyola's tract on "The Virtue of Obedience" is appended. Aquaviva, general of the society, prescribed (1604) the reading of this tract every two days by every Jesuit. It teaches each one to put aside all conscientious scruples and to obey his superior as if he were Christ himself, whatever he may command. No writing better embodies the spirit of the society or furnishes a better explanation of its immoralities.

The "Institutes" of the Society of Jesus (1606 and often), is the comprehensive law book of the society, embracing papal bulls, briefs, and privileges, a "General Examination of the Society": a treatise on the nature, purpose, and task of the society; the "Constitutions," described above, with ten chapters of "Declarations" or authoritative interpretations of constitutional points; the "Decrees and Canons of the General Congregation"; the "Rules," mentioned above; a pedagogical manual ("*Ratio Studiorum*"); the "Ordinances of the Generals"; the "Spiritual Exercises," described above; and some other ascetical works.

The "*Monita Secreta*" (secret instructions), supposed to be the frank directions of the generals to the provincials and others and embodying the well-known worldly wisdom and unscrupulousness of the society, can no longer be used as a genuine document. Its genuineness is denied by the society and has not been fully proved by its opponents. It was first published in 1612 and, if not genuine, was probably the production of the ex-Jesuit, Hieronymus Zahorowski, on the basis of accurate information regarding the secret workings of the society. The repudiation of the work by the society is, of course, no conclusive evidence of its spuriousness. It has been the consistent policy of the society from the beginning to deny everything disadvantageous to the church or to itself and to take the chances of being proved unveracious by irrefutable testimony; and the training received by the members of the society has made them adepts at evasion.

4. *Aims of the Order.*

The professed aim of Ignatius and his associates was the promotion of the "greater glory of God." The expression of this aim abounds in the writings of the society. The greater glory of God was identified by them in the most absolute way with the world-wide and undisputed dominion of the Roman Catholic Church, with the pope as its infallible and irresponsible head. The bringing of the church into its normal condition of thoroughly organized and exclusive dominion meant to them

the universal triumph of their own ideal of church life and government. It was theirs, therefore, to master the church and its hierarchy, including the pope, and to use all its resources for the reconquest of territory that had been Catholic but was then under Protestant or Mohammedan control, and to bring the entire heathen world under the sway of the Jesuitized hierarchy. Absolute world dominion by a single will, which was nominally that of the pope, but really that of the general of the society—this and nothing less was the task that this little group of Spanish enthusiasts set out to accomplish.

Such dominion meant not merely outward obedience on the part of each individual prelate, priest, monk, king, emperor, noble, and peasant, to the commands of the central authority (complete subjection of will), but it meant also the renunciation of all private thinking and of all individual moral prompting, and the acceptance as intellectually correct and morally sound of whatever the church through its authorized channels teaches or prescribes (subjection of the intellectual and the moral sense), as well as joyful and loving acquiescence in such enslavement (subjection of the emotional nature).

5. *Methods of the Jesuits.*

(1) The careful selection and thorough training of its men has already been mentioned. No religious order, it is probable, ever exercised so much care in securing proper instruments. The purpose of the founder and the early directors of the society was not, however, the perfection of the individual for his own sake, but the securing of the most efficient instrument possible for the work to be accomplished.

(2) The power of dispensing with all rules and requirements when the interests of the society seem to make it expedient has been vested in the general. The Jesuit missionary or worker in any sphere may thus adapt his dress, manner of life, and occupation to the exigencies of the occasion. He may disguise himself and figure as a Protestant or a Brahmin, if by so doing he can gain an entrance otherwise difficult for Catholic teaching. The story is familiar of a Jesuit who mastered the Sanskrit language and the Vedas, assumed the dress and the mode of life of a Brahmin priest, and finally wrote and palmed off as ancient a Veda in which Roman Catholic Christianity under a thin disguise was taught. In Eng-

land and other Protestant countries where the Jesuits were outlawed, there can be little doubt but that they frequently conformed outwardly to the established form of religion and secretly and insidiously carried on their proselytizing work.

(3) They early realized the vast importance of directing higher education as a means of gaining control of the lives of the ablest and best-connected young men and making trained intellect subservient to their purposes. Their pedagogical methods, while not deviating very widely from those of the mediæval universities, were so vital with the enthusiasm of the society as to attract vast numbers of the ablest and noblest youths, including many Protestants, and to enthrall them. It is probable that more time was employed in molding their religious and moral characters into complete harmony with the ideals of the society than in securing a mastery of the studies of the course; but as twelve years were often devoted to the completion of the arts and theological courses, the intellectual training given was usually adequate for all the purposes of the society, and qualified their workers to hold their own in competition with Protestant ministers. Large numbers of the most desirable young men who entered their schools with no intention of becoming members of the society were won by the patient efforts of those in charge.

(4) From the beginning they utilized the confessional to the utmost as a means of mastering the souls of men and women and gaining a knowledge of religious and political affairs that could serve the ends of the society. The sons and daughters of the rich and the noble they sought by every means to bring under their influence, and they were soon the favorite confessors in the imperial court and in many of the royal courts of Europe. It was their constant aim to make their confessional system so attractive to the rich and the noble that they would seek it of their own accord. To this end their casuistical system of moral theology was elaborated, whereby they were able to appease the consciences of their subjects in all kinds of wrong-doing. It was their policy to indulge their noble charges in all kinds of vice and crime and to instill into their minds an undying hatred of every

form of opposition to the Catholic faith. The confessor of Louis XIV. was nicknamed Père de la Chaise.

(5) Their determination to use the political power of Europe for their own purposes caused them from the beginning to take the profoundest interest in politics. When they had once molded a ruler to their will and made him the subservient instrument of their policy, they were ever at his side dictating to him the measures to be employed for the eradication of heresy and the complete reformation of his realm according to the Jesuit ideal, and they were ever ready, with full papal authority, to conduct inquisitorial work. When Catholic or Protestant rulers opposed their schemes they made use of intrigue in the most unscrupulous manner for securing their overthrow and the installation of a new government more favorable to their aims. They soon grew so daring and high-handed in their measures, procuring in some cases the assassination of kings, that they became a terror to civil rulers and were expelled even from Spain and Portugal. The unscrupulous manner in which through the confessional and every method known to the expert detective they became possessed of State secrets and utilized them for their purposes is well known to students of political as well as to those of church history.

(6) Their activity in connection with the Council of Trent has already been referred to. The uncompromising attitude of the council toward Protestantism was due in a large measure to the influence of Lainez, the second general, and to other Jesuit members. Their influence in the interpretation of the doctrinal decrees of the council has been still more important.

(7) Recognizing, as they early did, the importance of popular preaching as a means of winning back Protestant communities to the Catholic faith, they gave the utmost attention to the cultivation of the preaching gifts among the members and used every device suggested by Protestant worship or otherwise for the popularization of the church services. They secured from the pope permission to omit such portions of the liturgies as were tedious and in the way of more interesting elements of worship, and thoroughly modernized the services in the churches where they ministered.

(8) Their ethical system, to be further described below, gave them perfect freedom as to the use of means for the accomplishment of their aims.

(9) Their superior efficiency, as compared with the other orders and the secular priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the Lutheran clergy of the latter part of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, may be likened to that of a thoroughly picked and thoroughly trained baseball or football team, filled with enthusiasm for the honor of a great university and reckless of everything but success, and an equal number of ill-selected and ill-trained men, without a large definite purpose and fearful of personal injury.

6. *The Ethical System of the Jesuits.*

Nothing was more conducive to the immediate success of the society and nothing was more calculated to bring it into everlasting obloquy, than the ethical ideas that its members professed and upon which their proceedings were based. Their system was simply a logical carrying out of principles that had for centuries been fully recognized in the Roman Catholic Church and had long before had a terrible fruitage; but many Catholics were shocked by the utter immorality of Jesuit teaching and conduct. A more diabolical system it would be difficult to conceive.

(1) Reference has already been made to the important place given to *obedience* in the Jesuit teaching. The founder of the society made the highest merit to consist in such a renunciation of the mental, moral, and emotional promptings of the individual as would enable him to do the bidding of his superior with the greatest satisfaction, even though it involved what he might otherwise have thought to be in the highest degree sinful and criminal.

In his letter on "The Virtue of Obedience" he writes: "We may the more easily suffer ourselves to be surpassed by other religious orders in fastings, vigils, and the rest, in the roughness of food and clothing, which each according to its own rites and discipline holily receives; but I am particularly anxious, dearest brethren, that you who serve in this society be conspicuous for true and perfect obedience and abdication of will and of judgment; and that the true and germane character of the said society be distinguished, as it

were, by this note, that its members never look upon the person himself whom they obey, but upon the Lord Christ in him whose cause they obey." He goes on to say that "if a superior be adorned and instructed with prudence, goodness, and whatever other divine gifts, he is not on this account to be obeyed, but solely because he is the vicegerent of God and performs his functions by the authority of him who says, 'Whosoever hears you hears me and whosoever rejects you rejects me'"; and that if the superior "be wanting in these gifts and graces, obedience is not to be withheld since he embodies the person of him whose wisdom cannot go astray and who will supply whatever is wanting in his minister." Again, he exhorts his brethren to be exceedingly careful to "recognize in the superior, whoever he may be, the Lord Christ, and in him to offer, with the highest religious devotion, reverence and obedience to the divine majesty." He is careful to guard against the supposition that mere external obedience suffices. There is to be complete agreement with the superior in willing and not willing. But the "third and highest grade of obedience" is "the absolute immolation of the intellect," so that one "not only wills the same, but also thinks the same as his superior, and subjects his own judgment to his." True obedience requires that whatever the superior commands or thinks should seem to the inferior right and true, as far as the will by its own power can bend the intellect." "You are not to behold in the person of the superior a man obnoxious to errors and pettinesses, but Christ himself, who is the highest wisdom, boundless goodness, infinite love, who cannot be deceived and would not deceive you."

The immorality involved in this blind subjection of all the powers of one's being to a superior who may be utterly bad is sufficiently evident. Obedience is made the supreme virtue and if the Jesuit is bidden to cast himself into a glowing furnace or to wield the assassin's dagger he is bound without questioning or hesitation to obey It seems almost incredible that a human soul could be so perverted as to lose all sense of direct responsibility to God and all disposition to form approving and disapproving judgments independently; but we have reason to believe that the ideals of Loyola are to a great extent realized through the training that the system provides.

(2) There has been much controversy as to whether the Jesuits inculcated and acted upon the principle that "*the end sanctifies the means*," Protestants affirming for the most part and Romanists denying. The Romanists are probably correct in denying that the phrase used with approval can be found in any writing authorized by the church; but that the principle involved underlies the Jesuit system and has been approved by the Roman Catholic hierarchy can scarcely be doubted by any one familiar with the literature and with the history of the society. The supreme end, above remarked, is constantly represented as "the greater glory of God," and any su-

perior can declare any end, however diabolical, to involve the greater glory of God and command his inferior to use any means whatever for the accomplishment of this end, including deceit, theft, and even murder; and the inferior must unquestioningly obey. In the "Constitutions" of the society[1] the following remarkable passage occurs.

After enunciating in the heading of the section the principle that the "constitutions do not induce the obligation of sinning" and elaborating this statement at some length, it is stated: "It has seemed good to us in the Lord, the express vow by which the society is held to the supreme pontiff for the time being excepted, and the three other essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, no constitutions, declarations, or any order of living, can induce an obligation to mortal or venial sin (*posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere*), unless the superior should order these things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience, which may be done in those things or persons in which it shall be judged that it will contribute in the highest degree to the particular good of each or to the general good; and in place of the fear of offense let the love and desire of all perfection succeed, and that the greater glory and praise of Christ the Creator and our Lord may follow." It seems to be admitted, to start with, that the four vows are so fundamental as to induce an obligation to sin if this be involved in their observance, and all other cases are covered by the provision that if the judgment of a superior that the individual good of each or the general good requires the commission of sin, it is to be done, the sinful character of the deed being put out of mind and the love and desire of all perfection and the promotion of the greater glory and praise of Christ taking the place of compunction in the act. The attempts to evade the plain meaning of this language are in the writer's judgment futile. When it is taught in Jesuit manuals of moral theology that poorly paid servants may by thieving from their employers raise their wages to a proper scale, that to relieve poverty the goods of the wealthy may be stolen, etc., this doctrine is inculcated in a form easily understood and exceedingly demoralizing.

(3) The doctrine of *Probabilism* was rejected by a portion of the members of the society, but in a modified form secured papal recognition. The theory is that an opinion is rendered probable if it has in its favor one or two theologians of repute, although there are a hundred more reputable authorities in opposition to it. The advocates of probabilism insisted that it was safe to act upon a probable opinion of this kind in opposition to the more or most probable opinions. The probabilists ran-

[1] Part VI., Chap. V., ed. c. 1583.

sacked Catholic theological literature to find passages, which they did not hesitate to garble, that favored the laxest moral conduct, and they used these freely in the confessional as a pretext for encouraging those whom they wished to indulge in the most immoral living and dealing. It was held that a person might without burdening his conscience follow a "probable" opinion in his conduct, although personally convinced of the correctness of the opposite position.

(4) The scheme for evading responsibility for sinful and criminal conduct by the *method of directing the intention* was equally destructive of good morals. In accordance with this, one may commit murder without burdening his conscience, if in the act his intention is directed to the vindication of his honor or the deliverance of the community from a nuisance, or some more important end; one may commit adultery, if in the act the intention be directed not to the gratification of lust or the injury of the husband of the subject, but to the promotion of one's health and comfort or some other worthy end; one may commit robbery, if the intention be directed not to the wrong done to the subject, but to the laudable object of making suitable provision for one's needs, etc.

(5) Equally objectionable is the doctrine of *mental reservation or restriction*, whereby one may, without burdening his conscience, tell a downright falsehood, provided the word or clause that would make the statement true is in the mind. Thus, one accused of having committed a certain act last week in a certain place may swear that he was not there, reserving the statement "this morning." He may promise to do something, reserving in his mind a condition of which the person concerned knows nothing. One may safely use ambiguous language and by tones or gestures promote the understanding of it in a false sense.

(6) Their recommendation and defense of the *assassination of tyrants* shocked the moral sense of Protestants and of many Catholics and turned many Catholic rulers against them. The officials of the order sought to avoid the disadvantageous consequences of such teaching and of the numerous cases in which it was carried out in

practice, by condemning any who should teach the lawfulness of assassinating tyrants; but they were careful not to condemn the teaching itself or those who practised it. The doctrine of assassination is clearly set forth in the following sentences from Suarez:

"It is permitted to an individual to kill a tyrant in virtue of the right of self-defense; for though the community does not command it, it is always to be understood that it wishes to be defended by every one of its citizens individually, and even by a stranger. Then, if no defense can be found excepting the death of the tyrant, it is permitted to every man to kill him. Whenever a king has been legitimately deposed, he ceases to be a king or a legitimate prince, and that can be no longer affirmed of him, which may be said for a legitimate king: he thenceforth should be called a tyrant. Thus, after he has been declared to be deprived of his kingdom, it becomes legal to treat him as a real tyrant; and consequently any man has a right to kill him." The significance of this language will appear more clearly if it be borne in mind that the writer and his brethren looked upon the pope or the general as having the right to depose and declare as a tyrant any ruler who opposed the purposes of the church and the society. If a civil ruler shall have antagonized the pope and incurred his sentence of deposition, any one, even a stranger without patriotic motives, may assassinate him.

The Jesuits regarded moral philosophy as their special sphere and aimed to excel in this department of thought as much as the scholastic divines excelled in theology. They were willing to go to any lengths to attract to their confessional the rich and the noble and to this end they abolished all of the terrors of sin, finding a means of excusing or making venial even the gravest offenses. It could not be expected that men in whom conscience had been so completely eradicated and whose business it was to make sinning easy for others would preserve for themselves any very high ethical standard. As a matter of fact, apart from their self-sacrificing zeal on behalf of their society, and the Roman Catholic Church so far as it harmonized with the society, there was (and is) little in them that seems worthy of admiration.

7. *Relations of the Society to the States of Europe up to 1648.*

(1) In *Italy*, where they enjoyed the cordial support of Caraffa and his successors in the papal administration, the Jesuits made rapid headway.

(2) The king of *Portugal* early called to his council Xavier and Rodriguez, and entered with the utmost heartiness into the schemes of the society. Xavier's departure as a missionary to India, under the king's patronage, left Rodriguez his chief adviser in religious

and educational matters. The royal college at Coimbra and one of the principal churches of Lisbon were soon under the control of the society. Despite the opposition of nobles and cities the society tightened its grip on the public administration and under King Sebastian (1557-1578) it virtually ruled the kingdom.

(3) It might have been expected that this Spanish society of the Jesuits would find an open door in *Spain*. But Charles V. was opposed to their methods of dealing with Protestantism and to their ideas of papal absolutism. Even Philip II., whom they greatly influenced and who had much in common with them, refused to give them the position in his kingdom to which they aspired. Leading Spanish theologians, like Melchior Canus, denounced them as forerunners of Antichrist foretold by the apostle in 2 Tim. 3 : 2. With much effort they gained a foothold in the universities of Alcala and Salamanca, and afterward gradually extended their sway.

(4) In *France* the early efforts of Ignatius and his associates were sternly repelled. A number of youths whom he had sent to Paris for study in 1540 were driven away. While the Cardinal of Lorraine favored them, they were sternly opposed by the Archbishop of Paris, the Parliament of Paris, and the Sorbonne. In 1561 Lainez secured permission to establish the college of Clermont, which, however, was long denied full university privileges. In Lyons the Jesuit Augier preached with such success that the Huguenots had their churches and books burned, their preachers banished, and their worship suppressed. This victory was commemorated by the establishment of a well-equipped Jesuit college. They gained a strong influence over Catharine de Medici and gave direction to the Catholic side in the wars with the Huguenots. It is probable that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day (1572) was due in some measure to their influence. They bitterly opposed Henry of Navarre in his struggle for the crown and even after his triumphal entry into the city and his submission to the pope they refused to pray for him. The Parliament of Paris and the university denounced them as disturbers of the peace and a decree of banishment was issued against them. Henry thought it good policy to conciliate these restless

intriguers, annulled the decree of banishment, chose a Jesuit for his confessor, and extended their educational privileges. His aim was to make it to their interest to support France in European politics as against Spain, where the Dominicans still surpassed them in influence. From this time onward they controlled to a very great extent the policy of France. From the death of Henry IV. (1610) to the French Revolution they were the power behind the throne and were largely responsible for the religious wars, the persecution of the Huguenots, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the French Revolution itself. Enthusiastic missionaries went forth into the New World exploring and aiding in colonizing what is now British North America and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

Their semi-Pelagian theology and their demoralizing ethical teachings and practices called forth the bitter attacks of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, St. Cyran, Dr. Anton Arnauld, of the Sorbonne, Pascal, the philosopher, and others, who advocated a rigorous form of Augustinian doctrine and a pure but ascetical morality, and mercilessly exposed the moral rottenness and the pernicious influence of the society. The doctrinal system of the Jansenists coincided almost completely with that of the Calvinists, but the spirit of the two movements was as different as possible, and there was no sympathy between them. The Jansenist movement will be treated more fully in the next period.

(5) The Republic of *Venice* had been an early stronghold of the Jesuits, but in 1606, as a result of a conflict with the pope, they were sentenced to perpetual banishment.

(6) In *Germany and Austria* their most noteworthy victories were achieved. In 1552 Ignatius had founded a college in Rome for the education of Teutonic missionaries (*Collegium Germanicum*) and there are many indications that the reconversion of the Germanic peoples was very near his heart. In 1550 Ferdinand of Austria had come in contact with the Jesuit Le Jay and had consented to the establishment of a Jesuit college in Vienna. The next year fifteen Jesuit missionaries were stationed in the city, and within a few years they had

gained control of the university and were high in the counsels of the king. In 1556 they established themselves in Ingolstadt and Cologne and were soon able to master the universities and to make of these cities centers of missionary activity. During the same year they opened an educational institution in Prague, under the patronage of the king. Within the next few years colleges were established at Tyrnau, Olmütz, and Brünn. Ferdinand's daughters encouraged them to take up work in the Tyrol. The ecclesiastical princes of Trier, Maintz, Speier, Aschaffenburg, and Würzburg gave them the most cordial support. Before 1570 they had established themselves strongly in Strasburg. In 1559 they began work in Munich, which soon became such a Catholic stronghold as to merit the title of "the German Rome." Their universities rivaled those of Geneva and Wittenberg.

By reason of the zeal of the professors, their pedagogical skill, and their learning, they drew large numbers of students, including many Protestants, and won to the enthusiastic support of the Counter-Reformation many of the ablest young men of the time. They made a special point of attaching to themselves the sons of noblemen, and no effort was spared in gaining the adherence of the most promising scholars. The marked ability of the Jesuit teachers, their unsurpassed knowledge of human nature, their affability of manners, and their remarkable adaptability to the idiosyncrasies and circumstances of each individual, made them practically irresistible when once they came into close relations with susceptible youth. Their proselyting zeal led them to go forth into the surrounding regions and by personal effort to win back to the faith those that had become involved in heresy. Whole communities were often reconverted in an incredibly short time. They made the services of the churches in which they ministered as attractive as possible, providing the best music that could be secured and rivaling the best Protestant preachers in the eloquence and the fervor of their sermons. They were able to instill into the minds of those who came under their influence the profoundest hatred of Protestantism in every form and the profoundest love of the Catholic Church, and to convince their adherents that the supreme end in

life was the destruction of heresy. It is probable that at this period the Jesuit professors, man for man, surpassed the Protestant professors of Germany in learning and in zeal. Lutheranism was being wrecked and ruined by controversy. The Jesuits made the most of their advantages, and the success of their propaganda was astonishing.

A good illustration of the Jesuit method of introducing the Counter-Reformation is found in the career of Martin Brenner, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and who in 1585, after a few years of service as counselor to the Archbishop of Salzburg, as rector of the seminary for priests, and in other responsible capacities, now fully equipped with the Jesuit learning, methods of propagandism, and zeal for the restoration of church unity, and with practical experience in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, entered upon his work as Bishop of Seckau.

He found his diocese, from the Catholic point of view, in a lamentable state. The great majority of the nobles, burghers, and peasants were Lutherans. Anabaptism, that had been widely disseminated from 1527 onward, had been almost exterminated; but medical missionaries from Moravia frequently gained entrance by their surgical skill into the homes of the people and won them to their heresy. Since the peace of Augsburg (1555) the Protestantism of the Augsburg Confession had been tolerated by the emperors and had covered the Austrian provinces with its influence. The Archduke Charles II., of Styria, had, a few years before Brenner entered upon his work, felt constrained to grant to his Lutheran nobles freedom of worship (the Bruck Pacification, 1577). The zealous Lutheran nobles had exerted themselves to the utmost to convert their Catholic subjects, or to exclude them from their lands; the Lutheran preachers were violent in their denunciations of the corruptions of the Catholic clergy. Through the prolonged residence at Graz of a papal envoy, and the influence of the archduchess, a Bavarian princess, mother of the Emperor Ferdinand II. (of Thirty Years' War fame), reinforced by that of the able and aggressive young bishop and by the exhortations of the pope and of his Jesuitized Bavarian and Austrian kinsmen, the archduke was led to establish at Graz a Jesuit school and to introduce in all of its features the Counter-Reformation. One by one all the privileges of the Protestants were withdrawn and exterminating measures were at last employed. After 1592 Brenner was made vicar-general of Styria, and he took a leading part in the movement by which the entire Protestant population of all the Upper Austrian provinces was forcibly converted or driven from the country. How persevering, single-minded, and remorseless Brenner was in this terrible work is made abundantly evident in the recent biography by the present Bishop of Seckau (Dr. L. Schuster). Ferdinand (afterward emperor) succeeded to the archduchy in 1590. He had been trained in the principles of Jesuitism and preferred to rule a wilderness rather than a country filled with heretics. Brenner and Ferdinand wrought hand in hand until the death of the former in 1616.

Nothing would have pleased Brenner better than the part taken by Ferdinand in the Thirty Years' War and the almost complete destruction of Protestantism in the Austrian domains.

The "Instruction" given by Pope Clement VIII. in 1592, to the nuncio Count Hieronymus of Portia, regarding the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and regarding the claims of the people to liberty of conscience, etc., furnishes a good specimen of the cold-blooded disregard of human rights and moral obligations that dominated the papacy at the time. The candor with which the pope describes the morals of the Catholic clergy that were so largely responsible for the rise and growth of heresy is surprising.

Concubinage and (still worse) putative matrimony are represented as almost universal, few celibates being found even among the monks and abbots. The goods of monasteries and ecclesiastical foundations are consumed in supporting concubines and their children. "If all concubinaries should be driven away, it were to be feared that very few pastors would be left in the whole province." [1]

The influence of the Jesuits, once introduced into Austria, was soon widely felt. Catholic princes soon began to introduce rigorous measures for the restoration of Catholic unity. The Archduke Albert V., of Bavaria, banished such Protestants as would not become Catholics. The Markgrave Philip of Baden labored earnestly for the reconversion of his land, which was virtually accomplished during the years 1570 and 1571. Under the inspiration of the Jesuits Protestantism was excluded from Ichsfeld and from the territory of the Abbot of Fulda, from Cologne, Münster, Hildesheim, and Padderborn. In 1588 the Archbishop of Salzburg, who had been educated in the Jesuit college at Rome, compelled many of his Protestant subjects to return to the Roman faith and banished the obstinate. Under the same influence evangelical Christianity was excluded from the bishopric of Bamberg in 1595.

By 1542 the nobles of Inner Austria, including lords and knights and a very large proportion of the citizens of the towns and villages, were Lutherans of a very pronounced type. The Hapsburgers were utterly helpless. It was their hope, and that of many of the Lutheran nobles, that a general council would bring about a harmonizing of creeds and heal the schism. Little effort was made

[1] See Schuster's "Martin Brenner," Appendix.

in the meantime to check the Protestant movement in Austria.

The defeat of the Protestants of Germany by the emperor and his allies in the Schmalkald War (1548) seemed a favorable occasion for beginning the process of restoring Catholicism in Inner and Upper Austria. A provincial synod for Salzburg was held in 1549 to take measures for extirpating Protestantism. But even now the nobles were uncompromising, and the Hapsburg princes were not in a position to employ coercive measures.

The Augsburg Peace of 1555, which represented a great Protestant victory, was so interpreted by the Inner Austrian nobles as to justify their demand for the exclusive toleration of Lutheranism within their domains; while the Hapsburg rulers interpreted it as a warrant for the exclusion of Protestantism from the territory over which their suzerainty extended. From this time onward, until the Pacification of Bruck (1578), the relations between the Hapsburg rulers and the nobles were strained to the last degree. Ferdinand, emperor from 1556 to 1564, though intensely Catholic, felt obliged to compromise with the Lutherans of Austria. The Archduke Charles II. was constantly seeking for means to suppress the aggressive Lutheran movement. For years every request made upon the estates for financial assistance was met by a stern demand for the formal recognition of the right of the Lutheran nobles to their religion, and the right of the third estate (cities and villages) to Protestant worship. Ferdinand and Charles both felt obliged to grant freedom of conscience to the nobles; but claimed that the cities and towns were directly under their own rule, and that as Catholics they could not with a good conscience tolerate heresy therein. With the utmost reluctance the Hapsburgers were obliged to yield point by point, by reason of the persistent refusal of the nobles to grant financial aid until their religious rights were guaranteed. A certain degree of toleration was at last extended to the principal cities. In 1578 the archduke felt constrained to grant in a somewhat ambiguous way the religious privileges demanded by the nobles.

It must be admitted that the concession (Pacification of Bruck) was extorted from Charles, and that he despised

himself from the first for having so far compromised himself and the Catholic cause. He was already under the influence of the Jesuits, who some years before had been invited to labor in Inner Austria, and whose presence made the nobles all the more determined to secure a guarantee of their rights before it was too late. From this time onward, Jesuit, papal, Bavarian, and imperial influence co-operated with that of Charles' Bavarian wife, a fanatical Catholic of the Jesuit type, and his own strong inclinations, in devising means for the utter extirpation of Lutheranism from his domains.

The correspondence of the time, the careful records of public and private conferences, and the exceedingly full and well-preserved archival materials, give us an inside view of the process by which the Counter-Reformation was inaugurated and carried out to its bitter end. The Emperor Maximilian II. (1564–1576) had pursued and counseled a course of compromise and conciliation; but his advice was Jesuitical in a high degree and looked forward to the ultimate destruction of Lutheranism. After his death all the influences brought to bear upon Charles were uncompromisingly in favor of the recatholicization of his territory. He was led to believe that the salvation of his soul and the permanent holding of his hereditary possessions depended upon his remorseless persecution of heretics. At a conference of Catholic princes at Munich (October, 1579) Charles was urged to enter with vigor upon the work, and the princes bound themselves mutually to give each other all needful assistance in suppressing rebellion among their subjects. Protestant court officials and military commanders were at once to be displaced, competent Catholics from other provinces being supplied when needful. The dangers of Turkish invasion were now somewhat remote, and the Counter-Reformation could be undertaken with a good will. The Jesuits were already present in force, and they were ready to be the chief instruments in the destruction of Protestantism. One by one all the rights of the Protestants were withdrawn. The Lutheran cause was from this time doomed. The process was well-nigh completed by the death of Charles, in 1590.

The Protestants struggled heroically, as long as successful resistance seemed possible. Nowhere do we find a nobler type of Lutheranism than in this region. No country in Europe was readier to throw off the papal yoke and to adopt evangelical Christianity. Apart from Hapsburg rulers, Romanism would have been swept away almost without resistance. Hapsburg conservatism and Jesuit zeal were more than a match for the sturdy Lutheran nobles.[1]

The Archduke Ferdinand who succeeded Charles in 1598 had been thoroughly dominated by Jesuit ideas and

[1] See Loserth's "*Die Reformation und Gegenreformation in den Innerösterreichischen Ländern im XVI. Jahrhundert.*"

carried forward the work of Protestant extermination with even greater zeal. The battle on the White Mountain, in 1620 (Thirty Years' War), gave such a decided advantage to Ferdinand over his Protestant subjects and their allies that the Counter-Reformation could be carried forward almost without opposition and in the most drastic manner. Within a few years Protestantism had been almost completely exterminated throughout the Hapsburg domains, multitudes having been slaughtered, and the rest banished or forcibly converted. The Jesuits were the instigators and the chief agents in this horrible work.

(7) In *Belgium* the Counter-Reformation was carried forward under Jesuit influence with remarkable rapidity. Much opposition was encountered at first, but after the armed resistance of the Protestants had been broken, Jesuit colleges were established in Courtray, Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp under the patronage of Philip II. Half the population had been Protestant. Within a few years it became exclusively Catholic. From Belgium the Jesuits next extended their work into the United Netherlands where in 1592 twenty-two Jesuit missionaries and two hundred and twenty priests, who had been trained in their colleges at Louvain and Cologne, were winning large numbers to their faith.

(8) A determined effort was made by the Jesuits during the reign of Elizabeth and the Stuarts to reconvert *England* to the Catholic faith. William Allen was their most active agent. In 1569 he established a college in Douay, and ten years later one in Rome, for the education of British Jesuit missionaries. Rigorous laws remorselessly executed, thwarted their purposes, but their zeal is indicated by the fact that two hundred martyrdoms occurred during Elizabeth's reign. Charles I. came under their influence, and Charles II. died a Catholic. James II. was completely subservient to the Jesuits and aided them in establishing a college in Savoy, which was attended by four hundred English students, of whom two hundred were Protestants. James' downfall was due in a large measure to his well-known partiality for his Jesuit councilor, Edward Petre.

(9) In *Poland* the first Jesuit college was established

at Braunsberg in 1569. This was soon followed by institutions in Pultusk, Posen, Wilna, etc. The divided and disorganized condition of Polish Protestantism and the widespread prevalence of antitritrinitarian views made the reconversion of Poland an easy task.

(10) From 1568 to 1592 a determined effort was made by the Jesuits for the reconquest of *Sweden*, encouraged by the Jesuitized Princess Catherine of Poland, whose influence over her husband, King John II. of Sweden, was very considerable. After strenuous efforts John was at last received secretly into the fellowship of the Roman Catholic Church. His second marriage to a Protestant princess led to the banishment of the Jesuits.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS WARS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

I. EARLIER RELIGIOUS WARS

THE earlier religious wars that were occasioned by the Protestant Revolution have been noticed in Chapter I. The Cappel Wars in Switzerland were distinctively religious and in them the lines were sharply drawn between Roman Catholicism and Zwinglian evangelicalism. Conflict between the emperor and the Protestant princes of Germany was, as we have seen, long averted, partly by reason of the emperor's preoccupation with French and Turkish wars, and partly because of Luther's strong aversion to armed resistance to imperial tyranny. The Schmalkald War of 1546 onward was the first of the military struggles between the Catholics and the Lutherans of Germany, but the ultimate issue in favor of the Lutherans was brought about, as we have seen, not so much by the superiority of the Lutherans in military strength, as by the unwillingness of the Catholic French king to allow the house of Hapsburg to become too potent. The Huguenot wars in France (1560 onward) were distinctively religious wars, in which French Calvinism took a determined stand against Roman Catholic coercive measures, and the Edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV. to his Protestant subjects who had placed him on the throne, and whom he basely deserted for political reasons, represents a partial triumph of the Protestant cause and the creation of a Protestant within the Catholic State, that formed a most grievous obstacle to the carrying forward of the centralizing policy of the Bourbon kings and was sure to lead to continued strife and to the ultimate crushing of the weaker party.

The war of independence in the Netherlands was provoked by the rigorous measures for the suppression of

heresy entered upon by Philip II. (1556 onward) and precipitated by the arrival (1567) of the Duke of Alva, with the avowed purpose of exterminating heresy and restoring the absolute authority of the Spanish crown without regard to existing laws and arrangements. In 1566 a number of nobles, moved thereto by the Calvinistic minister Francis Junius, had formed a league for resisting with violence any attempt to introduce the Inquisition. Popular excitement reached such a pitch soon afterward that churches and monasteries were sacked, and objects of idolatry destroyed. It had become evident to Philip that either his authority would come to an end and the Roman Catholic religion be excluded from the provinces, or defiant and aggressive Calvinism must be summarily crushed. Alva's council (called the "Council of Blood") declared heresy high treason. William of Orange organized the Calvinistic forces for resistance (1573). Before the Calvinists were ready to defend themselves, eighteen thousand executions had occurred. This great loss nerved the Calvinistic hosts to a determination to sacrifice everything for religious and civil liberty. The Lutheran princes of Germany were so hostile toward Calvinism that they were well content to see its adherents butchered by the Spanish, and Eric of Braunschweig even joined hands with Alva for crushing the "Sacramentarians." The antipathy of Lutherans and Calvinists was afterward to produce lamentable results. The heroic struggle under the leadership first of William of Orange (assassinated in 1584) and afterward of his son Maurice of Nassau, can not be described in detail. England rendered valuable assistance and received through the close contact involved an impulse toward civil and religious liberty that was to prove highly important to the English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic. The commercial prosperity and the intellectual awakening that attended the struggle have been already noticed. Belgium remained Spanish and was cleared of Protestants. The northern provinces (the United Netherlands) were triumphant and Spain was obliged in 1609 to sign a twelve years' truce. War was resumed in 1621, but in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the complete independence of the Protestant Netherlands was recognized.

II. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

1. *Antecedents of the Thirty Years' War.*

(1) *The Treaty of Augsburg.* The provisions of this treaty sustain so intimate a relation to the great conflict to be considered, that their restatement seems desirable. The treaty provided that princes were to choose freely between Roman Catholicism and the Augsburg Confession, all other forms of religion (including the growing and aggressive Calvinistic communion) being rigorously excluded. Catholics and Lutherans mutually bound themselves not to molest each other in the free exercise of their religious privileges, nor to attempt conversion by any other than moral means. Each party was fully to respect the property rights of the other. If Catholic subjects should be found in the territory of a Lutheran prince, ample time should be given them to dispose of their property, and it should be permitted them to remove to the territory of a prince of their own religion, and *vice versa*. In cities where both forms of religion had long been established both were still to be tolerated and protected, neither interfering with the other. This state of things was to remain in force until religious differences could be amicably adjusted by a free general council, or in some other way. The ecclesiastical reservation appended to the treaty provided that in case a Roman Catholic archbishop, bishop, or other prelate should change his religion, he should be required to resign his office and give place to a Roman Catholic successor to be appointed by the proper authorities. The motto of the Augsburg Peace of 1555 was in effect: *Cujus regio, ejus religio.* It gave to the prince unlimited power over the consciences of his subjects. The rights of subjects were guarded only to the extent of permission to sell their effects and to emigrate. The treaty was of such a character as to render future conflict inevitable.

(2) *The Union and the League.* The house of Hapsburg, in its Austrian branch, by the close of the sixteenth century, had come strongly under the influence of the Jesuits. As Archduke of Styria (1596 onward), Ferdinand, who as emperor was to play so prominent a

part throughout the Thirty Years' War, carried out remorselessly the Jesuit policy in which he had been schooled from infancy by prohibiting Protestant worship, banishing the Protestant clergy, and placing before Protestant laymen the alternative of conversion or exile. Many of the nobility were strong enough, however, to resist these measures and to protect the Protestant peasantry of their domains. Maximilian of Bavaria had likewise been trained by the Jesuits. Him also we shall come to know as one of the great leaders in the war. In fact he was the brain of the Roman Catholic powers engaged in the conflict. "What the Duke of Bavaria does has hands and feet," said one of his opponents. His guiding principle was to give no quarter to Protestantism. Donauwörth was a Lutheran imperial city on the border of his domains and in close proximity to the ecclesiastical province of the Bishop of Augsburg. To guard itself against being overwhelmed by its Roman Catholic neighbors, the city had made use of its right to exclude all Roman Catholics, a monastery having been tolerated on the express condition that its inmates should make no demonstration outside the walls. Encouraged by outside parties, the monks had violated this understanding in 1607. They were roughly handled, as might have been expected, by the Protestant population. This furnished a pretext for Maximilian, to whom Donauwörth had long been an eyesore. He laid the matter before the emperor. Donauwörth was put under the imperial ban, and Maximilian was given the privilege of dealing with it according to his own good pleasure. He invaded the city with an army about equal to the population, and insisted on holding it until he had been reimbursed for his outlay in occupying it. He established Catholic worship in the churches, and quartered his soldiers on the population to convert them to the Catholic faith. To secure and execute such an imperial decree was considered by the Protestants a gross violation of the rights of the Protestant electors, who had not been consulted. The aggressiveness of Ferdinand and Maximilian thoroughly alarmed the Protestant princes. The result was the formation, in 1609, of an Evangelical Union, composed of the Duke of Württemberg, Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

Ernst of Anspach, Frederick, Marquis of Dürlach, Christian of Anhalt, most of the imperial cities, and Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate. The leading spirit of the union was Christian of Anhalt, the nominal head was Frederick of the Palatinate. The Elector of Saxony and some other princes held aloof, largely, no doubt, from the active part that was being taken by the Calvinist leaders, Christian and Frederick. The Roman Catholic princes promptly met this effort at organizing for protection against Roman Catholic aggression by the organization of the Catholic League. Maximilian of Bavaria was the leading spirit, and was made chief in authority under the emperor. The other more prominent members were the Electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Würtzburg, and Aichstedt, and the Archdukes of Austria. The co-operation of the pope and the King of Spain was sought, and to some extent secured. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel—to their shame be it said—by assuming a hostile attitude toward the Evangelical Union supported the Catholic League, and to some extent identified themselves with this organization. The Elector of Saxony seems to have hoped to secure for himself the duchy of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg, by his co-operation with the league.

Almost contemporary with the troubles at Donauworth and the organization of the union and the league, was the attempt of the Emperor Rudolf II. to suppress the Protestants in Bohemia, Silesia, etc., followed by a great uprising of the Protestants, and the granting of the Royal Charter (1609) guaranteeing full religious liberty, providing for a Protestant Parliament or body of Defensors, and placing at the disposal of Protestants the old and famous University of Prague.

Perhaps no circumstance did more to precipitate the struggle than the dispute over the succession to the Duchy of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg. These are all small territories bordering on the Protestant Netherlands, and though insignificant in themselves, their situation was such as to make the succession a matter of the utmost importance to the Netherlands, to France, to Spain and Austria, and to the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes of

Germany. Early in 1609 the Duke of Cleves died without issue. Among the nine or more claimants to succession, the Elector of Brandenburg and the son of the Duke of Neuberg had the advantage of all others. Each tried to secure the support of the leading powers interested, and when the Emperor Rudolf sent the Archduke Leopold to take possession of the territory in the name of the emperor, and commanded all subjects of the empire to recognize his authority, the two Lutheran claimants were induced to join hands in opposition to the common enemy. War broke out, in which several Catholic and several Protestant powers had some part. Henry IV. of France had decided to send a large army, and hoped to be able to strike a decisive blow at the growing pretensions of the house of Austria. His assassination by a Jesuit prevented his active intervention, although his successor sent twelve thousand infantry and a contingent of cavalry to the assistance of the Lutheran claimants. The breaking out of war in Hungary and Bohemia prevented the emperor from maintaining his position in Jülich-Cleves. He invested the Elector of Saxony with the succession to the duchy, and left him to settle the matter with the two other claimants. Having with the aid of France and the United Netherlands repelled their Roman Catholic enemies, it remained for the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Neuberg to settle between themselves the question of ownership. The duke proposed to settle the matter by marrying the daughter of his rival. The elector was indignant and boxed the duke's ears. The result of this personal encounter was momentous. The duke renounced Protestanism, married a daughter of Maximilian, and became a stanch member of the League. The elector, having no hope of Lutheran aid, owing to the pretensions of the Elector of Saxony, turned Calvinist, and became one of the most active members of the Union. A little later the dispute as to the duchy was decided by dividing the territory between the two chief claimants. This dispute came very near precipitating the great war.

In 1612 Rudolf died, and was succeeded by his brother Matthias, who had been for some years king of Bohemia and Hungary, and regent for his imbecile brother Rudolf.

Matthias had made use of the Protestants for his own ambitious ends, and had doubtless encouraged them in their insubordination. He too was growing old and feeble, and the Austrian princes put forward Ferdinand of Styria as his successor in 1617. There was considerable hesitation about recognizing Ferdinand as king of Bohemia on the part of the Protestant nobles; but they finally yielded to the inevitable. Ferdinand at once began to put in practice his Jesuit principles. Though fully resolved to extirpate Protestantism, he allowed himself to sign the Royal Charter guaranteeing the liberty of the Bohemian Protestants. From this time onward there was a growing feeling of discontent among the Protestant nobles, who felt that they were ignored in the government, and that the confidential advisers of the emperor and the king were their bitter enemies. This discontent was intensified by the oppressive conduct of the Roman Catholics, with the connivance of Matthias and Ferdinand, in refusing to the Protestants the use of certain churches they had erected. At Bruneau and Klostergrab, both of which were, in the view of the Protestants, in the royal domains, and so within territory where freedom of worship was guaranteed by the charter, buildings had been recently erected. From the former the Protestants were rigorously excluded; the walls of the latter were demolished. The Protestant Defensors met in Diet and appealed to the government for redress of grievances. Their appeal was treated with contempt. The Protestants were thoroughly exasperated. Under the leadership of Count Thurn, a reckless, impetuous German-Bohemian, violent resistance was decided upon. The emperor and the king were both absent from Prague, seeking to secure the allegiance of the Hungarians, who were thoroughly Protestant, and who had during some years showed small respect for the authority of the emperor. The counselors of the emperor were held responsible for the indignities and outrages that had been perpetrated upon the Protestants. It was decided that a body of Protestant nobles, with Thurn at their head, should force themselves into the apartments of the counselors, demand of them a direct answer as to the source of the ob-

noxious proceedings, and in case of refusal to give full satisfaction should employ violence. One of the most obnoxious ministers had left the city. Martinitz and Slawata were accosted. On refusal to give the information demanded of them, they were seized and hurled from the windows into the moat, seventy or eighty feet below. Their secretary, Fabricius, remonstrated, and was similarly dealt with. Marvelously, all escaped without even a broken bone. When they were seen rising and trying to escape many shots were fired at them from the windows, but not one took effect. The Protestant nobles at once took possession of the city, established a provisional government, and compelled the citizens to swear allegiance to the new government. The throwing from the windows was the beginning of Bohemia's woe. It precipitated a struggle which must have come sooner or later between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant powers of Europe, a struggle that was destined to last for nearly a generation, that was to deluge the continent with blood, that was to cause an amount of human woe that is absolutely incomputable, that was to destroy property to an extent we can scarcely conceive of, that was to leave central Europe almost a desolation.

2. *The Conflict (1618–1648).*

(1) *Frederick and Ferdinand.* The Protestants soon had a small and poorly equipped army in the field. After months of indecision and inaction, Matthias and Ferdinand had come to appreciate the fact that force must be met by force. The Bohemian Protestants appealed to the Evangelical Union ; Matthias and Ferdinand appealed to the Catholic League. Frederick of the Palatinate and Christian of Anhalt took a deep interest in the cause of the Protestant Bohemians, and soon had armies in the field. They induced the Duke of Savoy to interest himself in the Protestant cause. He sent Count Mansfeld, a soldier of fortune, with a small army. Silesia soon joined the Bohemian Protestants in the struggle. Moravia, under the advice of the noble-minded, but perhaps too peace-loving, Protestant statesman, Zerotin, refused for some time to take part in the Protestant strug-

gle. The Elector of Saxony counseled peace, and would give no aid to the cause of the Bohemians. Frederick of the Palatinate was son-in-law of James I. of England, and it was expected that for Frederick's sake James would furnish material aid to the Protestant cause, especially when it was proposed to make his son-in-law king of Bohemia. Several reasons prevented James from responding favorably to the solicitations of the German Protestants: *a*. His income was never equal to his own supposed necessities; *b*. he was a stanch defender of the divine right of kings, and thought the effort of the Bohemians to dethrone Ferdinand unwarrantable; *c*. he was planning a Spanish match for his son Charles and did not wish to become embroiled with the house of Hapsburg; *d*. he had little taste for warlike enterprises. The Evangelical Union, apart from Christian of Anhalt and Frederick, took little interest in the conflict. The Dutch sent a little money, but were not in a position to do more. At one time Ferdinand was on the very brink of ruin, and had it not been for his Jesuit training he would doubtless have yielded to the demands of the Protestants, and have withdrawn from the conflict, leaving the entire empire in the hands of the Protestant aristocracy. Besieged in Vienna, where he was supported by only a few hundred troops, Thurn thought he had him at his mercy; and if he had not stopped to parley with him might easily have destroyed him. Ferdinand's dogged refusal to compromise his position stood him in good stead. Relief arrived, and his enemies were glad to make good their own escape. Matthias died about this time (Mar., 1619). Through the inability of Frederick of the Palatinate and the Elector John George of Saxony to agree upon any common basis of action in the interest of Protestantism, Ferdinand was elected emperor in August following. Two days before, the Bohemian Protestants, having repudiated the claims of Ferdinand to the Bohemian crown, had elected Frederick King of Bohemia. The war was now well under way. Maximilian of Bavaria, who, up to 1620, had held aloof from the controversy, now threw himself into the conflict with all his powers. By this time Spain also was ready to support with an army and with treasure the

cause of Ferdinand. John George of Saxony, Lutheran though he was, could not endure to see Frederick succeed in so ambitious a scheme as that of adding Bohemia, and perhaps the rest of the territory of the house of Austria, to his hereditary possessions, and thus to have his own relative position dwarfed. Having secured from the Catholic League assurances that Protestantism would not be interfered with in his own territory, he joined hands with the Catholics in war against Frederick and the Bohemians. Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown against the advice of James of England, the Prince of Orange, and all the electors. The result it would not have required prophetic foresight to have foretold. By this time Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, Lusatia, and Austria were all in rebellion against Ferdinand, but he had the resources and the trained armies of Spain and Bavaria at his back, besides the help of the Protestant Elector of Saxony. The Bavarian army was led by Tilly, one of the most honorable and one of the most accomplished generals of the age. The Spanish army had for its head the famous Spinola, who had had his training in the Netherland wars. Frederick must depend very largely upon his own limited resources, and upon the resources of the Protestants of Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Christian of Anhalt, one of the ablest statesmen of the time, was faithful to him; but success, under existing circumstances, was altogether out of the question. While he was in Austria contending with the armies of Ferdinand and Maximilian, led by Buquoi and Tilly, and suffering terrible defeat at their hands, his own Palatinate was being ravaged by the Spanish army under Spinola. Mansfeld fortified himself in the mountains of Bohemia, where the Taborites in the Hussite wars had defended themselves so valiantly, and as long as he could maintain his army by plundering the towns and villages within his reach and by laying waste the agricultural regions far and wide, he was by no means anxious for peace. In fact, when Frederick was in a position to sue for peace, and when peace might have been had on pretty favorable terms, Mansfeld's independent position was the chief obstacle. Probably no greater mistake occurred from

the beginning to the end of the war than that of committing to this unprincipled but able general the defense of the Protestant cause. It is doubtful whether the combined forces of Tilly and Buquoi, terrible as were their ravages, caused a greater amount of desolation than did the army of Mansfeld, which was ostensibly maintaining the cause of the Bohemian people. When Mansfeld transferred his army to the Palatinate, and when, in addition to his other allies, Christian of Braunschweig and the Margrave of Baden-Dürlach had taken the field in support of Frederick's cause, prospects seemed brighter for a time; but, in June, 1622, after other serious reverses had been suffered by Frederick's allies, Mansfeld's army was almost annihilated in the battle of Höchst. This was a decisive blow. Frederick retired to Sedan, and gave expression to his feeling of ruin in a letter full of pathos to his wife: "Would to God," he wrote, "that we possessed a little corner of the earth where we could rest together in peace." A meeting of the princes favorable to the imperial cause transferred the electorate of the Palatinate to Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the victory over Frederick was chiefly due. But even now Mansfeld refused to quit the field. With a valorous remnant of his army, soon recruited by adventurous spirits, he was opposed to peace except on terms sure not to be granted. Christian of Braunschweig was equally determined to continue the struggle. They remained in Alsace until the resources of the country within their reach were exhausted. Thence they went to Lorraine and lived on plunder as long as they could. They were invited thence to the Protestant Netherlands to assist in troubles with Spain renewed by the Jülich-Cleves affair already referred to. When they were no longer wanted there Mansfeld betook himself to Westphalia and East Friesland, and Christian to Lower Saxony.

(2) *Ferdinand Extirpates Protestantism.* It need scarcely be said that Ferdinand followed up his victories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire by vigorous measures for the extirpation of Protestantism. The Jesuits were on hand in full force to aid in the terrible work. This is not the place to describe the process by which Protestants,

who in Bohemia at the beginning of the war constituted eighty per cent. of the population, were in an incredibly short time almost wholly exterminated. The Counter-Reformation did its work here with an amazing thoroughness. Roman Catholicism had an opportunity here to exhibit itself in its true character. The time for expediency had ended. The rigid carrying out of the principles of the body now had place.

(3) *England, France, Denmark, and Sweden succor the Protestant Cause.* If any of those interested flattered themselves that peace was at hand, they were destined to be sorely disappointed. What had gone before was as child's play in comparison with what was to come. Apart from the determination of Mansfeld and Christian of Braunschweig to maintain their armies at the public expense, the Lutheran princes of North Germany and of Denmark and Sweden were becoming alarmed. The ruthless way in which the Counter-Reformation was being carried out in Austria and its dependencies opened their eyes to the possibility and the probability that similar methods would be employed in the North as soon as a suitable opportunity should occur. The transference of the electorate of the Palatinate to the ablest, most determined, and most aggressive of the Catholic rulers, the close bond that united him with Ferdinand, and the intimate relation—natural, religious, and political—in which Ferdinand stood to Spain, could not fail to convince even John George of Saxony, who heretofore had thrown his influence on the imperial side and had resolutely held aloof from actual participation in the conflict, that Protestantism was in imminent danger. In 1624, the negotiations which had long been pending between England and Spain looking to the marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish infanta, and to the restoration of the Palatinate to James' son-in-law, Frederick, were broken off. England was now free to deal with continental questions on their merits. Moreover, a marriage alliance had now been formed with France, and both England and France were jealous of the growing power of the house of Hapsburg. An agreement was reached between England and France to unite in sending an army under Mansfeld to the Palatinate. This

attempt to succor the Protestant cause proved abortive. France refused to allow the twelve thousand English troops under Mansfeld to pass through French territory, and the king of England proved unable to furnish money for the maintenance of the army after it had with great difficulty reached the scene of proposed operations. Left destitute in the midst of winter the English troops died by thousands.

But already there were looming up in the distance interests and personages that were certain to play a great part in working out the destiny of Europe. Cardinal Richelieu was coming into power as the prime minister of Louis XIII., of France. He was far more a statesman than an ecclesiastic. Magnificent schemes of French aggrandizement from the first floated before his vision. While he had no sympathy with Protestantism and did what he could for its destruction in France, he would sooner have left Germany Protestant than suffer the interests of France to be jeopardized by the Spanish and Austrian branches of the house of Hapsburg. From now onward Richelieu is to be regarded as one of the elemental forces in the great conflict.

But of even greater immediate importance was the resolve of Christian of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus to come to the rescue of the imperilled Protestant cause. Prolonged negotiations took place with a view to uniting England, Denmark, and Sweden in a vigorous movement against Ferdinand and Maximilian. Gustavus was the noblest and ablest of the Protestant rulers of the age. He combined statesmanship of the highest order with the rarest military strategy and courage. Few military men of history have had their powers in more complete control, and few men have ever shown more ability to understand the complicated problems of their age. He knew how to act with promptness and expedition, when such action was called for, and he knew just as well how patiently to bide his time, when circumstances required patience. He was withal an earnest consistent Christian and Protestant, and he sincerely lamented the downtrodden condition of Protestantism in the Austrian dependencies. Charles I. found it utterly impossible to carry out his part of the agreement that had been reached.

He lacked the confidence of Parliament, and Parliament was resolutely opposed to voting large sums of money for continental wars. Gustavus was unwilling to precipitate the conflict, until he should make sure of the means of success. His realization of the seriousness of the undertaking and his unwillingness to run dangerous risks are well expressed in the following sentences, with reference to the proposal of Christian of Denmark to enter at once and without proper assurance of support on the perilous undertaking:

> But if any one thinks it easy to make war against the most powerful potentate in Europe, and upon one too who has the support of Spain and of so many of the German princes, besides being supported, in a word, with the whole strength of the Roman Catholic alliance; and if he thinks it easy to bring into common action so many minds, each having in view his own separate object and to regain for their own masters so many lands out of the power of those who tenaciously hold them, we shall be quite willing to leave to him the glory of his achievement, and all its accompanying advantages.

Gustavus felt obliged to hold aloof until he could see such an amount of co-operation as would give a chance of success. The less statesmanlike Christian of Denmark took the field with Mansfeld and an uncertain English subsidy as his principal support. Even Protestant Germany was not yet ready to enter heartily into the war against the emperor. The cities especially were opposed to the continuance of war.

(4) *Wallenstein.* Another great military figure now came to the front on the imperial side. Assailed in the east by Bethlen Gabor, the Protestant prince of Transylvania, who was aided by the Turks, deprived for the time of active Spanish support, with Denmark supported by England actively engaged against him, with France likely at any decisive crisis to throw her whole strength on the side of his enemies, Ferdinand felt keenly the need of reinforcement. Wallenstein, a Bohemian of Protestant parentage, had been trained by the Jesuits and had already shown extraordinary military ability. He proposed to Ferdinand to raise and to support, without subsidy from the imperial exchequer, an army of twenty thousand or more in the imperial interest. Next

to Gustavus Adolphus he was the most brilliant military leader of the Thirty Years' War. From this time onward he was the chief dependence of Ferdinand. As his operations were more extensive than those of Mansfeld had been, and as he had a larger army to maintain, his campaigns were by so much the more destructive. Like Mansfeld, Wallenstein supposed he had a vested right in the perpetuation of war, and he could dictate terms even to the greatest potentate in Europe.

Space forbids our attempting anything like a detailed narrative of the campaigns of 1625–1628. Wallenstein came more and more into prominence. Military operations extended from Hungary to the Baltic. Christian of Denmark was ably sustained by Mansfeld and Christian of Braunschweig. Christian died soon after the battle of the Bridge of Dessau, April, 1626. Mansfeld died a few months later in Hungary, whither he had gone to assist the redoubtable Bethlen Gabor. The oppressive measures of Wallenstein made him a terror even to those who favored the imperial cause, and Ferdinand himself tried in vain to restrain him. There was no denying that the decisive victories that had been achieved for the imperial cause had been due to the great brigand. Ferdinand and Wallenstein attempted to treat with the Hanse towns of Northern Germany, holding out to them tempting promises of trade monopoly with Spain, and other advantages. But they knew too well what it would mean to be at the mercy of the rapacious soldier and the bigoted emperor. By the close of 1627 nearly all the Baltic towns were in the hands of Wallenstein. Stralsund held out and gained an important victory over its besiegers. The inhabitants had bound themselves by oath to spend the last drop of their blood, if need be, in defending their religion and their liberty. Sweden came to the rescue. The reverse suffered by Wallenstein was of decisive historical importance. War with the Huguenots prevented France from taking an active part in the war against the emperor. Charles I. of England had espoused the cause of the French Protestants,—the only creditable act of his life, so far as we are aware,—and co-operation of French and English in opposition to the house of Hapsburg was for the present out of the

question. Peace was made in 1628, and Richelieu was once more free to take a hand in German politics. The Protestants gained another decisive victory at the siege of Glückstadt in January, 1629, over the combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein. The influence of Sweden and Gustavus Adolphus was beginning to tell in favor of the Protestant cause. Seeing that if he carried on the war further, he must do it in dependence on Gustavus Adolphus, and unwilling to take a secondary place, as he knew he must if Gustavus entered heartily into the struggle, Christian of Denmark hastened now to make peace with the emperor on as favorable terms to himself as he could.

The Peace of Lübeck has little historical significance. Christian was to receive back all his hereditary possessions and to surrender all claim to certain of the bishoprics for whose possession he had contended.

(5) *The Edict of Restitution* (*1629*). Encouraged by the success of the Counter-Reformation in his Austro-Hungarian domains and in the Palatinate under Maximilian's rule, and by the success of Wallenstein's and Tilly's arms on the Baltic and elsewhere, Ferdinand now thought it opportune to promulgate his policy with reference to the conquered portions of Germany. The Edict of Restitution, March, 1629, restored to the Roman Catholics "the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the twelve bishoprics of Minden, Virden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Misnia, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, and Camin, with about a hundred and twenty smaller ecclesiastical foundations." These foundations, we must remember, had been appropriated by the Protestants since the Augsburg Treaty.

(6) *Gustavus Adolphus*. But if the emperor and his friends imagined that the struggle was reaching its end they were soon to be sorely disappointed. We are now approaching the most momentous period of the conflict. Richelieu, having made peace with the Huguenots, led in person an army of twenty thousand into Italy to compel the King of Spain and the Emperor Ferdinand to grant to a French prince his hereditary right of succession. This business was soon dispatched and he was

ready to use the resources of France for the humbling of Ferdinand. Gustavus had made peace with Poland and was now eager for the fray. John George of Saxony saw at last that his only safety lay in taking up the defense of Protestantism and in joining hands with Gustavus. Wallenstein had increased his army to one hundred thousand, and was becoming so odious to the princes who were loyal to the emperor that his dismissal was urgently demanded. The Protestant Netherlands were again aggressive, having gained decided advantages in recent years over Spain. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Margrave of Hesse-Cassel, along with many of the less influential nobles, saw themselves compelled to choose between Ferdinand and the Edict of Restitution, and Gustavus Adolphus with a firm French alliance against the imperial cause. It is easy to see, without going into further detail, that the fortunes of Protestantism were rising and that the imperial cause was becoming beset with discouragement. It would be a pleasure to describe the splendid tactics of Gustavus during the years 1630–1632. It was a period of almost uninterrupted success. The battle of Leipzig, in which Gustavus gained almost a complete victory over the veterans of Tilly, gave the noble Swede a prestige that rendered future victories easy. Wallenstein congratulated him on his victory and proposed to enter his service. If Gustavus would place him at the head of twelve thousand Swedes he would chase his former master across the Alps and would divide the riches of the Jesuits among the soldiers. Among many other conquests was that of Donauwörth, which had been cruelly wrested from the Protestants a few years before by Maximilian. In another engagement Tilly was slain. Before the end of 1631 all Germany, except the hereditary possessions of the house of Austria, was in the power of the Swedish king. John George of Saxony marched through Bohemia almost without resistance. There seemed no limit to that which Gustavus could accomplish. The cause of the emperor was growing desperate. Is it to be wondered at that he felt compelled to make terms with Wallenstein, who had just been pleading for an opportunity to drive him beyond the Alps, or that he

should have given to this crafty soldier the dictatorship? The two greatest soldiers of the age were now arrayed against each other. Wallenstein tried in vain, at least for the present, to entice the Elector of Saxony from his allegiance to Gustavus. After a number of not very important or very decisive engagements, the battle of Lützen was fought November 16, 1633. Wallenstein was strongly entrenched and had greatly the advantage as regards position. After singing Luther's hymn, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," and engaging in other acts of worship under Gustavus' direction, the Swedish army made the assault. Gustavus refused to put on armor, and as he set forth he looked heavenward saying, "Now, in God's name, Jesus, give us to-day to fight for the honor of thy holy name." He then waved his sword and gave the command, "Forward." He was shot to pieces; but the victory was won. Just as the Protestant cause seemed to be triumphant, the only man who could command the Protestant forces was taken away. The victory had been gained at too great a price. We can scarcely exonerate Gustavus from blame in thus recklessly sacrificing the hopes of the Protestant cause.

Wallenstein was soon at cross purposes with Ferdinand. He insisted on making terms with the Protestants which Ferdinand was too good a Catholic to grant. He now succeeded in seducing the Elector of Saxony from his support of Protestantism by leading him to believe that he had power, even against the will of Ferdinand, to re-organize Europe on a liberal basis which would guarantee to Protestants their rights. It was no more than the elector deserved, when he was ruined by the Swedes a few years later. Wallenstein refused to fall in with Ferdinand's scheme, which involved more and more dependence on Spain. He tried again to make terms with Sweden, and would, no doubt, have been willing again to join with the Protestants in driving the emperor beyond the Alps. Ferdinand once more threw him off. He retired to a garrison supposed to be faithful to him. Some Scotch soldiers who, though Protestants, had been fighting the battles of the emperor, determined on his assassination. An Irishman named Devereux

was deputed to commit the crime. Thus passed away the most striking character of the age from the scene of mortal conflict, February 25, 1634. In September of the same year a decisive battle, resulting in favor of the emperor, was fought at Nördlingen, Bavaria. The influence of France became greater and greater as the war advanced and the great leaders were one by one removed; and French intervention was not much more palatable to Germans then than now.

(7) *The Peace of Prague* (*1635*). In May, 1635, another peace—the Peace of Prague—was attempted. The emperor agreed to abandon the Edict of Restitution, or rather to make the date for determining the ownership of church property 1624 instead of 1555. This arrangement left the Palatinate in the hands of the Catholics. Most of the Northern bishoprics were to be given to Protestants. Lusatia was to be ceded to the elector of Saxony and Protestantism was to be protected in Silesia. Calvinism was excluded from recognition, as in the Augsburg Treaty. This treaty failed to satisfy Sweden, France, and the Calvinistic princes. The French and the Swedes won many important victories. By 1643 the fires of war had well-nigh burned out. Negotiations looking toward the pacification of Europe now began. The situation was as complicated as can be readily conceived. Conflicting interests and conflicting demands were so numerous and so intractable as often to fill with discouragement those who were seeking a basis of settlement.

(8) *The Peace of Westphalia* (*1648*). The Peace of Westphalia was the final result. This was signed by plenipotentiaries of the various sovereigns concerned on the 24th of October, 1648. As it marks the close of the most destructive war of history, so it was the most influential treaty ever made. There were in reality two treaties signed on the same day, the one at Münster, the other at Osnabrück. The former was between the emperor and the King of France and his allies, and the latter between the emperor and the Queen of Sweden and her allies. They are substantially the same. Their substance can be given only in a condensed form. The treaties guaranteed "a peace Christian, universal, and

perpetual, and a friendship true and sincere," between the contending parties and their allies, each party pledging itself to "observe and cultivate sincerely and seriously this peace and friendship," and each to be zealous for the "utility, honor, and advantage of the other." The various nations were to perform the part of good neighbors one toward the other. There was to be a perpetual forgetting of past differences and a universal amnesty. Anything tending to awaken ill feeling was to be studiously avoided. To Maximilian of Bavaria the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity were given in perpetuity. An eighth electorate connected with the Lower Palatinate was created in favor of the son of Frederick. Sweden received Western Pomerania, with the control of the mouths of the great German rivers. The Elector of Brandenburg received Eastern Pomerania, together with the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Camin, and Minden, and part of Magdeburg. Denmark received the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, with the control of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. France secured Alsace, the city of Strasburg and certain vassals of the empire being excepted, and the bishoprics of Metz, Verdun, and Toul. Switzerland and the Protestant Netherlands were recognized as free and independent countries. Provision was made for paying off the armies, which, without a satisfactory settlement of past claims, would hardly have consented to the peace. The religious settlement was much like that of the Augsburg treaty, only it was far more definite, and made full provision for the recognition of Calvinism. It still belonged to the prince to determine the religion of his subjects, and to tolerate or exclude dissent according to his own good pleasure. The year 1627 was now fixed upon as the date of reckoning, as regards the possession of ecclesiastical property. This left the northern bishoprics in Protestant hands. The war had taught Protestants and Catholics alike, that nothing could be gained by violent efforts to exterminate each other. Both parties were now willing to live and let live. The proselytizing spirit was, for a time at least, almost extinct. Each civil ruler could now feel that his right to his territory was undisputed, and was guaranteed to him by the most solemn

covenants of all concerned. Each ecclesiastical party could feel sure that no rival party was plotting its ruin, and it was now possible, as it had not been before, for two or three forms of religion to exist peaceably side by side. The universal longing for peace that prevailed, and the universal and profound joy with which the peace was greeted, we can scarcely appreciate unless we are able to realize the horrors of the war. The papal nuncio, Fabiana Chigi, to use the language of the Jesuit Bougeant, pleaded, protested, fulminated against the bishops and Catholics who were present at the signing of the treaty. The pope, finally seeing that all the remonstrances of his nuncio were in vain, himself published a protestation in the form of a bull, in which he represents the treaties of Münster and of Osnabrück as "prejudicial to the Catholic religion, to the divine worship, to the Apostolic Roman See—in granting to heretics and their successors, among other things ecclesiastical goods, in permitting to heretics the free exercise of religion, the right to ecclesiastical offices, dignities," etc., and declares them "perpetually null, void, of no effect, iniquitous, unjust, condemned, reproved, frivolous, without force and effect," and declares that no one is bound to observe their provisions. So little regard did Rome have for the peace and happiness of Europe, and so determined was she to leave herself free, for the future as in the past, to use every available means for the destruction of all religious opposition!

The extent of the destruction of life through the Thirty Years' War cannot be estimated. If we take into account the multitudes who died of starvation and exposure, the hundreds of thousands of women and children who were slain in the sacking and destroying of the towns and cities, the fearful waste of life that must have been involved in camp-following, the deaths caused by the war would amount to many millions. In Bohemia, at the beginning of the war, there was a population of two million, of whom about eight-tenths were Protestant; at the close of the war there were about eight hundred thousand Catholics and no Protestants. Taking Germany and Austria together, we may safely say that the population was reduced by one-half, if not by two-thirds.

And the deaths were in most cases the result of untold sufferings and as horrible as we can conceive. So far as the cities and towns were not utterly destroyed, they were the mere shadows of what they had been. Their buildings were dilapidated and large numbers of them unoccupied. Business of all kinds had been almost entirely destroyed. Agriculture had equally suffered. Live stock had been almost exterminated; farming implements had become scarce and rude. Desolation was everywhere.

The physical deterioration of the people must have been very marked. It is pretty evident that there had been a decided intellectual, moral, and physical decline between the beginning of the Reformation and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War; this process was greatly promoted by the war. The persistent, universal, and destructive plundering of the peasants left multitudes of women and children to die of starvation or to become camp-followers. An army of forty thousand is said to have had a loathsome camp-following of one hundred and forty thousand. The misery and the moral ruin involved in such a state of things, who can describe? There is no reason to think that the army mentioned was exceptional in the number of camp-followers.

Education and all the arts of civilization except war must have suffered enormously. But enough. We are prompted to inquire whether this war was a necessity; whether this was the only way in which Protestants and Catholics could be taught to respect each other's rights? We cannot answer; but we have grave reason for doubting whether the destroyer of old evangelical Christianity and the father of the great politico-ecclesiastical Protestant movement, which called forth the Counter-Reformation and the Jesuits, and which directly and indirectly led to the Thirty Years' War, was after all as great a benefactor of the human race and promoter of the kingdom of Christ as has commonly been supposed.

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Fletcher, "Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggles of Protestantism for Existence," 1891; Fey, "*Gustav Adolph im Lichte der Geschichte*," 1894; Dodge, "Gustavus Adolphus," 1895; articles, "Ferdinand II.," "Maximilian," "Waldstein," "Gustav Adolf," "Tilly," "Richelieu," etc., in Hauck-Herzog.

APPENDIX

IN the unexpurgated editions of Luther's "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*" the following passages occur:

Videamus itaque de impotentia. Quaero casum ejusmodi, si mulier impotenti nupta viro nec possit nec velit forte tot testimoniis et strepitibus, quot jura exigunt, judicialiter impotentiam viri probare, velit tamen prolem habere, aut non possit continere, et ego consuluissem, ut divortium a viro impetret ad nubendum alteri, contenta, quod ipsius et mariti conscientia et experientia abunde testes sunt impotentiae illius; vir autem nolit, tum ego ultra consulam, ut cum consensu viri (cum jam non sit maritus, sed simplex et solutus cohabitator) misceatur alteri vel fratri mariti, occulto tamen matrimonio, et proles imputetur putativo (ut dicunt) patri. . . Ulterius, si vir nollet consentire nec dividi vellet, antequam permitterem eam uri aut adulterari, consulerem, ut contracto cum alio matrimonio aufugeret in locum ignotum et remotum. . . De divortio etiam versatur quaestio, an licitum est? Ego quidem detestor divortium, ut digamiam malim quam divortium, sed an liceat, ipse non audeo definire.

In the "*Sermo de Matrimonio*" (1522, "*Opera*" ed. *Vuitemberg.*, V., 123), after discussing other grounds for separation of husband and wife Luther continues:

Tertia ratio est, ubi alter alteri sese subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nollit, aut habitare cum renuerit. Reperiuntur enim interdum adeo pertinaces uxores, qui etiam si decies in libidinem prolabentur mariti pro sua duritia non curarent. Hic opportunum est ut maritus dicat "Si tu nolueris, alia volet." Si domina nolet, adveniat ancilla, ita tamen ut antea iterum et tertio uxorem admoneat maritus, et coram aliis ejus etiam pertinaciam detegat, ut publice et ante conspectum ecclesiae, duritia ejus et agnoscatur et reprehendatur. Si tum renuat, repudia eam, et in vicem Vasti, Ester surroga, Assueri regis exemplo.

PERIOD VI

THE ERA OF MODERN DENOMINATIONALISM
(A. D. 1648–1932)

CHAPTER I

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGE

I. TOLERATION AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

1. *Relation of the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution to Liberty of Conscience.*

THE principle of liberty of conscience was a constituent element of the mode of thought that dominated the Renaissance and its offspring, the Protestant Revolution. Most humanists were tolerant in a high degree. Repudiating as did the leaders of the Renaissance the theology of the schools and the authority of the papacy, insisting as they did on the direct application of the intellect to nature and to the great problems of philosophy and religion, and themselves skeptical on many points, they could feel no obligation to seek to enforce upon their neighbors any particular type of doctrine or practice. They believed that truth should be diligently searched for with the use of all the powers of the soul and all of the objective means available, and that each individual should be free to communicate to others the results of his researches.

The Protestant Revolution was in its essence a protest against the authority of the corrupt hierarchy in doctrine and in practice, and an assertion of the right of each believer, by the use of the means that God has placed within his reach, to determine for himself what he should believe, how he should worship, and how he should live. Yet Luther and Zwingli were led by temperament and exigencies that arose to persecute to the death earnest evangelical Christians who could not rest content with such reforms as were authorized by the civil authorities, while Calvin was led to establish a theocracy more exacting in relation to the belief and the moral and religious lives of the entire population than the Jewish or the Roman Catholic theocracy ever was.

Socinians were humanistic, and so were skeptical and tolerant; but their toleration principles and their tolerant practices were due to a weakness of conviction regarding any particular body of truth and their need of toleration for themselves, rather than to their conviction that absolute liberty of conscience is the inalienable right of every human being, and that the cause of truth and righteousness gains vastly more than it loses by allowing every man to think and teach what seems to him right.

The Anabaptists, like the mediæval evangelical parties whose principles they perpetuated, repudiated with the utmost decision any sort of interference by the secular authorities in matters of religion and the use of any other than moral means by individual Christians or churches for the enforcement of religious duties. Religious liberty, in its most comprehensive sense, was fundamental with Christians of this type. Many of them erred, however, in refusing to recognize civil government as necessary for Christians, and in making the holding of civil office a disqualification for church-membership.

2. *The Peace of Westphalia and Liberty of Conscience.*

Even the Peace of Westphalia (1648) did not involve anything approaching the recognition by the Continental powers concerned of the principle of liberty of conscience, which came much later and is not yet universally accepted. Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic princes agreed to tolerate each other, within carefully defined limits, not because they were tolerantly disposed, or were convinced that toleration was in accordance with the nature of the Christian religion, but because they realized that the pacification of Europe, urgently needed, could be no otherwise brought about. The papacy promptly repudiated the treaty as involving a recognition of the rights of others than Roman Catholics, and it has consistently taught and practised religious exclusiveness, and the use of force for securing religious uniformity and for the subjection of Christendom to the Roman See. Lutherans were still ready, as far as might be expedient, to persecute Catholics and Calvinists; while Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were of one

mind in their intolerant attitude toward Anabaptists and forms of Christianity that had not attained to the position of State Churches.

The present age is pre-eminently the age of toleration and of liberty of conscience, and modern denominationalism is one of the most important products of the gradual recognition of the rights of men of all shades of belief, so long as they conduct themselves in such a way as not to endanger public morals, to put in practice and to impress upon others their religious views.

Toleration, and still more a recognition of the righteousness and the practicability of allowing absolute liberty of conscience to all, while they are of the very essence of the religion of Christ, are so antagonistic to the unregenerate nature of man, and were, until comparatively recent times, so contrary to the experience of many centuries, that they must needs come slowly to common acceptance. Only a few individuals who had made up their minds to follow the principles of New Testament Christianity regardless of consequences, and who had come to regard the current social and civil arrangements as so little in accord with the spirit of Christianity as to be unworthy of perpetuation, were likely to venture upon the advocacy of these principles before they had been shown by experience to be practicable. Such were the Waldenses and related parties in the mediæval times and the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century.

3. *Influences that have Opposed the General Acceptance of the Principles of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.*

(1) *The Old Testament and Christianity.* The opinion generally prevailed at the beginning of the present period that the precept and example of the Old Testament regarding the treatment of dissenters from the established form of religion apply to Christianity as well as to Judaism. We have seen that the theocratic idea was as fully developed and as tenaciously held by the great Calvinistic bodies as by the Roman Catholic church or by the Jews of the ancient time. From this point of view toleration of error was not simply not required of Christians, but it was positively wicked.

(2) *Union of Church and State.* The union of Church

and State universally in vogue till toward the middle of the seventeenth century was regarded by those concerned with civil administration, no less than by those concerned with ecclesiastical administration, as of fundamental importance, and it was the unanimous conviction that toleration of dissent, to say nothing of the granting of full liberty of conscience, was incompatible with the successful maintenance of a State Church.

(3) *The Spirit of Conservatism.* The spirit of conservatism and the natural dislike of teachings and practices to which men are unaccustomed, and the great temptation to make use of force for the suppression of what is regarded as dangerous or troublesome, has furnished a mighty obstacle to the triumph of liberty of conscience.

4. *Influences that have Favored and Promoted the Recognition of the Right of Private Judgment.*

(1) *Humanism.* Humanistic insistence of the right of each individual to determine for himself by research what is truth in every realm of thought, and to act upon the results of such unfettered application of the mind to the facts of nature, the problems of being, and to matters of religion.

(2) *Voluntary Relationship.* The diffusion of the old evangelical view of religion as a purely voluntary relation of the believer to his God, and as completely outside the sphere of civil jurisdiction or social compulsion of any kind. This type of religious thought was perpetuated from the mediæval time by the Anabaptists, and was taken up and powerfully advocated by English Anti-pedobaptists (1609 onward), and was advocated with great power and consistency in America by Roger Williams and John Clarke (1638 onward), and by them successfully put in practice in Rhode Island.

(3) *Practicability of Toleration.* Demonstration of the practicability of the toleration of other than the established forms of religion by the actual practice of toleration under circumstances that made it necessary (as in Germany after the Peace of Westphalia, in England during the Cromwellian age, etc.).

(4) *The Scientific Spirit.* The pervasive influence of

the scientific spirit, which has encountered sharp antagonism in religious intolerance, and has been led thereby to assume a hostile attitude toward religion in general, has operated powerfully against the persecution of dissenting forms of Christianity.

II. MODERN DENOMINATIONALISM.

Modern denominationalism is, no doubt, the most characteristic feature of the present period. It was impossible for denominationalism, as it has existed since the middle of the seventeenth century, to flourish without a certain measure of toleration. With the growth of toleration and the emergence of liberty of conscience it was sure to flourish.

1. *The Rise of Modern Denominationalism Synchronizes with the Peace of Westphalia.*

The Peace of Westphalia, involving, as it did, the recognition by Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Zwinglians of the right of each other to exist, within carefully defined limits, is rightly regarded as forming an epoch in European church history. It synchronized closely with the failure of the Puritan (Presbyterian) party in England, which had recently overthrown, along with the tyrannical government of Charles I., the corrupt and intolerant prelatical government of which Archbishop Laud was the chief representative, to enforce its views on England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the triumph of the Independents (Congregationalists and Baptists), led by Cromwell, with the recognition of the right of all evangelical Christians not disloyal to the government to carry on their work without interference and even with the encouragement of the State.

2. *Is the Tendency of Protestantism Toward Endless Divisions?*

It is a favorite method with Roman Catholic polemicists to make much of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church and to exaggerate the tendency of Protestantism to endless division into sects. It should be remembered that the unity of the Roman Church during the

mediæval time was more apparent than real. Various schools of thought (nominalism, realism, conceptualism, etc.), and various religious orders, representing varying conceptions of Christian life, were tolerated side by side so long as the authority of the church was not impeached. Since the Council of Trent, far less of religious liberty has been allowed, but throughout the present period distinct schools of thought and types of life have ever existed within its communion. It is true that Protestantism has, from the beginning, manifested a divisive spirit. The principle of freedom of thought, fundamental in evangelical Christianity, involves the right of each individual believer to reach his own conclusions after carefully considering with all his powers the facts within his reach and to impress upon others the truths of which he has become convinced. Men of light and leading who have reached conclusions of fundamental importance not otherwise sufficiently recognized have become the founders of great evangelical denominations; while ill-balanced enthusiasts and fanatics have never failed to find a considerable number ready to follow them in their wildest vagaries.

The fact that there are at present in the United States over a hundred more or less distinct denominations is of less importance than the statement would seem to imply. Many of these number in their membership only a few thousands, and are dwindling rapidly away. The great mass of non-Catholic Christians are gathered in a few great denominations which, by reason of their important services in the past and of the principles that they continue to emphasize, meet a widely felt popular need; and by reason of the fact that their churches have been planted in almost every community, their strong institutions for the conservation and the propagation of their principles have been established, and a social prestige that has enabled them to influence large elements of the population has been gained, they will long continue their distinct existence.

A Christian denomination with a noble history, with great institutions, and with a large body of learned and forceful men devoted to its maintenance, is one of the most indestructible of social organisms.

Side by side with the centrifugal tendency of Protestantism, that allows each individual who reaches peculiar views to form a denomination if he can gain sufficient followers, is a mighty centripetal tendency toward the unification of religious thought and life. Among the agencies that are at work in this direction may be mentioned such institutions as the Evangelical Alliance, in which all evangelical denominations meet on a footing of equality and emphasize the points in which they can join forces against Romanism and infidelity; the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, in which the features of evangelical Christianity which the various denominations hold in common are magnified and the sectarian spirit is deprecated; the Young Men's Christian Association, which is equally careful to put into the background the peculiar teachings of the various denominations; the almost universal reading by members of the various denominations of the religious books and periodicals of the others; the frequency with which members of one denomination attend the ministry of members of others; the co-operation of members of all the leading denominations in social reform and philanthropy; the frequent intermarriages between members of the various denominations; the education of members of various denominations in great undenominational universities, etc.

III. OTHER FEATURES OF THE AGE.

1. It has been beyond any other period an age of *missionary endeavor*. The missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church had been organized and was being vigorously conducted through the monastic orders before the beginning of the present period. The Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren, during the later Middle Ages, were essentially missionary organizations and their work was widespread and effective. The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century followed in the footsteps of these mediæval parties in giving to missionary effort the foremost place in their thoughts and their endeavors, and where they had an opportunity to perfect their organization, as in Moravia and the Netherlands, their work was conducted systematically and effectively and

extended throughout Europe. The Lutherans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while they put forth much earnest effort for the diffusion of their principles, had no distinctively missionary organization. Calvinists, with Geneva as a great rallying point, sent forth multitudes of earnest men to evangelize among Catholic populations, but no missionary society was organized during the preceding period. Now all the great bodies of evangelical Christians are vying with each other not only in reaching with evangelizing influences the neglected elements of the populations in the lands that they occupy, but in sending the gospel through consecrated and well-trained missionaries into every part of the great heathen world and to countries in which corrupt forms of Christianity have enslaved but not saved the people.

2. Never before did *practical philanthropy* assume anything like its present proportions. Roman Catholic beneficence, from the fourth century onward, was grounded on the supposition that almsgiving is a means of salvation. No doubt it did something for the relief of human misery, but it was conducted with so little wisdom as probably to produce as much misery as it relieved. It may be said in general that Protestantism is chiefly concerned with elevating men to a higher plane of living and by insisting on a pure morality preventing crime and misery, while Roman Catholicism, inefficient as a means of producing a high standard of living or preventing misery and crime, devotes its charitable efforts chiefly to the relief of actual misery and to making provision for the consequences of immorality and thriftlessness. Modern humanitarianism, in the good sense of the term, is the direct product of evangelical Christianity. Mediæval Roman Catholicism was little less cruel than the paganism that it supplanted, and modern Roman Catholicism in its Spanish and Jesuitized forms has probably equaled in cruelty any class of pagans that ever existed. Evangelical Christianity, emphasizing as it does love for man as man, tends powerfully toward the prevention of cruel disposition and act and greatly promotes kindness and gentleness of character.

3. The present period coincides pretty closely with

the age of *scientific research* and its marvelous results. Modern science is a product of the Renaissance, though it made little progress until after the beginning of the present period. It has gone hand in hand with evangelical Christianity, though some of its leaders have been unbelievers and some evangelical Christians have denied the right of scientific research and especially the right to promulgate its results. It is coming to be more and more clearly seen that true science and true religion cannot possibly be contradictory the one to the other, and that such hostility as has existed has been due to imperfection in the one or the other or in both, or imperfect understanding of each by the other. As science becomes more complete and religion as doctrine and life becomes more perfectly accordant with the nature and will of God, we may expect that all seeming lack of harmony between the two will disappear. The pervasive influence of the scientific thought of the age on Christian thought and life and the large and growing number of devout Christians who are deeply interested in natural science are among the striking and characteristic facts of the present age. That Christians should endow scientific research and that many Christian institutions of learning should devote more of their resources to scientific than to religious instruction is characteristic of the spirit of the age.

4. Closely related to the growing consciousness of harmony between natural science and evangelical Christianity has been the application of *the historical method* to the study of religious doctrine and life. This has been manifest in the study of the Scriptures in relation to the histories and religions of contemporary peoples, the study of Christian doctrine and life throughout the Christian centuries in their relation to the thought and life by which Christianity has been surrounded, the study of Christian institutions in connection with the circumstances under which they have arisen and in comparison with the institutions of other religious systems, and in the comparative study of religions with a view to reaching a true philosophy of religion. It is not to be supposed that such comparative study of religions is always conducted with right motives and true methods, or that

its results are always wholesome. But the historical method is good and the ultimate result of its application to every department of life and thought cannot fail to produce beneficent results.

5. The wonderful progress that evangelical Christianity has made in the world during the present period, and the rapidity with which it is still advancing, and the growing pervasiveness of its influence on civilization, notwithstanding the imperfection with which it has been understood, lived, and taught by most of its adherents, constitute the most conclusive evidence of its divine character and furnish the fullest assurance of its ultimate triumph. It is becoming more and more evident that Christianity is not only the true religion, but that it is the highest philosophy, and that the only satisfactory philosophy of history is that which it involves. Progress is the keyword to the understanding of history and Christianity is the embodiment of the principle of progress.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

I. THE POPES OF THE MODERN PERIOD

LITERATURE: Ranke, "*Die röm. Päpste*," *Bd.* III., 1869 (also Eng. tr.); Walch, "*Entwurf einer Historie d. röm. Päpste*," 1758; Alzog, "Universal Ch. Hist.," Vol. III. (Eng. tr.); Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neuesten Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* II., 3d. ed., 1883; Capefigue, "Louis XIV.," 1844; pertinent sections in the works on Ch. Hist. by Gieseler, Schröck, Sheldon, Hurst, Baur, etc.; articles on the various popes and other influential leaders, with full bibliographies, in Hauck-Herzog, Wetzer und Welte, McClintock and Strong, and Schaff-Herzog; and literature on the Jansenists, the Jesuits, the French Revolution, the Vatican Council, etc. The political histories of the various Catholic countries involved should be consulted in connection with contemporary papal history.

(1) *Pope Innocent X. (1644–1655)* was a feeble prelate, who in the absence of Donna Olympia Maidalchina, his brother's widow, felt "like a ship without a rudder." Donna Olympia's influence over him was so great that cardinals and others who wished for papal favors found it advantageous first to win her support. This relationship occasioned much scandal, but criminality was not proved. By his intemperate zeal against the Cardinal Barbarini, the nephew of Pope Urban VIII., who had placed himself under the protection of the King of France, he provoked the latter to send an army into Italy which speedily brought him to terms. He humiliated the Duke of Parma, who had treated with contempt his demand for the payment of dues, and who had caused to be slain the Bishop of Castro, whom he had sent to enforce his authority. His intervention in Spanish and Portuguese affairs was neither profitable nor creditable. His repudiation of the Peace of Westphalia in the bull *Zelo domus Dei* (November, 1648) was completely ineffective, but the bull is a monument of his intolerance and of his indifference to the peace of Europe.

Innocent's condemnation of the "Five Propositions,"

alleged to have been taken from Jansenius' "*Augustinus*," was to figure prominently in the controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists (see section on the Jansenist controversy), and was an act of subserviency to the French government under Cardinal Mazarin. Yet he supported the Fronde, representing an uprising of the Parliament of Paris, the clergy, and the nobles, under Cardinal Retz, against Mazarin.

To the last Donna Olympia retained her absolute control of the papal administration and kept Rome and Italy in perpetual unrest by her extortionate and corrupt procedures. When Innocent was dying she busied herself with getting possession of what valuables he had retained, and when he was dead she refused to bear the expense of his funeral on the ground that she was a poor widow. The Jesuits were too much occupied in Germany, Austria, France, Poland, etc., to exercise much influence on this administration, and, unless they could have gained an ascendency over Donna Olympia, they could in any case have accomplished little.

(2) *Alexander VII.* (*1655–1667*). As Fabio Chigi, he had represented the papal interests in the negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia, and had vehemently protested against any sort of compromise with heresy. Soon afterward he was made cardinal by Innocent and thenceforth participated influentially in the papal administration. The condemnation of the propositions of Jansenius was due chiefly to his zeal against heresy, Innocent X. having yielded somewhat reluctantly to his insistence. On the death of Innocent X. he was supported by the "Flying Squadron," the party in the Curia that demanded an aggressive and uncompromising policy in relation to heresy. The absorption of Innocent in promoting the interests of his family had occasioned much scandal, and the new pope prudently kept his relatives away from Rome during the first year of his pontificate. But the temptation to place them in positions of affluence and influence was greater than his power of resistance, especially when the Jesuit, Oliva, who had gained an ascendency over him, advised him strongly to yield.

It is worthy of note that Christine of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, the great champion of Prot-

estantism in the Thirty Years' War, became a Catholic, abandoned her country, and threw herself upon the pope's bounty. He was often sorely tried by her unreasonable demands upon his liberality.

He was in complete harmony with the Jesuits in his attitude toward Protestantism, and members of the society were highly influential in his administration. Oliva so won his confidence and support as to be appointed by him vicar of the general of the society some years before the death of the latter, who had become unacceptable to the rest of the officials and was thus practically set aside. In the controversy of the Jesuits with the Jansenists he gave to the former his heartiest support. He procured the restoration of the Jesuits who had been banished by the republic of Venice.

The refusal of the French ambassador to treat with consideration the pope's relatives led to a storming of his palace. This aroused the hostility of Louis XIV., already resentful because of Alexander's support of Retz and the Fronde against his government. The king denounced the outrage as unworthy even of barbarians, banished the papal nuncio, seized Avignon and Venaissins, and threatened to invade the States of the Church. Finding himself without political support, he felt obliged to yield to the hard and humiliating terms of the king.

Alexander followed the policy of Innocent in refusing to recognize Portugal's independence of Spain or to confirm the bishops appointed by the house of Braganza in defiance of the papacy. Although he had risen to power through his devotion to practical politics, as pope he preferred a literary life and delighted in association with literary men. By his extravagance he brought the papacy to a state of bankruptcy.

(3) *Clement IX.* (*1667–1669*) devoted himself zealously to the reformation of the papal finances, and was influential in bringing about the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 1668, and in allaying the Jansenist strife (*Pax Clementina*).

(4) *Clement X.* (*1670–1676*) was elected by the cardinals, after five months of partisan wire-pulling and balloting, as a very old man who could do little harm and whose early death would make way for another elec-

tion. The administration was conducted by Cardinal Paluzzi and was not wanting in vigor or in corrupt dealing. Paluzzi succeeded in again embroiling the papacy with Louis XIV., the bone of contention being the royal claims to the revenues of vacant benefices (*regalia*) which had long been recognized and acted upon.

(5) *Innocent XI.* (*1676–1689*). Venedetto Odescalchi (b. 1611) received his early education from the Jesuits, and was about to enter upon a military life when a cardinal persuaded him to accept employment in the Roman Curia. He was rapidly promoted from stage to stage until he became one of the most influential of the cardinals. He was greatly beloved by the Romans because of his simplicity and purity of character and his sincere devotion to the well-being of the people. He came to be known as the "father of the poor." In judicial decisions he was so impartial as to be free from any suspicion of corruptibility.

On the death of Clement X. he was elected pope, notwithstanding the determined opposition of Louis XIV. He accepted on the express condition that he should have a free hand in seeking to reform the papal administration and the lives of the Roman clergy.

He restricted the living expenses of the cardinals, abolished all sinecures, and bestowed not a farthing of the church's funds upon his relatives, whom he carefully excluded from any connection with his administration. He compelled those around him to conform to his simple mode of living, and required prelates outside of Rome to retrench their expenditures and restrict themselves to the proper duties of their offices. In making new appointments he insisted on evidence of good character and adequate education. He required the lower clergy to live morally, and, instead of attempting to deliver learned discourses, to preach to the people the crucified Christ and to give special attention to the moral and religious education of the young. He required the women and girls, on pain of excommunication, to dress modestly and to avoid all unseemly exposure of the person. Three years later he prohibited the learning or the practice of music by Roman women of the lower classes. Rigorous laws were enacted for the promotion

of morality among the men and playhouses were abolished.

In the rigor of his ethical code and in his profound religious earnestness, as well as in his theocratic ideas, he greatly resembled John Calvin. He condemned with the utmost sternness the immoral teachings of such Jesuits as Escobar, Suarez, and Busenbaum. He supported Tyrso Gonzalez in his efforts to suppress the doctrine of Probabilism among the Jesuits and procured his election as general of the society, but he incurred thereby the undying enmity of a large proportion of the members of the society. While he lived they shamefully slandered him and when dead they refused him their blessing. He sympathized to a considerable extent with the Spanish mystic Molinos, when he was attacked by the Jesuits and condemned by the Inquisition. But Molinos had treated the church's ceremonies and authority with such disrespect and had advocated a type of piety so remote from ecclesiasticism that the pope thought it best to confirm the action of the Inquisition, which declared sixty-five propositions from his writings heretical and blasphemous.

While he heartily approved of the exterminating measures of Louis XIV. against the Huguenots, culminating in the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685), he yet resolutely refused to accept the Gallican articles put forth by the French clergy (1682) under the direction of the king regarding *regalia* and the rights of the national church over against papal authority, and he could not be persuaded to confirm as bishops those who had been nominated by Louis as a reward for their subserviency.

When the king insisted on the pope's guaranteeing the immunity of French ambassadors to the papal court and their right to take refuge in the palace of the French legation when pursued by papal officers, Innocent issued a bull excommunicating any who should in the future claim the right of asylum. The king's ambassador, who had been excommunicated by the pope, entered Rome with a guard of eight hundred troops and the pope placed the Church of St. Louis, which he attended, under interdict. The ambassador felt obliged to withdraw, but the French nuncio was held as a prisoner. This so exas-

perated Louis that he seized the papal city of Avignon, prohibited the exportation of French money to Rome, and was on the point of having a French patriarch, independent of the pope, placed at the head of ecclesiastical administration. Innocent held his ground and persisted in refusing to recognize the king's newly appointed bishops, now thirty-five in number. As a way out of difficulty he suggested the intermediation of James II. of England in the dispute between himself and France, but this had no important result. He tried to dissuade James II. from rashly attempting an immediate restoration of Roman Catholicism in England and disapproved of the acts that brought about his downfall, and he even treated with marked coldness his ambassador, who visited Rome to secure the pope's co-operation in the conversion of England. He suspected in James devotion to political rather than religious interests, and feared an alliance between England and France which would be disadvantageous to the papacy.

A vacancy in the archiepiscopal electorate of Cologne brought Louis XIV. and Innocent XI. again into conflict. Louis favored the candidacy of Cardinal Fürstenberg, who was deeply indebted to him and would forward his political schemes. The pope supported Joseph Clemens, brother of the Elector of Bavaria, who also stood for Hapsburg interests. As no choice could be reached without papal intervention, Louis sent an ambassador to Rome to negotiate for the pope's support of his candidate. Innocent would not even confer with the ambassador. Joseph Clemens was elected, and the fact that James II. co-operated with Louis XIV. in this matter confirmed the pope in his suspicion regarding his motives. It was suspected that Innocent even promoted the supplanting of James by William of Orange. Certain it is that the approaching overthrow of James was known in Rome before it had become assured in England. When the dethroned king appealed to the pope for aid he was coolly informed that nothing could be done for him. His friendship for Louis XIV. had destroyed his chances of papal favor. When Louis XIV. sought to win the electorate for Fürstenberg by armed force he was met by an offensive alliance (May, 1689) of Eng-

land, the empire, and Spain, supported by the pope. Innocent was greatly concerned for the stability of the empire. He secured an alliance of the empire, Poland, and Venice against the Turks, whereby the latter were driven from Hungary.

From what has been here recorded it is evident that Innocent XI. was one of the ablest and best of the popes. The hostility of France long frustrated the purposes of his successors to canonize him. He deserves credit for having materially aided in preventing Louis XIV. from carrying out his schemes of aggrandizement and for having consistently striven for the peace of Europe.

(6) *Alexander VIII.* (*1689–1691*) as cardinal had supported the French interests, and he owed his election to Louis XIV., who had neglected no means for enlisting in his cause a majority of the cardinals. Louis XIV. was at this time in sore straits because of a powerful coalition that had been formed against him, and he regarded papal support as almost indispensable. He restored Avignon to the papacy and renounced the right of making the palace of the French legation in Rome a place of refuge for fugitives from papal justice. The pope, in turn, confirmed the French bishops who had been active in the promulgation of the four Gallican articles that had occasioned most of the trouble between Louis XIV. and Innocent XI., and to whom the latter had persistently refused recognition. He required of them not a retraction of the articles as their private opinion, but only a renunciation of them as binding on the French church. Louis objected to their making even this concession, and Alexander was led to assume the attitude of his predecessor and to absolve the French clergy from their oath to the king in connection with the Gallican liberties. He gained popularity in Rome by his abounding liberality, but scandalized right-thinking people by his shameless nepotism. His chief merit lies in the fact that he condemned the new doctrine of "philosophical sin," that was being promulgated in the schools of the Jesuits. A "philosophical sin" is one committed without a clearly conscious design of offending God or breaking his law, and therefore of little gravity and easily remissible. He enriched the Vatican library by

the purchase of the library of Christina, queen of Sweden, which was especially rich in manuscripts.

(7) *Innocent XII.* (*1691–1700*). Born of a distinguished family of Neapolitan nobles (1615) Antonio Pignatelli, when only twenty years old, entered the papal service. He was created cardinal by Innocent XI. (1681). After a prolonged struggle between Hapsburg and French factions in the Conclave for the election of a successor to Alexander VIII., Pignatelli was elected as a compromise candidate. Though he had been educated by the Jesuits, he was, from principle or from policy, a rigorous moralist. Like Innocent XI., he took a firm stand against nepotism, declaring that the poor were his "nephews." He was so lavish in his distribution of gratuities to the poor that on his return to the city after journeys thousands would go out for miles to meet him, crying, "There comes the father of the poor," and would insist on bearing his palanquin. He turned a portion of the Lateran palace into a hospital and made special provision for the education of poor young men.

He sought to restrict the nepotism of his successors by decreeing in a Bull (*Romanum decet Pontificem*), that no pope has the right under any pretext whatever to bestow the money, goods, or offices of the church upon his relatives. In case such are absolutely without means they should take their places along with the rest of the almoners of the church. In case, on the ground of merit, a relative of a pope should be made cardinal, his income should be restricted to twelve thousand scudi. He insisted that all present and future cardinals should take an oath to observe this constitution in case they should be elected to the papal office. He further renounced for himself and his successors the right to sell ecclesiastical offices and dignities and undertook to refund moneys received in this way. Without increasing the taxes he was able by simplicity of living to meet these expenses and expend large sums in philanthropy. He enforced his rigorous moral regulations without respect of persons. A number of Roman noblemen were banished. Women addicted to gambling were thrown into prison. He prohibited the acceptance of bribes by the judges and established a central tribunal (*Curia Innocentiana*) in

place of the numerous ill-regulated and corrupt courts of the city. He attempted to reform the monasteries, but met with bitter and determined opposition.

He scored an important victory in France in the permission given to the French bishops by Louis XIV. (1693) to express to the pope their disapproval of the four Gallican articles of 1682 and their sorrow for having participated in this act of insubordination. Innocent, in turn, gave his approval and blessing to French bishops who had been appointed since the breach of 1682. At the instance of Bossuet the pope reluctantly condemned twenty-three propositions from a work of Fénélon's on the inner life. While he relieved from disabilities some clergy in the Netherlands who had been suspected (but not convicted) of Jansenism, he took pains to make it known that he had no idea of receding from the position taken by his predecessors respecting the five propositions as belonging to Jansen and as heretical in Jansen's sense.

The good understanding that had come about between the pope and Louis XIV. bore fruit in the papal approval of the succession of the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis, to the Spanish throne. This decision reversed the policy of the popes since Urban VIII., who had invariably supported the house of Hapsburg. The change was due, no doubt, to the fact that the relations between the Roman Curia and Austria had for some time been lacking in cordiality owing to the renewal by the latter of claims to the right renounced under Innocent XI. to protect fugitives from papal justice, and the offensive assumption of precedence by the Austrian ambassador in a certain procession.

Nothing, it is probable, gave to Innocent XII. more joy than the conversion to the Roman Catholic Church of the elector Frederick Augustus of Saxony, who hoped thereby to further his designs upon the Polish crown.

(8) *Clement XI.* (*1700–1721*) was learned and statesmanlike and had many of the virtues of Innocent XI. He made considerable effort to reform the papal administration. Though not elected through French influence, he was friendly to France. In the war of the Spanish succession, while affecting neutrality, he secretly sup-

ported the Bourbons. His relations with the emperor, Joseph I., became so strained in consequence that he threatened him with excommunication, but the invasion of the States of the Church by an imperial army soon brought him to terms (1709), so that he felt obliged to recognize Charles III. as King of Spain and to renounce his claims to Comacchio, Parma, and Modena. This subserviency to the emperor aroused Louis XIV. and Philip of Anjou against the pope.

A controversy was raging between the Jesuits and the Dominicans regarding the conduct of the former in their missionary work in China. It was claimed by the Dominicans that the Jesuits adopted pagan customs, allowed their converts to worship idols after covering them with the cross, and devoted themselves more to secular pursuits than to religious. In this controversy Clement supported the Dominicans against the Jesuits. Yet in their controversy with the Jansenists he zealously supported the Jesuits and promoted their interests by establishing (1718) the festival of the Immaculate Conception.

(9) *Innocent XIII.* (*1721–1724*) belonged to an ancient Italian family that had produced more than one pontiff (among them Innocent III.). For a number of years (1697–1710) he was papal nuncio in Portugal, where he had come into sharp conflict with the Jesuits, who finally drove him from the country. Elected pope, partly through the Hapsburg interests, he invested the emperor, Charles VI., with Naples, and received from him the oath of fidelity. But he took issue with the emperor regarding his right to invest Don Carlos, a Spanish prince, with Parma and Piacenza, which was claimed as papal territory. The controversy between the Dominicans and the Jesuits regarding the Chinese missions was still raging. He withdrew from the Jesuits the right of conducting a mission in China, and was on the point of abolishing the order, but he contented himself with prohibiting the reception of new members. Clement XI. had caused much dissatisfaction among the anti-Jesuit (moderately Jansenistic) clergy of France and the Netherlands by the promulgation of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, which condemned as Jansenistic one hundred and one propositions from Quesnel's " New Testament,"

a work held in high esteem by this party. Innocent, when cardinal, had been understood to disapprove of this measure. In 1720 seven French bishops asked for the revocation of the constitution, but he censured them severely and required of them and the French clergy unconditional acceptance. The emperor, Charles VI., objected to the enforcement of the constitution in the Netherlands, and for a time the pope agreed to suspend its operation, but later the emperor, by reason of a *quid pro quo* in the way of papal political support, withdrew his objection, and persecution was renewed in 1723. Innocent granted a pension to the English Pretender (James III.) and promised him a large subsidy in case he should find an opportunity to raise a rebellion against the existing government.

(10) *Benedict XIII.* (*1724–1730*). A member of the Orsini family (b. 1649), Pietro Francisco had been a cardinal since 1672. He devoted much of his leisure to theological study and writing and published a number of learned works. He made some ineffective efforts to restrain the luxury of the prelates. The Lateran Council (1725) enacted severe penalties for prelatical extravagance and maladministration, but these were never enforced. The council confirmed the Constitution *Unigenitus* and strengthened the hands of the Jesuits against the Jansenists of France and the Netherlands. But to appease the Dominicans Benedict gave them (in the Bull *Pretiosus in conspectu Dei*, 1727) the privilege of teaching without let or hindrance the doctrines of Augustine.

His political administration was exceedingly feeble. Political negotiations he committed to Cardinal Coscia, who was lacking in statesmanship and brought nothing but humiliation to his superior. Disputes with the emperor regarding ecclesiastical administration in Sicily and with the King of Sardinia respecting the appointment of prelates resulted in papal defeat. When the Lucerne authorities drove from his post an unworthy priest and insisted on permitting the reading of the German Bible and the translation of the church service into German, he attempted to compel the restoration of the priest and the observance of the old order, but he found himself

powerless and felt obliged to yield. The financial administration was disastrous, and the tyranny of Cardinal Coscia brought hatred and contempt upon the pope.

(11) *Clement XII.* (*1730–1740*), a Florentine noble of the Corsini family (b. 1652), was already a feeble old man when appointed pope, and in his hand the papacy failed to hold its own as a political power. Charles III. of Naples and Philip V. of Spain introduced reforms that greatly limited the papal prerogative. In France the influence of Jansenism reappeared in scientific and literary attack on the papacy. Clement was ambitious for the extension of the Catholic faith and zealous in promoting foreign missions. He made himself ridiculous by offering to the Protestant princes of Germany the secularized Catholic estates if they would only return to the Catholic faith (the Bull *Sedes Apostolica*).

(12) *Benedict XIV.* (*1740–1758*), a member of the Lambertini family of Bologna (b. 1675), was highly educated in law and theology, and is equally distinguished as an author and an ecclesiastical statesman. As Cardinal-archbishop of Bologna (1731) he was greatly beloved because of his charity and his devotion to the moral and spiritual improvement of clergy and people. The conclave that elected him was divided into Austrian, French, and Spanish factions. After six months of wire-pulling and intrigue and many ineffective ballots, Lambertini was chosen, and, in honor of his former patron, Benedict XIII., he assumed the same name. He was a man of talent and character and often bewailed the fact that he had to "row against a stream of lies." He was inclined to be cynical and sometimes frivolous, but he devoted himself very zealously to the work of his office. He did much for the promotion of agriculture and trade in the States of the Church and introduced many economic reforms in the city.

He failed to secure from the King of Spain a withdrawal of his order prohibiting his subjects from studying in the Roman University. He secured the good-will of the King of Portugal by according to him the right of nomination to all vacant bishoprics and abbacies, and declared him "the most faithful of all kings." He settled the trouble with the King of Naples by yielding

to his demands. He pacified King Ferdinand V. of Spain by recognizing his right to nominate to all benefices in his dominions with the exception of fifty-two. In the war of the Austrian Succession he adopted the policy of neutrality. He greatly promoted the spread of the Roman Catholic faith in Hungary, yet he was the most tolerant of all popes toward Protestantism.

He was the first to recognize the Protestant Margrave of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, and he won thereby from Frederick I. an important concession, namely, that in all disputes among his Catholic subjects the Bishop of Breslau, as the vicar-general of the pope, should have the final decision. He had little disposition to persecute heretics and showed great moderation in his dealing with the Constitution *Unigenitus*.

In opposition to the Bishop of Paris, who insisted on withholding the sacrament from all who would not declare their acceptance of the constitution, he required in an encyclical of 1756 that all be admitted to communion who did not publicly condemn the constitution. The Jesuits, whose opposition he had already incurred by his condemnation of their heathenish practices in China and Malabar (Bulls *Ex quo singulari*, 1742, and *Omnium solicitudinum*, 1744), treated the encyclical with contempt, as they had ignored his requirement that "the Christian religion be preached purely and truly" in heathen lands. He made an earnest effort to lessen the number and the evils of church festivals and pilgrimages.

In 1750 he held a great Jubilee, to which even Protestants were invited, but they responded by a volley of publications sharply polemical. He devoted much attention to literary work and cultivated the society of the learned. Asseman's great catalogue of the Vatican library was prepared under his patronage and direction. He established learned societies for the study of Roman and Christian antiquities and church history. Among his last acts was an effort to reform the Society of Jesus, especially in Portugal.

(13) *Clement XIII.* (*1758–1769*), a member of the Rezzonico family (b. 1693), became cardinal in 1757, and had borne a high reputation for virtue and piety. Whether from his own conviction or by reason of the

dominating influence of Cardinal Torrezziani, he was from the beginning of his pontificate a stanch supporter of the Jesuits. Spain, Portugal, Sicily, and Naples had banished them because of their treasonable meddling in political matters. Clement (in the Bull *Apostolicum pascendi munus*, 1765) confirmed the institution of the order and commended it as useful and holy. In another Bull (*Animarum saluti*) he bestowed the highest praises on the society and put under an interdict the countries from which its members had been banished, restricting the performance of religious functions therein to Jesuits. This proceeding brought upon the papacy a storm of protest, and the pope was urged by cardinals to abandon the society.

He attempted to coerce the Duke of Parma, nephew of the King of Spain and grandson of the King of France, into subserviency to the church. Du Tillot, his minister, with the support of France, retaliated by imprisoning the Jesuits in the duchy. The kings of France and Spain (Bourbons) protested against the pope's support of rebels (Jesuits), demanded a recall of the offensive brief, and insisted upon the abolition of the society. The papal policy was sharply attacked by German prelates as well as by French and Spanish clergy and statesmen, and papal authority seemed almost at an end. Clement, however, proved unyielding, and declared that he was not aiming to please men, but God. He would rather lose everything than violate his oath of office or prove a traitor to the church. The pope was deprived by France of a part of his territorial possessions (Avignon, Venaissin, Castro, and Ronciglione). According to Carraccioli, he was on the point of yielding to overwhelming force and making the required concessions to the Bourbons when he suddenly died. It was suspected that he was poisoned by the Jesuits, whose cause he had championed, to save the situation.

(14) *Clement XIV.* (*1769–1774*). After three months of sharp intriguing between cardinals who were supporters of the Jesuits and those subservient to the Bourbons, the latter triumphed and Cardinal Ganganelli (b. 1705) was elected. The final decision was no doubt influenced by the threat of the French Cardinal De Bernis,

on behalf of his sovereign, that, in case the opposing party should make a choice not acceptable to France, he would be simply a bishop of Rome and not pope. Whether or not before his election he had pledged himself to the Bourbons to abolish the Jesuits is uncertain. His many attempted economic and social reforms were unsuccessful, and in some cases made bad worse. He lacked the cordial support of the cardinals, whom he deeply distrusted, and soon found himself almost without support in the Curia. The Jesuits did everything in their power to discredit him and to thwart his reformatory efforts.

If he had committed himself beforehand to the destruction of the order he was politic enough to hesitate for some time to carry his purpose into effect and to delay action until it might appear inevitable. The support of the society had brought the papacy into conflict with the chief Catholic powers, and if it was to be abolished the matter must be so managed as to secure from these powers as large concessions to the papacy as possible. He was so careful to commit himself to no one of the cardinals that his policy was then, and has to some extent continued, a mystery. Early in his pontificate he conferred upon the Jesuits certain new privileges for the sale of indulgences on the behalf of their mission work, and, when urged to abolish the society by the King of France, he refused, on the ground that he could not annul what nineteen of his predecessors had decreed in their favor. Yet he refused to the general of the society any access to his person.

He seemed to ignore the fact that Naples, Venice, the Electorate of Bavaria, Portugal, Mainz, and Austria had seriously infringed on the prerogative of the Roman Curia. The measures of his predecessor that had aroused the hostility of the Bourbons (the brief against Parma and the Bull *In Cœna Domini*), he revoked or omitted to enforce. In 1770 diplomatic relations were re-established with Portugal. France, Spain, and Naples still pressed for the abolition of the Jesuit Society, and threatened in case of the pope's refusal to withdraw from any relations with the papacy and to establish an independent patriarchate for the three kingdoms. Having made

up his mind to yield to this demand, the pope sought to secure guarantees that the powers would interfere no further with papal administration. Maria Theresa, of Austria, had become subservient to the Jesuits to such a degree that the pope was obliged by his spiritual authority to absolve her from their thraldom before she felt free to consent to the abolition of the society.

Clement was not yet ready to issue a Bull for its abolition, but preferred to test the sentiments of Christendom and the society's power of resistance by gradually depriving it of its means of exerting influence. His first step was to close the *Collegium Romanum*, the Roman Seminary, and the Jesuit houses throughout the States of the Church (1772). He next withdrew the protection and support that he had given to Jesuit exiles from Portugal. Finally, in the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster* (July 21, 1773), a carefully prepared document that had been submitted beforehand to the representatives of the Catholic powers, he decreed the abolition of the society. The utter badness and mischievousness of the society, the hopelessness of its reformation, and the impossibility of its ever again subserving the interests of the church, are set forth in language as drastic as their bitterest Protestant enemies could have wished. Papal coins were struck during the same year with the inscription, "Depart from me all of you, I never knew you."

Many of the bishops, even in the Bourbon States, had done their utmost for the protection of the society to which the Roman Catholic Church was so deeply indebted for its rehabilitation. It was only under pressure that seemed absolutely irresistible that any pope would have ventured upon so bold and revolutionary a step as the smiting to the ground of this great champion of the papacy. But this action having been determined upon as a political necessity, it must be justified in the eyes of Christendom by the admission of the truth of the terrible array of charges that had been made against the order by its Catholic opponents. The fact was and is that the Society of Jesus was then, and is to-day, neither better nor worse than the modern Roman Catholic Church, whose battles it has fought and whose policy it has shaped.

In Rome a number of Jesuit leaders were thrown into prison, and every precaution was taken to prevent members of the society from escaping with valuables and records. The Bull was everywhere greeted with joy, most Catholics having become convinced that the order was the promoter of strife and that its sacrifice was the price of peace and prosperity, and feeling that an incubus had been removed.

Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine of Russia, the one a Lutheran and the other a Greek Catholic, hoped by furnishing protection to these arch-enemies of everything antipapal to be able to use them for the discomfiture of the Bourbons. Evidently the Jesuits were not alone in their advocacy and practice of the doctrine that the end justifies the means, the civil rulers of Europe being almost as free in the choice of means for the accomplishment of ends deemed desirable as if Christian ethics had never been heard of.

The king of France promptly showed his appreciation of the subserviency of the pope by restoring the papal property that had been seized. Clement died the next year, and on general principles Jesuit poisoning was suspected.

(15) *Pius VI.* (*1775–1799*). Born (1717) of impoverished noble parents he was educated with reference to an ecclesiastical career, and in 1755 became secretary to Benedict XIV. His promotion thenceforth was rapid, and in 1766 he attained to the highly influential position of treasurer of the Papal Chancery. His fidelity and zeal in the financial administration proved so inconvenient to some of his influential opponents that they induced Clement XIV. to bestow upon him a cardinal's hat in order to be rid of him. As Cardinal Braschi he earnestly opposed Clement's measures against the Jesuits, and thereby incurred the pope's bitter resentment. It is related that the only word the pope ever addressed to him afterward were: "I want deeds, not words." His private life was by no means free from scandal, and those who opposed his candidacy for the papal office did not hesitate to bring against him the gravest charges. To weaken the force of the criticism to which he had been subjected he began his pontifical career with an

effort to reform the morals and to abate the luxury of the Roman clergy. Naturally his reformatory measures were not taken very seriously, and clerical life remained much as it had long been. He refused to confirm the Bull of his predecessor against the Jesuits and encouraged the society to maintain its organization and to continue its work in Prussia and Russia.

In 1781 the Emperor Joseph II. prohibited all connection between monastic orders in his dominion and foreign monastic officials. The pope visited the imperial court to negotiate for better terms, but was treated disrespectfully by Kaunitz, the imperial secretary of State, and could gain no concession from the government. In 1783 the emperor appointed a new Archbishop of Milan without having secured the pope's approval, and when the pope refused to confirm the appointment he was informed by Kaunitz that the matter could be attended to by a provincial synod. The pope threatened to punish the emperor's contumacy by excommunicating him. The emperor returned the insolent letter and demanded the punishment of its writer. A conference in Rome between pope and emperor (1783) resulted in no better understanding. In the following year the emperor restricted the worship of relics and levied a tax on pilgrimages to shrines, etc. In 1785 he ordered the removal of side-altars from the churches, and in 1786 caused the introduction of the vernacular into the church services. A revolution in Belgium withdrew the attention of the emperor from the execution of these reforming measures, and with his death in 1790 they were abandoned. The rumblings of the French Revolution would probably have deterred him, had his life been extended, from persisting in his policy of antagonizing the papacy.

Joseph II., one of the "benevolent despots," like Frederick the Great of Prussia, and several other sovereigns of the time, had become deeply imbued with the skepticism of the French school (Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, etc.), and cared little about religion in any form. That his opposition to the papacy met with little popular disapproval indicates clearly the widespread skepticism and indifferentism of the age.

The French Revolution (1789 onward) greatly increased the difficulties in which the papacy was involved.

Skepticism had made the great mass of the French people open-eyed to the corruptions and oppressions of the hierarchy, and had prepared them to see in the special exemptions and privileges of the church, no less than in those of the nobility, the cause of their many woes. That the property and privileges of the church should have been among the first objects of attack when the people rose in their might to demand "liberty, equality, and fraternity" is precisely what might have been expected; for the church had received its property and privileges at the hands of the monarchy (from Clovis or Louis I. to Louis XVI.), had wrought hand in hand with the monarchy for the crushing out of civil and religious liberty (Huguenots, etc.), and its prelates being for the most part members of noble families, appointed by royal favor without regard to religious qualifications, were as a class indifferent to the people's woes, and lived in luxurious ease at their expense. When fifty thousand French priests and one hundred and thirty-two French bishops refused to accept the Constitution of 1791, which Louis XVI. had felt constrained to approve, the pope issued a Bull denouncing the Constitution and prohibiting its acceptance by the French clergy. The French National Assembly retaliated by confiscating Avignon and Venaissin, papal possessions in France, and the pope was helpless. Excommunication and interdict had lost their force, for the people no longer believed that their temporal or spiritual well-being was in the hands of pope or priest, and they could smile at papal and prelatical anathemas. The confiscation of the estates of the church, the complete abrogation of ecclesiastical privileges, the proscription and persecution of the clergy because of their opposition to the revolution, and finally the legislative annihilation of the Christian religion with the attempt to obliterate all Christian institutions by changing the calendar, etc., grew out of the widespread popular conviction that the dominant form of Christianity, with which Christianity itself was identified, was the arch-enemy of human rights and the enslaver of men's bodies, minds, and consciences.

It should be noted that a large number of prelates and lower clergy cast in their lot with the revolutionary cause, among them the Abbé

Sieyès, the Abbé Gregoire, the archbishops of Vienne and Bordeaux, the bishops of Chartres, Coutance, Rhodez, and Autun (Talleyrand). Some of the members of the monastic orders, like Fouché and Chabot, became notorious for their fanatical support of the most extreme measures of the Republicans (Reign of Terror).

In 1795 Pius VI. joined the coalition of European powers against France and put an army of twelve thousand men in the field. Napoleon Buonaparte, at the head of the victorious French army, seized the pope's possessions in Bologna and Ferrara and compelled him to pay an indemnity of twenty-one million francs. When the pope resorted to efforts at evasion the indemnity was increased. In 1798 Rome was captured by the French, a republic was proclaimed, and the pope was taken to France as a prisoner, where he died, August, 1799.

Few popes have been more unfortunate than Pius VI. Though not distinguished for piety or morality, he was fully seized of the dignity of his position and the necessity of preserving intact the prerogatives that had come from centuries of conflict, and he did not quail before the mighty personality of the great Napoleon. No doubt he was statesman enough to foresee that the excesses of the Revolution would lead to a reaction that would more than counterbalance the humiliations and the losses of his own time.

(16) *Pius VII.* (*1800–1820*). Barnabas Louis Chiaramonti, son of Count Scipio Chiaramonti, was born August 14, 1740, and when sixteen years of age became a Benedictine monk. In due time he became an abbot in his order, and in 1785 he was made a member of the College of Cardinals by Pius VI., his relative. As cardinal he opposed the uncompromising attitude of the pope and the dominant faction in the Curia and expressed his hearty accord with the democratic aspirations of the Italian people. "Become out-and-out Christians," he said in a sermon (1797), "and you will also be thorough-going democrats." His attitude toward the Italian Republic (established by Napoleon in dependence on France) was not quite consistent, but in general he gave his support to the new *régime*. After months of delay he was unanimously elected to succeed Pius VI., whose papal name he adopted. The Napoleonic wars were still raging when

he entered upon his office. Three months after his election Napoleon became master of Italy through his victory over the Austrians at Marengo. In July, 1801, he succeeded in making a concordat with Napoleon, which involved the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in France with a reduction of the episcopate from a hundred and fifty-eight to sixty, the resignation of all existing French bishops, the right of Napoleon as first consul to nominate bishops, the payment of the clergy out of the State treasury, a recognition of the obligation of obedience to the civil government, the renunciation on the part of the pope of all claim to the confiscated estates and valuables in France, the forgiveness of priests who had married during the revolution, and the control of public worship by a civil council. All of the higher clergy were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the government and all appointments of parish clergy were subject to the approval of the government. The advantages on the papal side were largely neutralized by Napoleon's "Organic Articles," published in France simultaneously with the concordat. In the opinion of Consalvi, the pope's chief counselor, the concordat as interpreted by Napoleon turned the structure that had been erected with such an expenditure of time and diplomacy into a heap of ruins. These laws of Napoleon contained full regulations for the conduct of religious affairs in France and involved an almost complete ignoring of the Roman Curia. The pope protested, but in vain. Napoleon rapidly approaching the height of his glory had no idea of sharing his authority even in religious matters with another.

The pope's dissatisfaction with Napoleon's arbitrary and drastic methods did not prevent him from going to Paris to assist in the coronation of the first consul as emperor. The refusal of the pope to annul the marriage of Jerome Buonaparte to Miss Patterson, of Baltimore, was a grievous offense to Napoleon, thwarting as it did a cherished plan for the formation of another advantageous alliance with a royal family.

As early as 1805 Napoleon seems to have resolved upon the secularization of the States of the Church. In 1809 he annexed the papal territory to France, made of

Rome an imperial city, and by way of recompense to the pope provided him with an annual income of two million francs to be paid out of the imperial treasury. By this means he hoped to make the pope completely subservient to his own European interests. Pius' protest was answered promptly by his arrest and by his imprisonment in the fortress of Savona, on the gulf of Genoa. In 1812, as he was entering upon the Russian campaign, Napoleon had the pope brought to Fontainebleau and compelled him to sign a concordat to the effect that he would abandon his claim to the States of the Church and would make Avignon his place of residence (January, 1813). As soon as he felt free to do so the pope disowned the concordat, which he had signed under compulsion. Napoleon's aim in this measure was to repeat the proceeding of Philip the Fair at the beginning of the fourteenth century and by retaining the pope in France to use him more freely for imperial purposes, and to prevent him from meddling unduly in Italian politics. The failure of the Russian expedition and the destruction of Napoleon's prestige enabled Pius VII. to return to Rome (1814). An ovation awaited him there and rejoicing was general throughout Italy over Napoleon's fall as well as in most of the other countries that he had subjugated.

In August, 1814, feeling keenly the need of its aid in restoring the church to its former dignity and influence, Pius VII. re-established the Jesuit society which had so well maintained its organization and discipline that it was ready at once to enter upon the task of rehabilitating and directing the policy of the Roman Catholic Church. Under its influence the pope issued (1816) a Bull declaring Bible societies "a fiendish instrument for the undermining of the foundation of religion."

The policy of this pope was to a very large extent shaped by Cardinal Consalvi, who amid all the intrigues and disasters of the revolutionary period had been unswerving in his maintenance of the rights of the papacy. He was of noble parentage (b. 1757) and had been educated by the ex-Jesuit, Zaccaria, in a school which enjoyed the patronage of Pius VI., who took the young scholar into his service as soon as his education had been

completed. Immediately after his election Pius VII. committed to him the chief business of the office of secretary of State, and shortly afterward made him cardinal and official Secretary of State. From beginning to end Consalvi was the soul of the administration of Pius VII. He was declared by a Roman contemporary to be "a worthy successor of the political geniuses in the Roman court, who had been half swans and half foxes." It was further said of him, "if one would escape his sagacity it was not enough to keep silent, but it was necessary to avoid thinking in his presence." He had guarded the interests of the papacy as carefully as possible in the negotiations that led to the concordat of 1801, and had refused in 1809 to go with the other cardinals to Paris at Napoleon's bidding until actually forced to do so. He refused a pension of thirty thousand francs offered him by Napoleon, and showed by his words and actions how deeply he resented Napoleon's assumption of ecclesiastical authority and his determination to use the papal organization for his own purposes. By his obstinacy he incurred the wrath of Napoleon and was kept a prisoner until after the concordat of Fontainebleau (January, 1813). He disapproved of the concessions made in this concordat by the humiliated and discouraged pope. The protest that the pope made against the terms of the concordat under Consalvi's influence led to his further harassment by the emperor. He represented the papacy in the Congress of Vienna (1815) and was chiefly instrumental in rehabilitating the Roman Catholic Church after the revolution. It had been under his advice that the Jesuits were restored. On the death of Pius VII. he might have been expected to ascend the papal throne; but the Roman clergy and people were weary of his iron rule and the cry went up from the populace in the hearing of the Conclave: "Heaven save us from such a despot as Consalvi."

(17) *Leo XII.* (*1821–1829*) successor of Pius VII., was an Italian noble of the Genga family (b. 1760) who had been made cardinal in 1816 and had become a bitter adversary of Consalvi. Yet his policy did not differ essentially from that of the great diplomatist. Consalvi was not resentful, but gave to the new pope the benefit of his

deep insight into ecclesiastical politics and soon won his unbounded admiration. France, Spain, England, the South American Republics, etc., in their relations to the papacy, Consalvi knew to perfection, and the art of shrewd diplomacy and dissimulation no one could teach better than he. His wonderful knowledge of existing conditions and relations gave him deep insight into the future and enabled him in some measure to foresee the reaction in favor of the papacy that was to follow the French Revolution. The pope rewarded the aged statesman by making him Prefect of the Propaganda.

Leo permitted the publication of two writings that from motives of prudence Consalvi had disapproved, the one by the Dominican Anfossi, which insisted that the restoration to the papacy of the Patrimony of Peter was necessary to the salvation of those who had unrighteously appropriated it; the other by Fea, who sought to establish the *de jure* supremacy of the papacy over secular princes in worldly as well as in spiritual matters.

Before his elevation to the pontifical office Leo had figured as an opponent of the Jesuits. As pope he outdid his predecessor in showing them favor. He restored for them the *Collegium Romanum*, the *Oratorio del Caravita*, and the *Osservatorio Gregoriano*, and left nothing undone that would increase their efficiency as the foremost agency in the restoration and extension of ecclesiastical dominion.

Under Jesuit influence he issued (May, 1824) an Encyclical, in which he denounced modern forms of Christianity that call themselves "philosophical" and preach toleration and indifferentism, and Bible societies which are spreading themselves over the whole earth and in contempt of the prohibition of the church are translating or rather perverting the Holy Scriptures into the languages of the peoples, so that in them (the translated Scriptures) not Christ's, but man's, nay, the Devil's gospel is to be found.

In a brief published in 1826 he set forth his abhorrence of all non-Catholic Christians: "Every one separated from the Roman Catholic Church, however unblamable in other respects his life may be, because of this sole offense, that he is sundered from the unity of

Christ, has no part in eternal life; God's wrath hangs over him."

In 1824, following the advice of Consalvi, he proclaimed a jubilee in thankfulness to God for the suppression of the Revolution. Special indulgences were offered for prayers for the extirpation of heresy. In connection with the jubilee the Spanish Minorite Julianus, an intolerant fanatic, was canonized, and miracles (?) in St. Peter's (among them the flying of a half-roasted bird from a spit) attested the divine recognition of his saintlhood. Other canonizations, as that of the Jesuit Rodriguez and that of Gallantini, founder of the Congregation of Christian Instruction, showed clearly the reactionary and intolerant tendency of the administration. The jubilee was conducted with great pomp. The Propaganda rejoiced in the conversion on this occasion of one hundred and fifty Protestants and Jews. These conversions, we have reason to suspect, were deliberately arranged for and as regards their authenticity stand on the same plane as the miracle of the roasted bird. Everything possible was done to emphasize the importance of the victory that had been won by constituted authority, civil and ecclesiastical, over revolution. The Duke of Angoulême accepted with much ceremony the consecrated sword that Daun had received when in conflict with Frederick the Great. The Queen of Sardinia was the recipient of the golden rose. The indulgences connected with the jubilee were extended during the months that followed into other countries.

Leo succeeded in making concordats highly advantageous to the Roman See with the German, Dutch, South American, and other governments. Everywhere the spirit of reaction against revolution was manifest and the Roman Catholic Church came to be looked upon even by Protestant rulers and statesmen as a conservative force that could not safely be ignored.

Leo's secretary of State, Bernetti, was almost equal to Consalvi in astuteness. He affected such liberality of sentiment that Chevalier Bunsen, when residing in Rome as a member of the Prussian legation, became warmly attached to him, and when Bernetti visited England in the interests of English and Irish Catholics, Bunsen,

then Prussian ambassador at the Court of St. James, procured for him a cordial reception by leading Anglican churchmen whereby he was able in a measure to overcome the deep-seated aversion of the English people toward the Roman Curia. The emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland was not fully accomplished under Leo, but he prepared the way for the achievement of this important end under Gregory XVI.

The publication of Lamennais' essay on "Indifferentism in the Matter of Religion" (1817–1824) made a tremendous sensation and caused a remarkable revival of Ultramontane sentiment in France and elsewhere. His visit to Rome was triumphal. He declined a cardinal's hat offered to him by the pope. While courted by the pope he was regarded with marked disfavor by the Jesuits and the Sorbonne Faculty, who doubtless perceived underneath his fervid mysticism, which for the moment ministered or seemed to minister to enthusiastic devotion to the papal cause, those rationalistic and socialistic tendencies that led to the censure of his writings by Gregory XVI. and to his complete estrangement from the Roman Catholic faith. Lamennais died a pronounced free-thinker (1854).

The sufferings of Pius VII. and his heroic bearing during the revolutionary age had won for him a multitude of friends outside of the Roman Catholic Church. His most famous monument is the work of the Danish Protestant, Thorwaldsen. Leo, whose earlier life as an ecclesiastic had not been free from scandal, as pope lived ascetically, occupying with a cat for company an almost unfurnished room and eating almost nothing; yet because of his arrogance he became universally hated, princes and beggars vying with each other in their expressions of disapproval. Pius had risen to popularity on the floodtide of reaction against the anarchism and irreligion of the French Revolution. Leo was able for a while to ride upon the same floodtide; but the revolutionary reaction was absolutely beyond his control and he could not or would not adjust himself to the changing conditions. He was ambitious to be regarded as a reformer and introduced somewhat rigorous measures for the enforcement of moral living among the Roman clergy and the Roman women, re-

stricted the privileges of the Jews, and exercised a rigorous censorship over works of science. One of his press censors condemned a scientific work by Galvani on the supposition that its author was John Calvin. Popular opposition to the papal administration became so outspoken and violent that the prisons of the Inquisition had to be enlarged to accommodate the hordes of offenders (1826).

Meanwhile Ultramontane principles were being subjected in France, Belgium, Germany, etc., to a fierce literary onslaught. Richard Rothe, the famous Lutheran theologian, had become fascinated with the idea of the unity and ascetical piety of the Roman Catholic Church, under influences like those which produced the remarkable Romanizing revival in the Church of England (Tractarianism). A visit to Rome completely disenchanted him and produced in him the conviction that Rome knew nothing of the true spiritual life that belongs to evangelical Christianity. He became deeply conscious of the utter unscrupulousness and immorality of Roman Catholic polemics and propagandism.

The administration of Leo XII. was so unpopular and his person was an object of such general execration, that it was not unnatural that his death, which was an occasion of general rejoicing, should have been attributed to poisoning.

(18) *Pius VIII.* (*March, 1829–December, 1830*). As Cardinal Castaglioni (b. 1761) the new pope had suffered much from the French Revolution and Napoleon. He had been educated by the Jesuits and was one of the foremost canonists of the time. He had been made cardinal by Pius VII. in consideration of his valiant defense of papal rights. It is said to have been the wish of Pius VII. that Castiglioni should succeed him. His policy as pope was in general identical with that of the two preceding popes and the influence of the Jesuits was everywhere manifest.

Pius VIII. began his reign with a public denunciation of liberty of conscience, Bible societies, Freemasonry, and the Carbonari (the social democracy of Italy). During his brief pontificate Catholic emancipation (including the right of Catholics to sit in Parliament and to hold

civil offices) was completed in England (April, 1829), and the exodus to Rome from the Church of England, begun some time before, was greatly accelerated, especially among the clergy, the nobility, and the gentry.

During this year the Jesuits appointed a new general (the Belgian Roothan), who proved one of the most accomplished and effective in the history of the society. The work of the society grew so rapidly under his administration and by reason of the strong papal support given it that high administrative officers for France, Spain, Italy, and Germany were found necessary. They had a momentary triumph in France, whose Bourbon king, Charles X., is said to have been more popish than the pope and whose policy was thoroughly Jesuitical and Ultramontane; but the revolutionary reaction (July, 1830) was too mighty for the combined forces of pope, king, and Jesuits. The July revolution in France was followed by revolutionary proceedings in Belgium, Poland, Ireland, and several Protestant countries. The principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, that had been sternly repressed since 1815, had gathered energy for a fresh outbreak and no human power could hold them in check.

Lamennais won the approval of Pius VIII. by his radical Ultramontane utterances. His periodical, "*L'Avenir*" ("The Future"), was the organ of extreme Ultramontane opinion and his writings supplied ammunition for O'Connell, the Irish orator and agitator, and for many other lesser lights among Ultramontane propagandists. He designated Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) as the greatest patriarch of European liberty, and insisted that the popes of the present day may and should depose disobedient princes as in the mediæval time.

Under Pius VII., Prussia, through Niebuhr's diplomacy, had signed a concordat with the Roman Curia that conferred privileges upon Roman Catholics greater in some respects than those enjoyed by the evangelicals. The reckless use of these legalized privileges led to a controversy between Pius VIII. and Frederick William III. (1829–1830). In legalizing mixed marriages, the Prussian government had intended simply to bestow upon Roman Catholics a parity of privilege with the

evangelicals. The Prussian Catholics, following the instructions of the Roman Curia, would solemnize no marriage without a solemn promise on the part of the contracting parties that the children born of the marriage should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. The pope so far modified his previous position as simply to withhold the priestly benediction from those not making the required promise and giving them only passive assistance (*assistentia passiva*).

It was with the utmost reluctance that Pius VIII. consented to recognize Louis Philippe as king of the French and to permit the French bishops to take the oath of allegiance to him and to include his name in the prayers of the church. Already in feeble health when he was elected pope, his absorption in the great ecclesiastico-political questions of the time soon exhausted what vitality remained to him and he succumbed to the strain, December, 1830.

(19) *Gregory XVI.* (*1831–1846*). A member of the Venetian Cappellari family (b. 1765) and educated in Ultramontanism, the new pope had been since early youth an advocate of papal infallibility (1786). He had not been a leader in the College of Cardinals and was not among the prominent candidates for the papal office. When the supporters of the two great rival candidates despaired of securing a majority for their respective favorites, the choice of Cappellari was made as a compromise measure. The election was hastened by the urgent appeal of Austria in view of the revolution that was breaking out in central Italy.

The policy of non-intervention in Italian affairs by France or other powers, proclaimed by Louis Philippe, left the Italian democracy free to engage in revolutionary proceedings. Two days after the election of Gregory XVI. (February 4), revolution broke out in Bologna and the Italian tricolor was hoisted as a declaration that the dominion of the pope was at an end. From Bologna as a center the revolution spread to other parts of Italy. An unsuccessful attempt was made (February 12, 13) to arouse the Roman populace to revolution, and a short time afterward outside revolutionaries approached close to the gates of the city. Powerless to pacify turmoiled

Italy, the pope appealed to Austria, which was anxious for an opportunity to intervene in Italian affairs, and an Austrian army was soon in the field. The provisional government that had been established at Bologna by the revolutionaries was put to flight and most of the conspirators, including Louis Napoleon, were compelled to leave Italy.

By inviting Austria to aid in quelling the revolution, Gregory had incurred obligations to satisfy the demands of the Catholic powers for the reformation of papal administration in Italy. A papal edict (March 23) confirmed the lavish promises of reform that had been made by Bernetti, Secretary of State. The promised reforms not having appeared, the five great powers united in a memorandum of reforms thought to be essential to the maintenance of order in Italy. The reforms suggested embraced the admission of laymen to administrative and judicial positions, the leading of the communes through self-chosen counselors, the constitution of a body of provincial counselors, and a junta or administrative assembly of notables who should furnish a guarantee for continuity in the government. These reforms should not be limited to the districts threatened with revolution, but should be extended throughout the whole papal territory, including Rome.

Gregory pursued dilatory tactics and, as far as possible, ignored these demands for reform, but in 1832 he introduced important improvements in the ecclesiastical administration and promulgated a new code of laws. Various economic reforms were attempted. The courts were secularized and the administration of justice was considerably improved. Gregory was zealous in the fostering of learning, the fine arts, and the sciences. His friendliness to learning was manifested in his appointment of Angelo Mai, the great patristic scholar, and Mezzofanti, the phenomenal linguist, as cardinals.

Gregory showed that he was perpetuating the policy of his immediate predecessors by publishing (1832) an encyclical (*Mirari vos*), directed against Lamennais, now a pronounced liberal, and his school, and against the Belgian government that had recently declared itself in favor of religious liberty, which the pope pronounced

mere craziness (*deliramentum*). His sharp condemnation of the rationalism of the school of Hermes in Germany (1835) startled Germany. He gave every encouragement to the propagation of the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary without proclaiming it as a dogma.

An ill-advised letter to the French ambassador in Rome by Gregory's Secretary of State, Bernetti, reflecting on the Austrian government, found its way to the Austrian court and led to a demand for Bernetti's removal that could not safely be refused. He was succeeded by Lambruschini, a disciple of Consalvi, to whom the pope committed unreservedly the administration (1836). The intolerant and reactionary proceedings of Gregory were largely attributable to Lambruschini's influence. He made of little effect the concessions that had been granted to the Italian democracy, restricted the application of the amnesty that had been promised to the revolutionists, and refused to give municipal government to the city of Rome.

The remarkable victory of Gregory over the Prussian government in the matter of mixed marriages and in that of the Hermesian rationalism was due in large measure to the statesmanship of Lambruschini. The insubordination of Droste-Fischering, who by his professions of loyalty to the Prussian government and of his willingness to abide by the compromise arrangement regarding mixed marriages had been accepted by Frederick William III. as Archbishop of Cologne, but who once in the office had adopted an Ultramontane policy and had ignored the rights of the government to interfere with Roman Catholic administration in Prussia, so exasperated the king that the archbishop was removed from his office and thrown into prison. The immediate occasion of the strife was the effort of the archbishop, on behalf of the Roman Curia, to employ drastic measures for the suppression of rationalistic teaching in the Catholic faculty of the University of Bonn, which was supported by the government. This proceeding threw Prussia into a state of turmoil and brought upon the Prussian government the execration of the Roman Catholic world. Gregory XVI. protested most vehemently against this

interference with the freedom of the church. The death of Frederick William III. and the succession of Frederick William IV. gave an opportunity to the government to change the policy of antagonism to a policy of conciliation. The Archbishop of Cologne was not restored, but concessions were made to the Roman Curia in the matters that had occasioned the conflict which amounted to a victory for the papacy.

Gregory exerted himself to the utmost to save the Jesuits of France, who had incurred the disfavor of Louis Philippe and his minister, Thiers; but he felt obliged at last to acquiesce in their suppression (1845). Gregory is said to have practised a rigorous asceticism, sleeping very little and on the floor, eating the plainest food, and devoting much time to religious exercises. Filled with dark forebodings regarding the future of the papacy and of Italy, but consoled by the fact that the Romans were going wild over a favorite ballet dancer ("As long as my Romans applaud the appearing of a dancing girl, they make no revolutions"), he died June 1, 1846.

(20) *Pius IX. (1846–1878).* The successor of Gregory XVI., an Italian noble (Count Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferreti, b. 1792), had in his youth served in the French army, and had entered the papal service as early as 1823. He became Archbishop of Spoleto in 1827, and, in spite of his liberal views, that had become somewhat notorious, he was made cardinal by Gregory XVI. in 1840. He was elected pope with less than the usual amount of opposition, the Conclave requiring only two days to reach a decision. On the day of his coronation he is said to have remarked: "To-day persecution begins," and his pontificate was certainly a stormy one.

With a view to pacifying the States of the Church, which were still in a revolutionary condition, he proclaimed a universal amnesty, and emptied the prisons of their thousands of political victims. At the same time he inaugurated such measures of political reform as he thought calculated to meet the reasonable demands of the revolutionary party. A liberal Secretary of State was appointed, and a new Council of State made up of younger and more progressive prelates was provided for. Commissions were created for the reformation of the ad-

ministrative system and the revision of the laws. Conservatives were alarmed, but the populace cried, "Long live Pio Nono." But these measures soon proved to be inadequate, and agitation for constitutional liberty and Italian unity and independence was renewed. The social democracy ("Young Italians" or Mazzinists) urged the pope to lead a crusade of united Italy against Austrian domination, and when he refused they repudiated utterly his right to secular authority.

As a compromise measure he assented (March, 1848) to a new Roman Constitution and to the institution of a reform ministry, with the liberal statesman Mamiani at its head, and with only two clerical members. In the new Constitution the College of Cardinals formed a sort of senate, while matters of taxation and legislation were committed to two chambers. Large numbers of laymen were admitted to the civil service.

It must be remembered that the year 1848 was one of the most revolutionary since the close of the French Revolution (1789–1795). In all the leading countries of Europe spirited agitation for popular rights and constitutional government alarmed the conservatives and called for vigorous repressive measures. "On every side thrones and dynasties seemed tottering to ruin, and each day brought the news of another revolution" (Lodge). In Switzerland the radical party succeeded in reuniting all the cantons, Catholic and Protestant, into a well-ordered and compact confederation. The movement carried with it the abolition of the league of Roman Catholic cantons (Sonderbund) and the expulsion of the Jesuits. In Sardinia and Lombardy the Jesuits were expelled in response to the demands of the revolutionary party early in 1848. Naples and Sicily soon followed. Popular uprisings in Austria and Prussia extorted from the rulers important constitutional concessions, and necessitated the expulsion of the Jesuits, who were universally regarded as the arch-enemies of popular rights. In March, 1848, the Austrian democracy compelled Metternich, the great conservative statesman who more than any other man was responsible for the repressive measures adopted by the European powers (1815 onward) to relinquish the Austrian chancellorship and to leave Vienna. The terrified emperor saw no alternative to granting their demand for a constitution. A popular uprising in Berlin compelled Frederick William IV. to withdraw his troops from the city, and to promise parliamentary government (March, 1848), and led to the formation of a great German national union with a parliament elected by universal suffrage. This body met at Frankfurt-on-the-Main (May, 1848), but did not accomplish all that its promoters hoped for.

Encouraged by the seeming success of the popular

movement in Germany and Austria, the Italian provinces, including the States of the Church, rose in their might and drove the Austrian troops from Milan and Venice. The refusal of the pope to co-operate in the struggle for Italian independence and unity caused him to be looked upon as a traitor. He felt obliged to dismiss the Mamiani ministry, and to commit the public administration to the conservative Count Rossi. The assassination of Rossi (November 15, 1848) precipitated a crisis. The demand of the liberals for the appointment of a ministry in sympathy with Italian unity and freedom were so peremptory, and their attitude so threatening, that the pope was constrained (November 24, 1848) to leave the city and to take refuge at Gaëta, in the province of Naples. Mazzini, Mamiani, and Galetti, as statesmen, and Garibaldi as military chieftain, were at the head of the national liberal movement. Having frightened the pope away, they proclaimed a republic, with Galetti as chief minister and Mamiani as foreign minister. A constituent assembly elected by popular suffrage deprived the pope of his temporal power and confiscated all ecclesiastical property (February, 1849).

The appeal of the pope to the Catholic powers for intervention was responded to by France, which, though at that time a republic, was willing to avail itself of the opportunity to regain a foothold in Italy. Rome was wrested from the revolutionists by the French (July 3, 1849), and the Austrians succeeded in reoccupying the papal legations in the north of Italy. The pope promised financial and administrative reforms, and was able to return to Rome in April, 1850. Cardinal Antonelli, one of the most astute of ecclesiastical statesmen and a determined reactionary, was at once entrusted with the chief responsibility, and the Jesuits, who now returned to Rome in large numbers, were put in charge of public instruction throughout the papal States. The clergy were once more in charge of the details as well as the administration of the civil service, and the popular outcry against clerical arrogance, corruption, and inefficiency became as violent and persistent as before.

Under the leadership of Count Cavour, the Piedmontese agitation for Italian unity and independence

reached alarming proportions, the secularization of the papal States and the exclusion of the Austrians being the prominent features of his policy. As early as 1856 a secret understanding seems to have been reached between Cavour and Louis Napoleon, which involved the co-operation of the latter in the realization of the Italian policy of the former, and the securing in return of coveted territory on the French border.

At the beginning of 1859 Napoleon declared his policy regarding Austria and Italy, and shortly thereafter war was raging between Austria and Sardinia supported by France. Austria was speedily driven from Bologna, Ancona, Romagna, the Legations, Parma, and Modena, which were appropriated by Sardinia ; Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily were afterward similarly dealt with, and by the treaty of Zürich Lombardy became a part of the new Italian kingdom.

Victor Emmanuel was not satisfied with even this measure of achievement. He next proceeded, with the consent of Napoleon, to appropriate Umbria and the Marches, which had belonged to the papal States. The pope had only a fifth of his territory left, embracing Rome and its environs, with a total population of seven hundred thousand, and with a debt of eleven million dollars incurred in defense of his possessions. Of the debt he was promptly relieved by the generosity of Roman Catholics throughout the world, largely through Peter's Pence.

Even yet the revolutionists were not satisfied, but they insisted on making Rome the capital of Italy and secularizing the rest of the papal territory. "Rome or death" was their watchword. It was only the influence of Napoleon that prevented Victor Emmanuel from at once completing his work of unification. In 1864 a treaty was signed by Louis Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel in accordance with which Florence should be the capital of Italy, the integrity of the remaining States of the Church was guaranteed, and the French army, with the exception of certain frontier garrisons, was to be withdrawn from the States of the Church within two years.

It was not until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian

war (1870) that the withdrawal of the French troops left Victor Emmanuel free to complete his task of unification and to transfer his capital to the Eternal City. Cavour's maxim: "A free Church in a free State" was not fully put into practice; for the administration of ecclesiastical matters throughout united Italy was assumed by the State, which provided also the ecclesiastical revenues by public taxation. The popes have regarded themselves, since the secularization of the States of the Church, as prisoners in the Vatican, and they cease not to call the attention of the faithful throughout Christendom to the enormity of the outrage that has been perpetrated on the Holy See (v. recent concordats in ch. vii).

The ecclesiastical proceedings of the pontificate of Pius IX., including the dogma of the immaculate conception, the celebration of the nineteenth centennial anniversary of the martyrdom of Peter, the Encyclical and Syllabus, and the Vatican Council, may be more advantageously treated in another section.

By fostering to the utmost superstitious regard for relics, shrines, etc. (appearance of the mother of God at Lourdes in 1858 and miraculous cures ascribed to her); by virtually deifying the mother of our Lord and in every way promoting her cult (1854); by condemning Protestantism as involving and naturally giving birth to socialism, rationalism, pantheism, atheism, anarchism, and every perverse mode of thought and life; by repudiating modern civilization as contradictory of the spirit of the gospel (Encyclical and Syllabus, 1864); by asserting the right of the church to suppress by force all erroneous teaching and practice and to command civil rulers to execute its behests (*ibid.*); by asserting the right of the church to annul the allegiance of disobedient rulers, and the duty of all true believers to prefer the interests of the church to those of the State and to obey the head of the church rather than the civil magistrate (*ibid.*); by riding roughshod over the consciences of liberal Roman Catholics in France, Belgium, Germany, etc., in pursuance of Jesuit policy; by assuming for the papacy the right to define ecclesiastical dogma and to require its universal acceptance without the concurrence of a general council (as in the promulgation of the dogma of the immaculate con-

ception, 1854); by forcing the dogma of papal infallibility through a general council (the Vatican, 1869–1870), without giving an opportunity to the opposing minority freely to discuss the question, Pius IX. provoked a widespread spirit of revolt among the more intelligent and conscientious members of his own communion, and led some civil rulers, notably the emperor of Germany, in whose domains the conflict between papal and civil authority had long been raging, to adopt drastic measures for the protection of themselves against the exercise of irresponsible authority on the part of the pope (May Laws, etc.).

The movement for Italian unity, nationality, and independence of papal and Austrian foreign powers, had gone on gaining momentum under the wise leadership of Victor Emmanuel with the military support of Garibaldi and the friendly though interested co-operation of Louis Napoleon, until all Italy had been brought under a single government with the exception of the city of Rome, whose retention by the pope had been guaranteed by Louis Napoleon, who kept an army in Italy for the maintenance of this arrangement. The Franco-Prussian war (1870) that broke out almost immediately after the dogma of papal infallibility had been proclaimed, led to the immediate withdrawal of the French army from Italy. This was promptly followed by the occupation of Rome by Victor Emmanuel and the transference thither of the capital of the kingdom of Italy. Thus Pius IX., one of the most arrogant of popes, who had recently proclaimed himself infallible and had lost no opportunity for asserting his lordship over civil rulers, had the humiliation of seeing not only the patrimony of Peter that for over a thousand years his predecessors had made the greatest sacrifices to hold intact and to increase, snatched from his grasp (1866), but Rome itself appropriated by his enemy and himself, stripped of temporal power, a prisoner, so called, in the Vatican, which as a matter of favor he was allowed to occupy.

This seeming reverse, however, proved a blessing in disguise to Roman Catholicism; for it aroused to so great an extent the sympathy of Catholic Christendom as enormously to increase the papal revenues, freed the

Roman Curia from the difficult, unprofitable, and often scandalous work of secular administration, and enabled it to devote itself more assiduously to the larger and more profitable fields of ecclesiastical enterprise throughout the world; while it enabled the papacy to make more plausible its claim of being a universal spiritual force and did much to allay the fears that had been awakened by the intolerant utterances and boundless claims of authority that had been set forth by the pope during recent years. While no doubt sincerely lamenting the loss of temporal power, Pius IX. was not slow to avail himself of the advantages of the new situation. While he anathematized Victor Emmanuel in every member of his body and in every bodily and mental function, and posed as a martyr before his sympathetic followers, he rejoiced greatly in his swelling coffers and pressed the work of world-conquest with ever-increasing vigor. Never before had the Roman Catholic Church been so well organized, so conscious of its mission of universal conquest, so wise to avail itself of everything that would tend to further its ends.

During this pontificate new monastic orders were founded and old ones took on new life and greatly increased in membership and activity. Tertiaries (lay friends and supporters of the various orders) were encouraged and utilized. Pius unions (1848 onward), the aim of which was to foster among the people zeal for Ultramontane Catholicism and hatred of Protestantism, secret societies, Bible societies, and everything condemned by Pius IX., spread over Roman Catholic Christendom and proved a mighty agency for propagating Ultramontane views. Other types of Catholic opinion were fostered by St. Francis Xavier unions (foreign missions), Borromeo unions (circulation of Catholic literature), etc.

(21) *Leo XIII.* (*1878–1903*). Pius IX. was looked upon by the faithful Catholics of his time as almost superhuman in his sanctity and spiritual power and a widespread confidence prevailed, fostered by a portion of the Catholic press, that the aged pontiff would not die until he should see himself victorious over his enemies. The fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as bishop (1877)

was celebrated throughout the Catholic world with great fervor and in such a way as to minister powerfully to his popular influence and to his financial resources. He died before the German government had shown any signs of yielding in the contest for church autonomy that had raged since 1870, but with the full assurance that his German bishops and clergy would suffer anything rather than yield to demands that he regarded as tyrannical and as subversive of religious freedom. Yet he had really won the victory that his successor was to enjoy.

Never had the Roman Catholic Church been more active in the acquisition of valuable property, in the erection of costly buildings, in the founding of schools, colleges, hospitals, etc., or more successful in drawing upon public treasuries and non-Catholic private purses for the support of its educational and philanthropical work than during the later years of Pius IX. In England and America as well as in Germany, the Roman Catholic Church went forward by leaps and bounds during this long reign.

The Roman Conclave required only two days to elect and proclaim Joachim Pecci the successor of Pius IX. In honor of Leo XII., who had introduced him into clerical life, he adopted his name. Because of his earnest and successful efforts to make peace with the powers that were in conflict with the papacy he has been designated the "peace-pope"; but it would be a mistake to suppose that his desire for peace has been such as would lead him to compromise the papal principles that he inherited from his immediate predecessors, or that he has ever been content with the worse end of a bargain. His policy has been the well-known Jesuitical policy that has been in force since the French Revolution, and involves uncompromising hostility to modern civilization and modern thought, the utter denial to Protestantism of the right to be considered a valid form of Christianity, and the greatest freedom in the use of means for the attainment of advantages for the church. The means employed by Pius IX., have been continued in use, employed on a larger scale, improved upon by experience, and applied with greater skill. If his administration provokes less

antagonism than did that of his predecessor, it is partly because he had the work of Pius IX. behind him, and had no occasion to shock Christendom by the proclamation of fresh dogmas, and partly because of the superior astuteness and finesse of his diplomatists.

It is certain that no government in the world is equipped to-day with diplomatists who understand better what they wish to accomplish, who are more conversant with all the phases of the matters with which they have to deal, and who can present their views more effectively and with less risk of giving offense, than the Roman Curia.

Papal infallibility, which it seemed necessary to Pius IX. and his Jesuit advisers to proclaim, but the proclamation of which involved, as they fully realized, grave difficulties, had now been accepted by all but an insignificant fraction of the Roman Catholic Church, and was already admirably serving its purpose of increasing the boldness and aggressiveness of the adherents of the papacy. Some civil governments had protested against the dogma, but Pius had held his ground and his adherents under hostile governments had shown a spirit of uncompromising resistance; and the unfriendly nations were already reaching the conviction that self-interest dictated a policy of conciliation with this great world-power that had such a dominion over the hearts and consciences of its subjects rather than a policy of extermination which might end in disaster and would certainly turmoil their countries for an indefinite period.

Leo found the world ready for conciliation and he adapted his diplomacy to the changed situation. His conflicts with civil governments have been few and unimportant. The concessions he has gained have been many and valuable.

No sooner was he installed in the papal office than he expressed to the governments that had been at war with his predecessor a desire for the restoration of friendly relations. In less than two years (October, 1879) Bismarck, on behalf of the German Empire, intimated his willingness to negotiate for a settlement, and a few months later (May, 1880) he began to make important concessions. In a short while Bismarck had abandoned nearly everything that he had contended for and had

"gone to Canossa." The German Catholics, under the direction of the Roman Curia, had organized themselves as a political faction and could give a solid vote for or against government measures. This faction came to be known as the Center. The social democracy (the Left) was increasing in power and, with the help of the Center, could greatly embarrass the government. Bismarck felt it necessary to make concessions to the Catholics in order to gain the support of the Center.

Pius IX. had refused to allow the Italian clergy to recognize the government of Victor Emmanuel by taking part in political life. Leo encouraged them (1880) to participate in politics as a means of advancing the interests of the church; but he was and ever remained far from acquiescing in the robbing of the church of the patrimony of Peter.

Leo's attitude toward non-Catholic forms of Christianity was no more conciliatory that of Pius IX. His sentiments, expressed some years before his elevation to the papacy, remained unchanged: Protestantism is "a pest, the most pestilential heresy, a perverse, opportunist system arising from pride and godlessness." In his second Encyclical he declared Protestantism to be the mother of that "death-bringing pest," socialism. Referring to the evangelical schools that had been established in Rome, he spoke of the shamelessness with which, under the very eyes of the pope, schools were erected in which "tender children have horrible errors thrust down their throats," and from which the most immoral and injurious influences proceed. He adopted as his own (in his first Encyclical) the denunciations of evangelical Christianity and of modern modes of thought contained in the Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX. and fully sympathized with the Mariolatry fostered by his predecessor. He spoke of Mary as "the immaculate queen of heaven" and of Joseph as "the heavenly patron of the church."

Equally significant of his agreement with Pius in his hostility to Protestantism and to modern science, philosophy, and institutions, was his third Encyclical (1879), in which he recommended the study of Thomas Aquinas as the foundation of all studies in schools and seminaries

and as the supreme authority in matters of science, philosophy, and theology. The result was that the works of the great mediæval divine have become a text-book in the schools of the Jesuits and in Roman Catholic schools in general.

As the excesses of the French Revolution, while they brought immediate calamity to the Roman Catholic Church, wrought mightily for its rehabilitation and the increase of its influence, and furnished an occasion for the restoration of the Jesuits to their place as the power behind the papal throne; as the revolutionary proceedings of 1830 and 1848 had enabled the papacy to gain further favor as the enemy of revolution and the champion of law and order; so the rapid growth of socialism, anarchism, communism, nihilism, and the excesses that have been committed by these enemies of current forms of government have ministered to the advancement of papal interests during the past fifty-five years.

Roman Catholicism has greatly profited also in recent times by the wide diffusion of rationalistic modes of thought in Germany, France, the Netherlands, the United States, etc.

Having a thoroughly wrought-out and self-consistent policy; claiming to have apostolic succession, to be the sole depository of the truth, the authoritative interpreter of Scripture, and the one stable and unerring guide of consciences; pointing to the utter uncertainty and confusion that have resulted from the exercise of the right of private judgment in the non-Catholic world, the multiplicity of contending sects, the conflicts of opinion in individual sects, the disputes about the authority and the interpretation of the Scriptures; and confidently attributing popular infidelity, philosophical error, and all perverse social theories and practices to the rejection of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholics invite all who are weary of endless strife, confusion, and uncertainty to come to mother church and find the rest that their souls long for.

Being utterly unscrupulous in their statements and interpretations of history, they seek to make it appear that the Roman Catholic Church has ever been the promoter of true civil and religious liberty, of which its

opponents have been the enemies, claiming for the hierarchical church all the beneficent features of history, and ascribing to the enemies of the church all the evils. It is needless to say that many earnest souls have been ensnared by the subtleties of such Roman Catholic sophistry.

The Roman Curia is to-day on friendly terms with most Protestant governments of the world, and through skillful diplomacy is exerting a tremendous political influence and is constantly strengthening its hold. Not only has Germany gradually withdrawn all the measures adopted (1870 onward) for protection against Roman Catholic encroachment, but very recently (June, 1902) the German emperor has made a great parade of a compliment bestowed by Leo XIII. on the law-abiding quality of the German people under the present administration. The United States government, while founded on the principle of absolute separation of Church and State, recognizes the Roman Catholic Church, negotiates with its diplomatists, and some years ago sent a high official to confer with the pope himself with respect to the property of the friars in its new possessions. Recent troubles are with France, Mexico, Portugal, and Spain.

II. CONTROVERSIES AND MOVEMENTS INSIDE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

1. *The Jansenist Controversy.*

LITERATURE: Jansen, "*Augustinus seu Doctrina St. Augustini de Humanæ Naturæ Sanitate, Ægritudine, Medicina adv. Pelagianos et Massilienses*," 1640; works of St. Cyran, Arnauld, Pascal, Quesnel, and other Jansenists; Sainte-Beuve, "Port Royal," 1840–1860; Reuchlin, "*Gesch. von Port Royal*," 1839–1844; Bouvier, "*Etude Critique sur le Jansenisme*," 1864; Levdecker, *Historia Jansenismi*," 1695; Vandenpeerenboom, "*Cornelius Jansenius*," 1882; Beard, "Port Royal," 1860, 1861; Schimmelpennick, "Select Memoirs of Port Royal," 1835; Tregelles, "The Jansenists," 1851; Neale, "History of the So-called Jansenist Church in Holland," 1858; Fuzet, "*Les Jansenistes du XVIIe Siècle*," 1877; "Princeton Review," 1856, on Jansen and Quesnel; Stephen, "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," art. "The Port Royalists"; Hunt, "Contemporary Essays," art. "The Jansenists" and "The Old Catholic Church of Utrecht"; art. "The Later Jansenists" in "Quarterly Review," July, 1891; W. R. Williams, "Miscellanies"; art. on Jansen, Jansenism, Port Royal, Duvergier, Arnauld, Pascal, Quesnel, and

other Jansenist leaders, in Hauck-Herzog, Wetzer und Welte, Lichtenberger, and McClintock and Strong; on the Jansenist bishoprics of Holland, see art. in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3, *Bd.* VIII., *Seit.* 599–606, by Gerth von Wijk.

(1) *Rise of the Controversy.* It has been remarked in an earlier chapter that while Augustine was canonized and continued to be held in high honor, his teachings at an early date lost their hold upon ecclesiastical thought. They made a profound impression on the minds of Dominican thinkers like Thomas Aquinas in the Middle Ages; but they were so completely stripped of their evangelical significance and their power in the alembic of scholasticism that they were scarcely recognizable. It is well known that the writings of Augustine were studied with diligence and good effect by members of the Augustinian Order, Brethren of the Common Life, and evangelical mystics, for some time before the Protestant Revolution, and that Luther and Calvin alike were deeply indebted to the great bishop of Hippo for their doctrinal systems. The Dominicans of the Reformation time were still stanch defenders of Augustinianism and abhorred Pelagianism. The doctrinal canons of the Council of Trent, while they sharply combat the Augustinianism of Luther and Calvin, are very careful to avoid Pelagian or even semi-Pelagian forms of expression, and might with propriety be designated as semi-Augustinian. The Jesuits joined hands with the Franciscans (Scotists) at the council and afterward in seeking to minimize the Augustinian element in the canons and in interpreting the canons in a semi-Pelagian sense. Bajus, professor at Louvain, taught what has been designated a "Pauline-Augustinian theology" in opposition to the then widely prevalent semi-Pelagianism of the Franciscans and Jesuits, who, in turn, secured the condemnation of seventy-six articles drawn from his writings (1567 and 1579). In 1588 the Jesuit Molina, under the pretext of making an effort to harmonize Augustinianism and Pelagianism, set forth views that were far more than half Pelagian and were hardly distinguishable from Pelagianism pure and simple. This type of semi-Pelagianism spread rapidly among the Jesuits and outside their ranks, but was bitterly assailed by the Do-

minicans. To allay the controversy, Clement VIII. summoned a body of theologians (1597) to determine accurately the relation of grace to conversion; ten years later the "congregation" was dismissed by his successor without having reached a decision and the matter was deferred to "a more opportune time."

Cornelius Jansen, born in North Holland (1585), was educated at the University or Louvain, where the Augustinianism of Bajus was still remembered, and in common with his brilliant fellow-student, Duvergier (St. Cyran), conceived an intense hatred for Aristotle and the scholastic theology and an enthusiastic admiration for Plato and Augustine. He is said to have read the anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine thirty times and the rest of his works ten times, and he reached the conviction that, while the great theologian made some mistakes during his earlier career as a theologian, after he became bishop he was kept by special divine grace from error and was "inspired by God's Spirit for this work of expounding the doctrines of grace, whereunto he was predestined by God's grace." He would not have esteemed it a hardship to be left alone on an island with Augustine's works and the Bible as his sole literary diet. In the Arminian controversy, which attracted attention at the time even in Catholic circles, he approved of the teachings of the Gomarists (hyper-Calvinists), while he regarded the Arminians as standing on the same doctrinal platform with the Jesuits. Though he had incurred the hostility of the Jesuits he was appointed professor of biblical literature in the University of Louvain (1630) and in reward for his sharp polemics against Louis XIII. of France and his minister, the Cardinal Richelieu, who were at that time joining forces with the Protestants of Germany and the Netherlands against Spain and Austria, he was appointed bishop of Ypres (1636). Two years later he died (1638) leaving ready for publication his "*Augustinus*," in which he had very carefully arranged the teachings of Augustine bearing on the original, fallen, and regenerated states of man, with special reference to the Pelagian teachings of the Molinists. It included a historical account of the development of semi-Pelagianism in the Roman Catholic

Church. The work was published by his friends two years later (1640). After the historical introduction, the author proceeds to discuss the foundations and the sources of authority in theological matters. He carefully points out the limitations of human reason, repudiates human philosophy as a source of error and confusion, lays much stress on tradition which he supposes Augustine to have gathered up in its most authentic form, and gives little place to Scripture authority, except so far as it is included in tradition (the Scriptures being themselves truths and facts handed down by tradition). In this and in other respects Jansen showed himself radically opposed to Protestantism and to old-evangelicalism alike.

His anthropological teachings (Vol. II.) are Augustinian (Calvinistic). He insists that man and angels were created free from any germ of evil, but with positive holiness, freedom of will, and divine grace, this last being inherent in his nature and not superadded. Every good deed of Adam, as well as his fall, was absolutely free. He is most careful to fix the responsibility of the fall on man himself, and to exclude the possibility that it grew out of defective equipment. Hereditary sin is not a mere imputation of guilt, but is a self-propagating evil un-nature, the flesh contaminated by concupiscence contaminating also the soul; and so our inmost will and our hearts' own desires are in captivity to sin. "Manichæism and Pelagianism place concupiscence before sin, Augustine, after sin." In his fallen state, man has freedom to withhold himself from individual evil acts, but not from sinning. Yet he insisted that inasmuch as man in sinning gives his will up to evil he is responsible and guilty. "For acquiring merit and demerit in the state of fallen nature there is not requisite freedom from all necessity, but freedom from all constraint, *i. e.*, from violence and natural necessity, suffices."

In Vol. III. he treats of the grace of Christ, which he exalts as highly as any evangelical could wish. Every good impulse is divine grace. Grace is not mere revelation, it is "medicinal aid." Divine grace is "actual," irresistibly conquering, and reaching its end. In the Christian life the individual acts and the entire course of

life are matters of divine grace. Yet man is not a dead instrument, but God's grace works through his will.

The Jesuits tried to prevent the publication of the "*Augustinus*" and induced the pope to censure it (in the Bull *In eminenti*, 1642). But the pope deprecated controversy, and the universities, bishops, and provincial authorities were able for some years to prevent the publication of the Bull in the Spanish Netherlands. The Jesuits were feared and hated in the Netherlands and every effort was being made at this time to prevent them from gaining the ascendency. The condemnation of the "*Augustinus*" meant a Jesuit triumph; hence the great interest that was manifested in the fate of this work.

St. Cyran died (October, 1643,) and Dr. Anton Arnauld, who had been won to the support of Augustinianism by St. Cyran and had just become a member of the Sorbonne (he was the twentieth child of the famous jurist of the same name, who had been a member of the parliament of Paris, and was born in 1612), was now the most influential leader of the party. He published in 1643 a treatise on "Frequent Communion," which was permeated with Jansenistic Augustinianism and was aimed against the laxity of the Jesuits in admitting the grossest sinners without proper penance to communion on the supposition that participation was a means of grace even for such. This work, written in the most devout spirit by a man of remarkable ability, produced a profound impression on the religious life of France and the Netherlands and greatly increased the sentiment against the Jesuits.

(2) *Port Royal*. One of the most famous nunneries in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century was that of Port Royal. It was founded in 1204, belonged to the Cistercian Order, and had received from the pope many privileges and immunities, among them that of celebrating the Supper in times of interdict and that of furnishing a place of retirement for those who wished to withdraw from the world for religious exercises without assuming monastic vows. In 1602 Jacqueline (as Mère Angélique), daughter of the famous jurist Anton Arnauld and sister of the great Jansenist leader of the same

name, when only eleven years old, became abbess. Six years later (1608) she had a deep religious experience, and from this time onward carried on the work of the institution with such enthusiasm as to attract a large number of devout and highly educated men and women, among them several of her own brothers and sisters. The work of the institution was at this time transferred from the country to Paris. St. Francis de Sales, a devout ascetic and mystic, had been the spiritual adviser of the Mère Angélique. He was succeeded (1623) by Bishop Zamet of Langres. A devotional (ascetical) book by Agnes Arnauld (1633) was condemned by the Sorbonne and defended by Zamet and St. Cyran. Likemindedness in this matter led Zamet to introduce St. Cyran to Port Royal and his burning zeal and his wonderful spiritual power so increased the number of nuns that the work had to be transferred again to the country (Port Royal des Champs). Attracted by St. Cyran and by the enthusiastic mystical piety of the nunnery, a number of devout and highly educated men, most of them belonging to the nobility and gentry, established themselves as recluses, first in the court-yard of the Paris institution and afterward in the partially demolished buildings in the country seat of the nunnery. Without taking vows, they lived lives of devout ascetics, occupying themselves with religious exercises, study, writing, and the instruction of youth. The first of the Port Royal brethren were Le Maitre and De Sericourt, sons of a sister of Mère Angélique, who herself became a member of the nunnery on the death of her husband (1644). These with d'Andilly and De Saçi, their brothers, were among the bright and shining lights of the community. Among other distinguished members were Palla, the physician, Lancelot, Fontaine, and the Duc de Luynes. At a later date Antoine Arnauld and Blaise Pascal added the lustre of their great names to this brilliant community. Among the later celebrities of the community may be mentioned Nicole, the apologist, Tillemont, the historian, Quesnel, the expositor, and Racine, the poet.

(3) *Papal Condemnation of the Five Alleged Propositions from the "Augustinus."* As early as 1642 one Habert had in Notre Dame, Paris, denounced the followers of Jan-

sen as vipers "that mangle their mother's bosom." Arnauld published "An Apology for Jansen" (1644), which was answered by Habert, and a rejoinder to Habert's reiterated charges. The king, supported by the Archbishop of Paris and the papal nuncio, had required the University of Paris to accept and publish the papal censure of 1642. This the Sorbonne peremptorily refused to do (January, 1644). By 1649 Jesuit influence had so far prevailed in the university that Nicholas Cornet, syndic of the theological faculty, brought forward seven propositions on grace, embodying in a somewhat distorted form the views of Jansen without mentioning his name. He professed not to know whether the propositions were orthodox or heterodox and arranged for their reference to a commission. Against this proceeding sixty Augustinian doctors protested in vain. The commission which was about to condemn the propositions and refer the matter to the pope was broken up by a dispute between two high officials for precedence, and the Jansenist part sought to secure the intervention of the parliament to prevent the reference of the propositions to the pope.

The king and a number of bishops requested the pope to decide as to the orthodoxy of the propositions. In May, 1653, a papal decision came forth condemning as heretical the following five propositions:

1. There are some commandments of God which the just, although willing and anxious to obey them, are unable with the strength they have to fulfill, and the grace by which they might fulfill them is also wanting to them. 2. In the state of fallen nature, inward grace is never resisted. 3. In the fallen state, merit and demerit do not depend on a liberty which excludes necessity, but on a liberty which excludes constraint. 4. The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of an inward prevenient grace for the performance of each particular act, and also for the first act of faith, and yet were heretical, since they maintained that this grace was of such a nature that the will of man was able either to resist or obey it. 5. It is Semi-Pelagian to say that Christ died, or shed his blood, for all men without exception.

The pope was glad of this opportunity to assert his authority in France because of the prevailing Gallicanism among the prelates and in the royal court. As Cardinal Retz, who had been supported by the pope, was in prison because of his complicity in the Fronde move-

ment against the government, and it seemed desirable to Cardinal Mazarin, the chief minister of the crown, to show as much regard as possible to the papal Bull, he had the young king issue a proclamation requiring all the bishops of France to receive and publish this condemnation of the "Five Propositions" as heretical in Jansen's sense and as extracted from Jansen's "*Augustinus*."

(4) *Jansenist Resistance and Defense.* Many of the Jansenists declared themselves ready to condemn the articles in their heretical sense, but not as teachings of Jansen. They persistently denied that these articles were to be found in the "*Augustinus*," or that their doctrine was that of Jansen. It is true that the articles are not found in the exact form in which they are condemned in Jansen's work, but their teaching does not seem to differ materially from that of the "*Augustinus*." Arnauld's defense of the principles of the Jansenists and his justification of their refusal to profess belief that the articles in the sense in which they were condemned were from the "*Augustinus*" or to do more than promise a respectful silence regarding the matters in dispute, led to his expulsion from the Sorbonne (January, 1656). Eighty doctors who refused to vote for his expulsion shared his fate. Blaise Pascal, one of the greatest thinkers of his age, had cast in his lot with the Port Royalists, and in his "Letters to a Provincial" (1656 onward), held up to ridicule by an almost unequaled combination of learning, intellectual acuteness, and sarcasm, the Dominicans for professing to be Augustinian in theology and yet joining in the persecution of the Jansenists and the Jesuits for their shockingly immoral teachings and practices. These writings had an extensive circulation and did effective service.

The alleged miraculous healing of a chronic, distressing, and apparently incurable eye trouble in the case of Marguerite Perier, a niece of Pascal (1656), greatly increased the religious enthusiasm of the ascetics of Port Royal, but did not tend to alleviate the persecuting measures that were being launched against them.

(5) *Sharpening of Persecuting Measures.* Urged by the Jesuits and by a majority of the French clergy, who were unsympathetic with the rigorous Calvinism and

the ascetical piety of the Jansenists, Alexander VII., a year after his election (1656), repeated the condemnation of the five articles as being utterances of Jansen and laid increased emphasis on the acceptance of the fact as to Jansen's authorship. The articles, moreover, must be accepted as condemned in Jansen's sense. The French government required all ecclesiastics to sign a most comprehensive and unequivocal acceptance of the papal statement of fact and of the condemnation of the articles within one month of the date of the order. The king decided to require nuns as well as clergy and monks to make the required declaration. The chief end in view was to bring the sisters of Port Royal under condemnation. Mazarin, who was weary of the controversy and reluctant to enter upon exterminating measures against the Jansenists desired by pope, Jesuits, king, and many prelates, kept the matter in abeyance until his death (March, 1661). The young king was now free to do the bidding of his Jesuit confessors. He ordered every bishop to require clergy, monks, nuns, and schoolmasters to sign the declaration regarding the "Five Propositions." Many of the leading Jansenists went into retirement. Those who were apprehended were thrown into prison. De Saçi, one of the ablest and most zealous of the Port Royalists, was sent to the Bastille. The sisters of Port Royal were imprisoned and otherwise cruelly treated. Many of the bishops were Augustinian in their views and sought, in conforming to the papal and royal requirements, to save themselves from condemning the Augustinian truth contained in the five articles. Four would only promise a respectful silence on the matter in dispute. A commission was appointed by the pope, at the request of the king, to try the four bishops. On the death of Alexander VII. and the succession of Clement IX., nineteen French bishops petitioned the new pope on behalf of the four and protested to the king against the invasion of the liberties of the church involved in the proceedings that had been instituted against them. In September, 1668, Clement withdrew the requirement of a declaration that the condemned articles were those of Jansen in their heretical sense and advised that reconciliation with the four bishops be effected. There was a temporary

cessation of persecuting measures and the principles of the Jansenists were rapidly diffused.

It was a matter of surprise and chagrin to Louis XIV. that in his controversy with the pope regarding royal and papal prerogatives, Arnauld and some of the Jansenist bishops supported the papal contention. He was informed, furthermore, that Arnauld and Nicole had furnished material for the sixty-five lax moral propositions of the Jesuits that the pope had been induced to condemn (1679). This he regarded as a personal affront, for he had been availing himself freely of the benignant ethical principles of his confessors. Arnauld fled to the Netherlands, where, to the end of his life (1694), his literary labors on behalf of reformed Roman Catholicism were abundant and effective.

(6) *The Overthrow of the Jansenists in France.* In 1701 a controversy among the Jansenists themselves as to whether a Jansenist could, with a good conscience, subscribe the formulary against the "Five Propositions" and so retain his office, while rejecting the papal decision regarding the Jansenian authorship of the articles in their heretical sense, led Louis XIV., who had long earnestly desired the destruction of the Jansenist party and had been sorely disappointed because of the miscarriage of earlier measures, to seek and secure from Pope Clement XI. a more effective measure. The pope now issued a Bull (*Vineam Domini*, July, 1705), requiring the unconditional condemnation with mouth and heart of the "Five Propositions" as, in their heretical sense, the statements of Jansen. This led to a complete breaking up of the Port Royal establishment (1709–1710) and to a general persecution of Jansenists.

Noailles, Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, had sought to save the Port Royal sisters from their fate by inducing them to profess a "human faith" in the pope's declaration regarding the articles. He had also encouraged the use of Quesnel's annotated New Testament. The pope, at the instance of the king and the Jesuits, forbade the reading of Quesnel's New Testament. Noailles sought to secure a delay in the execution of the Bull *Vineam Domini* and showed his strong Jansenist sympathies by withdrawing from most of the Jesuits the right to hear

confessions in his diocese. The Roman Curia was led by the controversy regarding Quesnel's New Testament to condemn the Jansenist doctrine that laymen, and even women, have the right and are under obligation to edify themselves and to instruct others through the reading of the Holy Scriptures. In 1713 the pope condemned (Bull *Unigenitus*) one hundred and one propositions from Quesnel's New Testament as heretical. The following are samples:

"The grace of Jesus Christ is necessary to all good works; without it nothing (truly good) can happen." "No grace is imparted otherwise than through faith." "Outside the church no grace is bestowed." "Faith justifies when it works, but it works only through love."

The aged king insisted upon the immediate carrying into effect of this anti-Jansenist measure. Noailles, while he consented to abandon his support of Quesnel's New Testament, wished to delay the attempt to suppress its use until further explanations could be procured from the pope. The Sorbonne was divided in opinion and several distinguished professors of theology were driven from their positions.

(7) *"Appellants" and "Acceptants."* The death of Louis XIV. and the succession to the regency of the Duke of Orleans, who regarded both sides of the controversy as mere foolishness and was indifferent to religious matters, prevented the full execution of the measures contemplated against Jansenism and encouraged a freedom of expression regarding the points at issue that had been for some time impracticable. Those who had been banished for sympathy with Jansenism now returned. The Sorbonne refused to accept the Bull condemning the propositions from Quesnel's New Testament. Papal threats proved unavailing and several bishops, who had earlier accepted the Bull, now joined with the minority in demanding of the pope further explanations. In 1717 a number of bishops appealed from the pope to a future general council, declaring the Bull subversive of Catholic doctrinal and ethical teaching. Noailles and a large number of bishops, as well as several theological Faculties (including that of Paris) and a considerable proportion

of the secular and the monastic clergy, arrayed themselves as "Appellants" against the pope and the "Acceptants." A polemical writing by the Archbishop of Rheims, leader of the "Acceptants," was burnt by the public executioner by order of the Parliament, but the pope gave him soon after a cardinal's hat.

In 1720 the government prohibited further discussion on the matters in dispute. The Bishop of Senez was deposed for expressing approval of Quesnel's New Testament and his chief prosecutor was made cardinal (1727). Appellant Benedictines and Carthusians took refuge in Utrecht, whose archbishop had already severed his diocese from Rome. The Oratorians in convention (1727), refused to accept the papal Bull and suffered severe persecution.

(8) *The Convulsionaires of St. Médard.* Francis of Paris, a Jansenist ascetic, died, it was said, with his appeal against the papal Bull in his hand. His grave in the churchyard of St. Médard, in Paris, became the resort of multitudes of Jansenists rendered fanatical by persecution and all sorts of miracles were supposed to be wrought there. The king had the churchyard walled up and guarded by soldiers (1732). This only increased the fanaticism. The maddened people went into strange convulsions. While in this state ignorant people, and even young children, are said to have delivered the most exalted religious discourses and to have become so immune from pain and bodily injury that they could submit to being pounded with sledges against stone walls until the walls would crumble, lie with iron spikes under their backs and have heavy weights dropped upon their stomachs, and even suffer crucifixion, without pain or permanent harm. These "succors," as the poundings, crucifixions, etc., were called, were begged for by the subjects and seemed to relieve the fearful tension of their nervous systems. It is possible that contemporary descriptions of these phenomena are considerably exaggerated, but the main facts seem well attested. From this time onward the Jansenist movement dwindled in France.

(9) *The Jansenists of Holland.* As Jansenism originated in the Netherlands, so it found there its most abiding dwelling-place. In 1702 Peter Codde, vicar of

the Utrecht chapter, while spending some time in Rome, became suspected of Jansenist heresy. He was detained for some months in the papal capital and his position was filled by De Cock, a Jesuit. The chapter refused to recognize De Cock and the government of Holland deposed and banished him. In 1703 Codde returned to Utrecht and led in the movement for independence from the Roman See. The Utrecht clergy were outraged by the Bull *Unigenitus* against Quesnel's New Testament. In 1723 the Utrecht chapter chose Cornelis Steenoven archbishop, having previously made arrangements with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Babylon, who had spent some time in Holland and sympathized with the Jansenists, for his ordination. Partly to make sure of the perpetuation of their apostolic succession and partly to extend their influence, the Dutch Jansenists constituted two bishoprics, Haarlem (1742) and Deventer (1758). These have survived to the present time and have at present an aggregate membership of about eight thousand. It was from the Jansenist Bishop of Deventer that the Old Catholics received their ordination in 1873.

(10) *Characteristics of the Jansenists.* From what has already appeared it is evident: *a.* That Jansenism was an attempt, on the basis of Augustinian doctrine, to reform the Roman Catholic Church from within. *b.* That, while its doctrinal system had much in common with Calvinism, the spirit of the movement was fundamentally antagonistic to evangelical Christianity. The Jansenists were as bitterly opposed as the Jesuits to the Huguenots of France, and were willing to make capital of their intolerance toward these persecuted people. *c.* That it was a protest against Jesuitical Pelagianism and casuistry, with the laxity of religious practice and of morals practised and fostered by the Jesuits. *d.* That the type of religious life represented was the ascetical, enthusiastic mysticism of the mediæval time. *e.* That owing to circumstances it made common cause with Gallicanism in its protest against papal measures that were distasteful and asserted the right of private judgment over against the requirement of blind obedience to ecclesiastical and royal authority. *f.* That it did not have in it the elements of true church reformation

2. *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.*

LITERATURE: Baird, "The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," 2 vols., 1895. This masterly work meets every requirement of the student. Special phases of the subject may be further traced out with the help of the references given by Baird.

(1) *Attitude of the French Government and the Roman Curia toward the Huguenots at the Beginning of the Present Period.* The Edict of Nantes, granted to his Protestant subjects who had placed him on the throne and whose fellowship he for political reasons had abandoned, by Henry IV., has been fittingly called "the great charter of the Protestant liberties," and declares itself to be "perpetual and irrevocable." The edict did not put Protestantism on a parity with Roman Catholicism, but constituted it a religion tolerated and with well-defined restrictions. In many portions of France the Huguenots were in the ascendency and were in a position to exercise a controlling influence in local affairs. In many others, while they were numerically inferior to the Catholics, their superior intelligence, force of character, wealth, etc., gave them the leadership. Forty-eight cities of refuge, garrisoned by Huguenot troops at the government's expense, had been given them as a guarantee against the well-known persecuting fury of the State religion. A hundred other cities were also virtually under their control. The cities of refuge had been granted by the edict for only eight years, but the time had been afterward extended. The Huguenots were in a position at the beginning of the seventeenth century to put in the field an army of fifty thousand men, and their naval strength was superior to that of the king. They had the privilege of keeping two deputies-general at the royal court to look after the faithful observance of the edict and to safeguard the rights of their brethren. Their religious assemblies, including the national synods, and even their political assemblies, were tolerated. In fact, we have in the great Huguenot body, under the Edict of Nantes, a State within a State. Yet it is remarkable, that side by side with the strenuousness and vigilance of the Huguenots in preserving intact the rights that they enjoyed under the edict, they were among the foremost

in their recognition of the absolute authority of the crown outside of the sphere guarded by the edict, and did much to encourage the growing feeling of irresponsible autocracy that culminated in the claim of Louis XIV. to be himself the State. The French government, under Marie de Medici, Louis XIII., Anne of Austria, and Louis XIV., with Richelieu and Mazarin as chief ministers, was bitterly hostile to the Huguenots and lamented the necessity of allowing them any privileges. The French Catholic clergy, instigated by the Jesuits, did everything in their power to keep alive the hatred and suspicion of the Catholic population and of the court against these enemies of the papacy. The Roman Curia regarded the Edict of Nantes as a calamity, and lost no opportunity for bringing pressure to bear in favor of its abrogation. While each ruler, almost to the time of the revocation of the edict (1685), had been prevailed upon to confirm the arrangement, it soon came to be well understood that they were doing it under protest, and their insistence on insulting the Huguenots by designating them in public documents "the pretended reformed religion," was a perpetual source of irritation.

It will not be practicable here to give a detailed account of the grievances that led to the first Huguenot war (1620), which resulted in a considerable weakening but by no means a complete overthrow of the military power of the Huguenots; of the second Huguenot war (1625) and the peace (1626) on terms more favorable to the Huguenots than would have been possible had it not been for an alliance that had been formed between France, England, the Netherlands, Venice, and Savoy, and the insistence of the foreign powers upon the pacification of France and the continued toleration of the Huguenots; or of the third Huguenot war (1626–1629) that resulted in the fall of La Rochelle, their most important remaining stronghold, and a still further weakening of their power to defend themselves, but not in the revocation of the edict.

Under Richelieu (1629–1643), and Mazarin (1643–1660), France was too much absorbed in foreign wars to carry on to completion the work of religious unification that Bourbon absoluteness and Roman Catholic bigotry

demanded. These have been called halcyon days for the Huguenots. While they had much to suffer at the hands of the government and the hierarchy, they made wonderful progress in many ways. They came to be the chief capitalists and directors of manufacturing and commercial enterprise. The learned professions came more and more under their control. Their schools and colleges greatly flourished. Their pulpit almost equaled in eloquence and greatly surpassed in spiritual power that of the Established Church at its best under Louis XIV. Their great temples were thronged with eager hearers. In the Fronde uprising against the government, supported by the Cardinal of Retz and the pope, the Huguenots stood by the government of Louis XIV. and received therefor the warm commendation of Mazarin and of Louis XIV. himself, who (1649–1650) expressed a determination to execute to the letter every edict favorable to the reformed, and to leave them unmolested in their persons and their worship. In 1652 he expressly ratified and confirmed the Edict of Nantes. In 1659 Mazarin replied in the most friendly language to the address of the last National Synod, and signed himself "Your very affectionate servant, to serve you." Mazarin made Bartholomew Hervart, a Huguenot, controller general of finances, and the treasury department became filled with Huguenots. Not only was the edict confirmed, but all other laws that had been enacted in their favor, some of which had been suspended in their operation under Louis XIII., were revived by the Declaration of St. Germain en Laye (May, 1652), while it repealed all special legislation in favor of the Roman Catholic Church. Encouraged by the tokens of royal favor the Huguenots were exultant, and no doubt in some cases went considerably beyond the prescribed limits and showed an aggressiveness in ministering to persecuted Protestants in foreign lands and in pressing every department of their home work, that alarmed the Roman Catholic authorities and made the king feel that his kingdom was unsafe with such a body of people enjoying such guaranteed privileges in its midst. In 1656 a remonstrance was presented to the king by the Archbishop of Sens on behalf of the Catholic clergy in which the privileges of the Huguenots are

exaggerated, their aggressiveness and insolence spoken of in the spirit of an alarmist, and the Catholic religion itself is represented as in danger. The Bishop of Bordeaux claimed that the royal Declaration of 1652 "ruined the greatness of the church and tended to her destruction." The triumph of Puritanism in Great Britain under Cromwell greatly alarmed the Catholics of France, while the death of Cromwell (1658) and the reactionary spirit that was soon manifest encouraged the government of Louis XIV. to enter upon vigorous repressive measures.

(2) *Repressive Measures (1659 onward).* In the University (*Académie*) of Montauban, a great Huguenot center, the government had compelled the Huguenots to give up a portion of the building for use as a Jesuit college. In 1659 the Jesuits erected a platform in the courtyard for the performance of a play. The Huguenot students demolished it and came into sharp collision with the Catholic students. One of the Huguenot students for the ministry was arrested and locked up in the castle. The Huguenot students rashly broke down the castle door and rescued their fellow. This was the beginning of the Huguenots' woes. Complaint was made by the bishop to the court and the transactions were presented in the most unfavorable light. The institution of learning was taken away from the Huguenots and soon came into the hands of the Jesuits. A public meeting of the Protestant citizens remonstrated against this act of spoliation and requested to be allowed to present the facts correctly for the consideration of the government. Those who took part in the meeting were charged with sedition and an army was quartered upon the city. Of those who had been at all active in the protest some were sentenced to death, some to the galleys, and others to banishment. Most of those on whom the heavier penalties fell were able to escape. Only two were executed at this time. Some were led by the persecution to renounce their faith. The most important Huguenot church buildings were appropriated by the Catholics, and the evangelical cause was brought to ruin.

At the National Synod of 1659 the king's commissioner announced that it was the purpose of the king to allow no more assemblies of this kind. Daillé made a noble

defense of his constituency and encouraged his brethren to steadfastness. The nominations sent to the king for the office of deputy general of the Huguenots was ignored by the government and the position left unfilled. The years 1660–1685 were a time of terrible and increasing sufferings for the Huguenots. Deprivation of churches and colleges, exclusion from public offices, ruinous fines, torture, imprisonment, condemnation to the galleys, forcible separation of Huguenot children from their parents to be educated as Catholics, the dragonnades (the quartering of soldiers on Huguenot families with permission to treat the householders as slaves, and worse, with the understanding that relief could come only from their acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith)—all these things were endured. The wealthy classes were able to leave the country with a considerable part of their means and their business skill. When it was seen that vast numbers were emigrating and that the country was being thereby impoverished, every effort was made to prevent escape by sea and land, and many were seized and returned for fearful punishment. Up to 1685 the persecutions were based ostensibly not on the mere fact of being Protestants, but on supposed violations of the laws or contempt for royal authority. It was easy for their Roman Catholic enemies to trump up specific charges against individuals or communities that had in some way or other treated the established religion or its votaries with disrespect or violated some royal mandate. Entire communities often suffered for the offenses of a few (as at Montauban). But long before the final step was taken, which meant the extermination of the body, the persecution had become well-nigh universal and the provisions of the edict were almost completely ignored. There are in all history few more harrowing narratives than that of the sufferings of the Huguenots during these years.

(3) *The Act of Revocation.* By 1685 a very large number of Huguenots had yielded to the persecuting measures and had professed conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Many of their churches and schools had been broken up. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon Louis by the prelates, the Jesuits, and, prob-

ably, by Madame de Maintenon, who had abandoned the evangelical faith and become first a mistress of the king and then queen (*c.* 1684), to complete the work of destruction that had already gone so far by revoking the Edict of Nantes and putting all non-Catholic Christians under the ban. According to his own statement in his preamble to the Revocation, the fact that after many years of war peace had been made (1684) and the fact that "the better and greater part of our subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion had embraced the Catholic," are given as the motives of his present procedure. As the Huguenots must have numbered at the beginning of the persecutions between a million and a million and a half, and as only fifty thousand conversions had been reported to him,[1] Louis' statement about conversions can hardly be credited.

By a "perpetual and irrevocable edict," Louis XIV. (October, 1685) suppressed and revoked the Edict of Nantes and its accompanying secret articles and letters-patent, together with subsequent laws and grants in favor of the Protestants, and he ordered the immediate demolition of all Protestant temples within his dominions. He next forbade all gatherings for religious services on the part of the Protestants. Noblemen are specially forbidden to hold religious services in their houses or upon their lands. The penalty in these cases is to be confiscation of body and of goods. Protestant ministers are enjoined to leave France within fifteen days and meantime neither to preach nor perform any ministerial function, the penalty being the galleys. If, on the other hand, they become Catholics, they shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities they have hitherto enjoyed and have a third added to their salaries, one half of which shall be continued to their widows in case of death. Special encouragement is given to them to enter the legal profession. Protestant private schools are to be abolished. Children born of Protestant parents are to be baptized by the parish priests and brought up as Catholics. A rigorous prohibition is placed on emigration or the exporting of goods and chattels, the penalty

[1] See letter to James II. of England, quoted by Baird, Vol. II., p. 27.

being for men, galley service; for women, confiscation of body and goods. The document closes: "As for the rest, the said adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion, while awaiting the time when it may please God to enlighten them as he has enlightened the others, shall be permitted to dwell in the towns and places of the kingdom and regions and lands subject to us, and therein to prosecute their trades and enjoy their property, without let or hindrance on account of their religion, upon the condition, as aforesaid, that they do not hold services nor assemble under pretext of prayers or worship of any kind of the said religion, under penalties above prescribed of confiscation of body and of goods."

The pretended toleration of quiet Huguenots who would refrain from any public manifestation of their religious convictions was deceptive and proved of no avail. The execution of the Edict of Revocation was entered upon at once and carried through to the bitter end with the utmost rigor. Methods that had been applied in particular communities and in the case of particular persons were now generally employed. The galleys became filled with Huguenot slaves, many of them educated ministers of the gospel. The prisons were filled to overflowing. Large numbers were tortured and put to death. The dragonnades were continued with increased barbarity. Multitudes escaped beyond the borders notwithstanding the efforts to guard the avenues of flight. According to the most careful estimates from three hundred to four hundred thousand Huguenots left France shortly before or shortly after the Revocation. Of these, about one hundred thousand found homes in Holland, one hundred thousand in England, Ireland, and America, twenty-five thousand in Switzerland, and seventy-five thousand in Germany. The number destroyed in France cannot be accurately estimated, but, including these who died in prisons and in the galleys, must have been very great. Hundreds of thousands became nominally Catholic and drifted into infidelity, being relatively weak in moral strength and religious conviction and deprived of spiritual nutriment.

(4) *Results of the Revocation.* *a.* It destroyed a vast number of the most conscientious, enterprising, industrious, and intelligent citizens—the wealth-producers of

the nation. *b.* It drove into exile a vastly greater number of the very ablest, wealthiest, most enterprising, and most religious members of the commonwealth, thereby depriving France of a large amount of capital, enterprise, skill in manufacturing and in commerce, and of professional learning and experience, and at the same time and in equal measure enriching the nations that received them and raising up competitors in lines of manufactures and commerce in which France had held the supremacy. *c.* As already suggested, hundreds of thousands, including many of the wealthy and of the educated, were led to violate their consciences and outwardly to conform to a religion that their souls abominated, to become, themselves and their descendants, skeptics and infidels. Much of the freethinking that preceded the French Revolution can be traced back to Huguenot antecedents. *d.* By permitting the French Catholics to triumph by cruelty at a time when spiritual life was at the lowest ebb and shameless immorality everywhere prevailed among the clergy from the highest to the lowest, the arrogance, oppressiveness, and intolerance of the church were so increased as to make the utter revolt of the French people against the Christian religion during the Revolution easily intelligible. *e.* Being a triumph of arbitrary monarchical power over the principles of civil and religious liberty, it encouraged the government to continue to disregard the rights and wishes of the people, to squander the people's money and lives in unprofitable warfare, in the maintenance of a luxurious court, and in the enrichment of favorites, until at last, stimulated by the revolutionary views of the skeptical philosophers and economists referred to and by the example of the American colonists, they rose with volcanic suddenness and destructiveness and swept away for a time every vestige of feudalism and class privilege and the Bourbon monarchy itself.

The following statement attributed to Jules Simon, the French Roman Catholic statesman and philosopher,[1] is well worth requoting here:

> The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without the slightest pre-

[1] Baird, Vol. II., p. 106, *seq.*

text or the least necessity, as well as the various declarations, or rather proscriptions, that followed, were the fruits of that horrible plot which depopulated a fourth part of the kingdom, ruined its trade, enfeebled it in every quarter, gave it over for so long a time to open and avowed pillage at the hands of the dragoons, and authorized those torments and sufferings by means of which they actually compassed the death of so many thousands of innocent persons of both sexes—a plot that brought ruin on so great a body of people, that tore asunder countless families, arraying relatives against relatives, for the purpose of getting possession of their goods, whereupon they left them to die of hunger—a plot that caused our manufactures to pass over to foreigners, made foreign States flourish and overflow with wealth at the expense of our own, and enabled them to build new cities—that presented to the nations the spectacle of so vast a multitude of people that had committed no crime, proscribed, naked, wandering fugitives, seeking an asylum afar from their country—that consigned the noble, the wealthy, the aged, those highly esteemed, in many cases, for their piety, their learning, their virtue, those accustomed to a life of ease, frail, delicate, to hard labor in the galleys, under the overseer's lash, and for no reason save their religion—a plot that, to crown all other horrors, filled every province in the kingdom with perjury and sacrilege; inasmuch as while the land rang with the cries of these unhappy victims of error, so many others sacrificed their consciences for their property and their ease, purchasing both by means of feigned abjurations; abjurations from which they were dragged, without a moment's interval, to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive what was really the divine body of the Most Holy One, while they still remained convinced that they were eating nothing but bread, bread indeed which they were bound to abhor. Such was the general abomination begotten of flattery and cruelty. Between torture and abjuration, between abjuration and the Communion, there was often not an interval of twenty-four hours, and their torturers were their conductors and their witnesses. Those who subsequently seemed to have made the change with greater deliberation were not slow in giving the lie to their pretended conversions by the tenor of their lives or by flight.

3. *The Banishment of the Salzburgers.*

LITERATURE: Göcking, "*Emigrationsgesch. Salzb. Lutherischen*," 1734; Dannapel, "*Die Liter. d. Salzb. Em.*," 1886; Weitbrecht, "*Die Evangel. Salzb.*," 1888; Bodemann, "*Die Evang. Salzb. und Zillerthaler*," 1889; Strobel, "The Salzburgers and their Descendants," 1855; Clarus, "*Die Ausweisung d. Prot. gesinnten Salzburger*," 1864; art. in encyclopædias.

The mountain regions of the bishopric of Salzburg in upper Austria had been during the mediæval time a dwelling-place of evangelical dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church. Waldenses and related parties had been followed by Hussites. Luther's teachings and

those of the Anabaptists found joyful acceptance there during the early years of the Reformation. Persecution suppressed the public profession of evangelical Christianity (Counter-Reformation); but during the generation preceding the Thirty Years' War, as well as during the war itself, the evangelical Salzburgers, who were now for the most part Lutherans, kept alive their faith, while outwardly conforming to the Roman Catholic Church, by reading the Bible and such writings of Luther, Urban Rhegius, and other reformers, as they possessed, and by meeting secretly for worship. In 1683 a Lutheran congregation was discovered at Tefferegenthal. The leaders were imprisoned and compelled to prepare a statement of their views. It was decreed that all Lutheran books should be burned and that all who would not renounce their faith should be banished and robbed of property and of their children. As the peace of Westphalia had provided for the peaceable emigration of those professing a different faith from their prince, with opportunity to sell immovable property and to take away movable property, Protestant Europe was indignant and an explanation was demanded. The excuse was that the persecuted were neither Lutheran nor Reformed and hence could claim no protection from the provisions of the peace.

The death of the archbishop caused a cessation of persecution before it had become exterminating. Joseph Schlaitberger, one of the ministers who had been imprisoned and had prepared a statement of the views of his party, took refuge in Nuremberg, and devoted his life largely to preparing a devotional literature for his Salzburg brethren. His hymns and devotional books no doubt caused a great revival of zeal among them, so that by 1728 more than twenty thousand were ready to confess themselves Lutherans.

The accession of Leopold Anton, Count of Firmian, to the archbishopric of Salzburg (1728) was followed by the great persecution. He expressed a determination to rid his country of heretics "even though thorns and thistles should grow upon the fields." The Salzburg Lutherans appealed to the evangelical estates at Regensburg for protection. The archbishop, under Jesuit guidance, encouraged the Lutherans to hope that a commission ap-

pointed by him (1731) after gaining all the information as to their numbers, distribution, etc., that was requisite, would recommend such measures as would remedy their grievances. The archbishop and the Lutherans themselves were astonished to find that with such encouragement more than twenty thousand were ready to declare themselves Lutheran. By this means he came into possession of the names and places of residence of the entire body of evangelicals and was in a position to carry out his exterminating measures with completeness and expedition and without tedious inquisitorial proceedings.

When the Lutherans, who had put into the hands of their persecutors all the information that was necessary to the success of their exterminating measures, saw that disaster was imminent, their leaders resolved upon the cementing of the evangelical body for life or death by a covenant. In August, 1731, about three hundred of them, representing their various communities, assembled at Schwarzach. On a round table a vessel of salt was placed. Around the table sat the elders of the congregations. The others stood around the table in a larger circle. One of the elders proposed that all should enter into a salt-covenant. All dipped their fingers in the salt and conveying them to their lips swore with the right hand lifted toward heaven that they would hold fast to the evangelical faith even unto death. As any form of resistance other than moral was out of the question, this procedure seems to have been ill-advised. It removed from their persecutors any scruple that may have remained on account of the provisions of the peace of Westphalia. By covenanting together in this solemn way to hold fast to their faith they had bidden defiance to the authorities. They decided to send a deputation to the emperor at Vienna; but these were not allowed to proceed. They then besought the evangelical princes to intervene for their deliverance.

Frederick William I., of Prussia, heartily espoused their cause and sought to induce the other evangelical rulers to join with him in threatening retaliatory measures against Roman Catholics in their dominions in case the provisions of the peace of Westphalia were not observed by the Archbishop of Salzburg in his dealings with his

evangelical subjects. Failing to secure the necessary co-operation on the part of the evangelical princes and failing to move the emperor to prohibit the measures contemplated by the archbishop, the noble Prussian king had to content himself with an offer to welcome and provide sustenance for the whole body of Salzburg evangelicals.

The salt-covenant was followed immediately by severe persecution. Soldiers were quartered on evangelical families. Evangelical meetings were strictly prohibited, and the celebration of religious rites was interdicted. The decisive blow fell October 31, 1731, when an "Emigration Patent" was published, which commanded all Protestants to leave the country on the ground of having conspired against the Catholic religion in the salt-covenant. Laborers over twelve years of age were required to leave their employment without compensation within eight days. Citizens and artisans were to lose at once their civil and guild rights and all propertied people were allowed from one to three months for selling their immovable goods and houses and required to leave the country promptly at the end of this time.

In the midst of winter, with such horses and wagons and such provisions as they could command, they set out on their long northward journey to Prussia. They went forth full of religious zeal and when they entered into Protestant territory they made known their approach to the towns and cities by singing with enthusiasm Luther's and Schlaitberger's hymns. They were everywhere treated with the utmost kindness and their journey, though full of hardship, was almost a continuous ovation. Many companies were invited to settle at places on the way, but they had been invited to Prussia and felt it their duty to put themselves under the government of their best friend. Nearly twenty thousand of them reached Prussia and a large majority settled in Lithuania. The royal treasury was heavily taxed to provide for them while they were becoming self-supporting; but the king was abundantly repaid by their contribution to the evangelical zeal and to the economic forces of the country. The king of England asked evangelical people everywhere to contribute toward the relief of the emigrants and the sum of nine hundred thou-

sand florins was collected. A small colony of them settled in Georgia, United States, and they were noted for their thrift and their evangelical character.

Hardly any religious event during the eighteenth century drew out the sympathies of the evangelical world to so great an extent or so intensified the zeal of evangelicals against the Roman Catholic Church, whose intolerance was thereby so clearly shown.

4. *The Roman Catholic Church and the French Revolution.*

LITERATURE: Sloan, "The French Revolution and Religious Reform," 1901; Pressensé, "The Church and the French Revolution"; works on the French Revolution by Thiers, Taine, Stephens, Von Sybel, Alison, Carlyle, etc.

(1) *The Religious Condition of France in 1789.* We have seen how Jansenism was prostrated during the early years of the eighteenth century; it long survived, however, as a moral force in the French Catholic Church and made its influence powerfully felt for good in the Parliament of Paris and in the provincial Parliaments, many eminent jurists being of this persuasion. The Parliament of Paris sought in many ways to put a check on royal despotism, which was becoming more and more extravagant under Jesuit influence about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1752 the Parliament by decree forbade, in opposition to the crown, the withholding of the sacraments from those who denied the authority of the papal Bull *Unigenitus* (against the Jansenists). The king responded by banishing the Parliament, but there was such a popular outcry against arbitrary royal measures that he felt obliged to recall these guardians of the people's rights. In 1756 the king sought to secure a recognition of the sovereignty of the Grand Council. Parliament promptly intervened, accurately defining the powers of the Grand Council. Shortly afterward Parliament refused to register a royal edict for new taxes and the tribunal was abolished by royal order. The king found he could not collect taxes without the approval of Parliament and restored the body three months later. The grand remonstrance of the Jansenistic Parliament could not be ignored and it was because of the dissatisfaction of the Ultramontane clergy with its attitude that

the assembling of the States General began to be agitated. The three estates were not called, however, until 1789 and they inaugurated the Revolution. The Parliament of Paris and with it the moral influence of the Jansenists, was abolished in 1771, and thereby revolution was made easier and more certain. There were in France during the second half of the eighteenth century a number of Gallicans, to be distinguished from Jansenists, who opposed Ultramontanism and royal absolutism alike, but who occupied distinctly lower moral and religious ground than did the Jansenists. The Huguenots had never been entirely exterminated. Many had remained faithful even in the cities during the darkest days. In the mountain regions of the southeast of France many heroic ministers had kept alive the torch of gospel truth among congregations that met in sequestered places, braving the persecutions that they were called on to suffer. The war of the Cevennes (1702–1710), in which the *Camisards* carried on a desperate guerilla warfare against their persecutors, proved once more how difficult it is to subdue a mountain people with strong religious convictions. The overthrow of the Cevenols as a militant power was far from putting an end to French Protestantism. "The church of the Desert" persisted with rare heroism until, through the pleas of Voltaire and others, toleration came at last in 1787. At the beginning of the French Revolution French Protestants were not only numerous but they counted among their number men of rare ability and force of character. The Jesuits who had shaped the ecclesiastical administration of Louis XIV. had become generally unpopular in France, as well as in Spain and Portugal, and had lost royal favor. Their meddlesomeness, their use of State secrets for the purposes of the society, and the disastrous results to commerce of some of their wild speculations in Martinique, led to their suppression in France in 1764. A little later Spain and Portugal followed the example of France, and the three powers brought their influence successfully to bear upon the pope for the utter abolition of the Society of Jesus.

Voltaire had not stopped short with assailing the Roman Catholic Church for its intolerance, corruption, and ruinous exploitation of the country and the people, and with

fixing upon it the stigma of infamy (*l'Infame* was the title by which he frequently described the system as it existed); but his writings tended to produce downright infidelity. Rousseau's deism, with his demand for a return to nature and the abolition of conventionalities in Church and State, influenced many minds in favor of a complete revolution of the social, political, and religious order. D'Alembert and Diderot combined with skepticism almost as pronounced as that of Voltaire ideas of social and economic reform that struck at the roots of Church and State alike as they existed in their day. These revolutionary views had profoundly influenced many thousands of educated Frenchmen, and had no doubt filtered down among the masses to the extent of making them conscious of the injustice of existing arrangements and eager to embrace any feasible opportunity for social amelioration.

It is interesting to note that the influence of French liberalism was by no means confined to France. The Emperor Joseph II. became deeply imbued with it, and with the support of a large proportion of the Austrian Catholics treated with contempt the pretensions of the pope. Frederick the Great of Prussia entertained French skeptical philosophers at his court, became himself an adept at their kind of thinking and writing, and wrote his books in the French language. The Swedish court was also dominated by French ideas. In England and America, before, during, and just after the American Revolution, French skepticism and social ideas had a wide currency among educated people, and in a coarser form became widely diffused among the people.

Voltaire's expression, "the infamous one," or "the infamous woman," does not seem to have been intended to designate the Roman Catholic Church as such, but the entire system of ecclesiastico-political exploitation and oppression that had resulted in the destruction of civil and religious liberty, the enormous enrichment of the church, the impoverishment of the masses, and the enslavement of the bodies and souls of men.

The great mass of the higher and lower clergy and the members of the monastic orders were Ultramontane in sentiment as a matter of self-interest if not as a mat-

ter of principle. The higher clergy were for the most part members of the nobility appointed as a matter of royal favoritism and with interests almost purely secular. Their incomes were princely and their lives differed little from those of the nobility. Yet many men of great learning and eloquence and of considerable spiritual power made their way into the higher ranks. The intermediate clergy, drawn largely from the monastic orders, were moderately provided for and embraced many able and learned men. The lower ranks were, for the most part, ill-endowed, ill-equipped, ill-supported, and inefficient. While the clergy as a body professed Ultramontane principles, it can hardly be doubted that large numbers of them had come under the influence of the skeptical modes of thought that so widely prevailed.

One of the most unendurable grievances of the French people and one of the causes of the abolition of the church by the revolutionists was its enormous wealth, which was being steadily and rapidly increased even when financial depression and general misery prevailed. With a priestly and monastic constituency of less than three hundred thousand (about one hundredth of the population) the church appropriated and consumed (or saved) one-fifth of the income of the country. It has been estimated that if the church had paid taxes from the beginning of the century at the same rate as did the non-privileged classes, more than a billion dollars would have been added to the public treasury. As similar exemptions were enjoyed by the nobles, the third estate had borne and was bearing almost the entire expense of a most extravagant and wasteful government. The number of clergy and members of the monastic orders had declined within thirty years from over four hundred thousand to a little over two hundred and fifty thousand, and was steadily diminishing. It was to the interest of those in control to reduce the numbers, as the income would remain the same and the share of each would increase with diminishing numbers. As the great mass of the clergy were poorly provided for the bulk of the income was enjoyed by a comparatively small number. Several rich benefices were often enjoyed by a single individual, and the duties attaching to the offices were

either wholly neglected or performed by cheap substitutes. It is said that at the beginning of the Revolution seventy per cent. of the monasteries were held *in commendam* by those who performed no duties and were not even in residence. While the church was supposed to be the chief organ for the gathering and distribution of charities, little of its vast revenue was applied to the relief of the poor and afflicted. It possessed half of the landed property of France, besides personal property accumulated for ages. Besides enjoying the income of these vast estates it had the privilege of drawing a large revenue from the tax-paying population and its representatives were the frequent recipients of royal gratuities drawn from the same source. The utter worldliness and the shameless immorality of a large proportion of the clergy made the enjoyment of their special privileges even more distasteful to the exploited classes than they would otherwise have been. The wonder is, not that the day of reckoning came at last, but that its coming was so long deferred.

The clergy of the lower ranks, being themselves the objects of oppression, sympathized for the most part with the woes of the people and were zealous for social and economic reform. Many of these cast in their lot with the revolutionists.

(2) *The Church and the National Assembly.* When in his desperation Louis XVI. called together the States General (representatives of the three estates: nobles, clergy, and commons), it was intended that the representatives of each estate should deliberate and vote as a unit, and as the nobles and clergy had many interests in common, there seemed no danger that the representatives of the third estate would be able to exert an overwhelming influence over the body and insist upon the carrying through of revolutionary measures. The demand of the third estate that the body be organized on the basis of one man one vote was sternly resisted by clergy and nobles. The third estate numbered six hundred and sixty-one delegates, while the combined force of clergy (three hundred and eight) and nobles (two hundred and eighty-five) was less than six hundred. To yield the point on the part of the latter two meant to give the con-

trol of the body into the hands of the third estate. The third estate was proceeding to regard itself as the National Assembly because of the refusal of the other estates to co-operate on the terms proposed. The king first attempted to coerce the third estate, but afterward yielded to it and ordered clergy and nobles to concede the demands made by the representatives of the people. The third estate at this time embraced most of the legal talent and much of the commercial, manufacturing, and financial strength and wisdom of the country. It had become evident that its leaders in the Assembly were deeply in earnest, and resolved upon pursuing the demand of the people for thorough-going reform to the bitter end. The scoring of this victory aroused the popular enthusiasm throughout the country to a white heat. The storming and destruction of the Bastille (July 14, 1789), which stood for irresponsible tyranny, was followed by the destruction of castles and other appurtenances of feudalism throughout France, and the organization of troops not subject to the royal command. July 14, 1789, was thenceforth a national anniversary and was regarded as the birthday of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The lower clergy were not slow to denounce the corruptions and oppressions of the higher clergy, and demanded the breaking of the chains with which episcopal despotism had bound them. By August 4, 1789, nobles and prelates alike had come to see the impossibility of preserving their feudal privileges. They graciously joined with the representatives of the people in voting the utter abolition of the feudal system with all its immunities and class distinctions, and only asked the privilege of being admitted on equal terms to the great body of French citizens. The abolition of the tithing system and of contributions levied by the pope followed (August 10). On December 21 complete liberty of worship and full citizenship were given to the Huguenots. A year later these privileges were extended to Lutherans and Swiss Protestants. In the meantime religious privileges had been granted to Jews.

In the debate of August 4, the Bishop of Uzès had declared that the property and privileges of the church having been bestowed by the nation could be reappro-

priated only by the nation. A few days afterward one of the deputies asserted that ecclesiastical property belonged to the nation and should be used for relieving the terrible financial strain that was crushing it. A noble suggested the confiscation and sale of superfluous ecclesiastical and monastic plate, and the suggestion was approved by the Archbishop of Paris. Most of the clericals deprecated such a sacrifice, but the archbishop was able three days later to make the offer, which was promptly accepted by the Assembly. No doubt much was withheld that might have been contributed, but the result was about twenty-eight million dollars. This throwing of a sop to Cerberus did not suffice. A deputy called attention to the hundreds of millions of dollars that had accrued to the church from its exemptions and privileges. If the church had contributed even on the same scale as the nobles during the past eighty-three years the State would have five hundred and forty million dollars as a reserve capital. He insisted that the church property belonged to the State and should be used for State purposes. The value of the property wrongfully held by the church he estimated at about twelve hundred million dollars. After much discussion Mirabeau proposed the confiscation of the property of the church and the assumption by the State of the support, on a moderate scale, of public worship. This measure was strenuously opposed by a large proportion of the prelates. On October 31 the prelates offered eighty million dollars toward the national deficit and promised reforms in financial administration. The motion for placing church property "at the disposal of the nation" was carried (November 2) by a very large majority. The process of appropriation and sale aroused bitterly hostile feelings among the clergy which prepared the way for their complete overthrow. The appropriation by the State of the property of the church did much toward precipitating the Reign of Terror. On March 10, 1790, Rabaud St. Etienne, a Protestant, became chairman of the Assembly, which had shortly before declined to vote that Roman Catholicism was the religion of the State. A violent speech by Dom Gerle, a Carthusian monk (March 13), in favor of the recognition of Roman Ca-

tholicism as the religion of the State almost caused a riot. The protest of the prelates was in vain, and nothing was left to the clergy but to become the hirelings of the State or to withdraw from all relations therewith.

On February 14, 1790, the monastic orders were abolished, on the ground that the monasteries were the abodes of tyranny, the prisons of sorrowing hearts suffering in silence, and the scenes of disorderly festivities and every sort of crime, and a small allowance was made to each monk and nun for support.

An ecclesiastical committee, whose most influential member was the eminent Jansenist jurist, Camus, had been appointed by the Assembly for the drafting of a new constitution for the church now deprived of its sources of income and entirely dependent on the State. "The Civil Constitution of the Church" was duly presented (May, 1790) by the committee and adopted by the Assembly (July 12, 1790). It provided for the abolition of the existing hierarchy (archbishoprics, bishoprics, etc.) and in its place created ten metropolitan districts, corresponding with the *arrondissements*, and eighty-three dioceses, coinciding with the departments, thus reducing the number of bishops (one hundred and thirty-six) nearly one-half; for the suppression of chapters as superfluous; for the appointment of bishops and parish priests by the electoral assemblies of the departments, which might be made up of Protestants, Jews, and atheists, and the installation of bishops by the metropolitan without the co-operation of the pope; that before being inducted into their offices they should take the oath of allegiance to the nation, the laws, and the king; that the bishop should have charge of the spiritual work in the cathedral churches, the other clergy of the diocese constituting a council for him, whose advice he was bound to follow; and it prohibited any intermeddling of foreign bishops in French ecclesiastical affairs. Parish priests were to be chosen by the district assemblies and inducted by the bishops. A theological seminary in every department (diocese) was provided for and the director was entitled to a seat along with the parish priests (*curés*) on the bishop's council. The remuneration of metropolitans, bishops, priests, seminary directors,

etc., was fixed on a moderate but adequate scale. The number of parish clergy was greatly reduced. Camus and his associates on the ecclesiastical committee professed a desire to restore the French church to primitive simplicity and purity, but it is difficult to see how they could have persuaded themselves that their handiwork bore the slightest resemblance to the apostolic norm.

The distracted king hesitated, conferred with pope and prelates, and at last (August 24) consented to the arrangement. His hesitation was unsatisfactory to the Ultramontanes, who had hoped for his prompt rejection of the measure, and to Jansenists, Protestants, and freethinkers, who saw that he simply yielded to the inevitable and was not at heart in sympathy with the radical proceedings of the Assembly. If the pope had been as courageous as some of his predecessors and successors, he could have greatly embarrassed the Assembly in its efforts to put the Civil Constitution in operation. As it was, a large number of bishops, canons, chapters, and priests refused to recognize the authority of the Assembly and sought to continue in the old way. The Assembly (November 27, 1790), after a heated debate, voted that all priests without exception should swear to obey the laws, the constitution, and the king, on pain of deposition, loss of salary, and loss of citizenship. On January 4, 1791, a majority of the Assembly voted, amid great excitement and under strong pressure from the Paris commune, that every clerical member of the Assembly, as well as every priest in the country, whether in office or not, should take the oath. Of the three hundred ecclesiastical deputies only eighty would take the oath, and of the one hundred and thirty-six bishops only four, and these not the most reputable. Of the sixty thousand parish priests and vicars only about ten thousand could be induced to swear. The newly created metropolitans were appointed more with reference to the heartiness with which they had accepted the revolution and the Civil Constitution than with reference to their moral and spiritual qualifications. The first of the new bishops were consecrated by Talleyrand. These in turn consecrated others.

Pius VI., after months of hesitation, declared against

the Civil Constitution (April, 1791) and prohibited the newly consecrated bishops from exercising episcopal functions. The Assembly retaliated by appropriating the counties of Avignon and Venaissin, which belonged to the pope. The attempt of the priests and their lay supporters, under papal encouragement, to resist the decrees of the Assembly led to much riot and bloodshed. In Paris a grotesque image of the pope, sitting on an ass and holding the figure of a bull, was paraded through the streets amid the jeers of the multitude and afterward burnt.

(3) *The Roman Catholic Church and the Legislative Assembly (1791–1792).* The Legislative Assembly was far more violently antagonistic to the Roman Catholic Church and to Christianity itself than the National (Constituent) Assembly had been. The resistance of the French clergy to the Civil Constitution and the oath of allegiance was met with wholesale massacre. Six hundred priests are said to have been slain at Avignon. The king's imprisonment and the order to clear Paris of priests fell on the same day (August 13, 1792). Several hundreds were thrown into prison, and when it was rumored (September 2) that a Prussian army was on its way to Paris to liberate the king, about three hundred of the clergy, including an archbishop and two bishops, were slaughtered in prison. Large numbers were slain at Meaux, Châlons, Rennes, and Lyons. About eight thousand suspects were massacred in Paris at this time. Priests and nobles in vast numbers fled from France (*emigrés*). Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, bitter opponents of Christianity, were now the leaders. The Reign of Terror may be said to have been inaugurated with this massacre.

(4) *The Roman Catholic Church and the National Convention (1792–1795).* A European coalition had been formed against the Revolution. The declaration of the Republic and the execution of the king were followed by the Reign of Terror, in which the leaders, whose hands were already red with blood, felt themselves justified, in the interest of the nation, in executing all suspects, clericals included, with the merest pretense of legal trial and conviction. The Committee of Public Safety, appointed by the Convention, was assisted in its bloody

work by forty-four thousand minor tribunals scattered throughout France. The popular hatred of Christianity kept pace with the barbarity of the revolutionary proceedings. In 1791 the remains of Voltaire were exhumed and he was given a public funeral in which the unbelieving philosopher was almost apotheosized. In April, 1793, the banishment of all non-juring clergy was decreed and constitutional clergy were permitted to marry. A new decimal calendar, with a complete change of the names of month and days and the substitution of a tenth day of rest and sport for the Christian Lord's Day, was introduced September 22, 1792. In November, 1793, Christianity was abolished, the existence of God publicly denied, and the worship of the Goddess of Reason was inaugurated with great pomp. Christian churches were desecrated throughout France, and many of them, including Notre Dame Cathedral, were used for the celebration of the worship of the goddess with worse than pagan lasciviousness and shamelessness.

By 1794 the reaction had gone so far that Robespierre could procure the adoption of a decree by the Convention in favor of the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. Robespierre officiated with much ceremony as high priest of the Supreme Being and was treated like a demigod. The fall and execution of Robespierre (July, 1794) was followed by a marked reaction in favor of Christianity. The excesses of the Terror had wrought their own cure. In 1795 Catholic worship, as well as Protestant and other, was permitted.

Under the Directory and the Consulate there was a gradual improvement in the condition and relations of the Roman Catholic Church in France. In Italy, Napoleon had deprived the pope of his temporal power and had set up republics in disregard of his wishes. For Napoleon's dealings with different popes, see sketches in an earlier section. The Concordat of 1801 and Napoleon's subsequent harsh dealing with popes have been sufficiently described above, as has been also the reaction in favor of the papacy as a friend of monarchical government and an enemy of revolution, which, under the guidance of the restored Jesuits, the popes knew how to utilize to the full.

5. *Recent Ultramontane Proceedings, and Reactions Thereby Provoked.*

(1) *The Proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, the Mother of Our Lord.*[1] From earlier sections of the present work it has been seen how important a place the mother of our Lord came to occupy in the thought and the worship of Christians. A large proportion of the Christians of the fourth and following centuries unreservedly applied to her the title "Mother of God," refusing to be satisfied with the statement that she was the mother of the humanity of Christ that was united indissolubly with deity, and insisting on paying her a devotion little short of that due to God. The tendency of this type of theology (the Alexandrian), by maintaining such a union of the divine and the human in the person of Christ as to make the resultant being absolutely divine and to obliterate the humanity, is to exalt the divine-human Saviour above the reach of all but the priestly intercessors, to destroy the sense of his infinite human sympathy, and to create and foster a demand, natural in any case among those whose antecedents had been pagan, involving devotion to female as well as male deities, for a motherly deity approachable by the humblest Christian, full of sympathy for all our weaknesses and woes, and able and willing to use her motherly influence with her exalted Son on our behalf. After her cult had become thoroughly established and almost universal in the Eastern and Western churches alike, theologians began to ask themselves how they could justify the paying of an adoration almost divine to a mere woman, even though she had been divinely chosen to be the mother of the Christ. Many of the patristic writers (including Augustine) went so far as to exempt Mary from actual trangression, but no one asserted her sinless conception. When the canons of Lyons (1139) introduced a festival in honor of the conception of the immaculate Mary, the leading guardians of orthodoxy (like Bernard) rebuked them, claiming that it would be

[1] See Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," and art. "Immaculate Conception" in Johnson's "Cyclopædia" and in the Schaff-Herzog "Encyclopædia"; Preuss, "The Romish Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," 1865; Perrone, "*De Immaculato B. V. M. Conceptu*," 1853; and H. B. Smith in "Methodist Quar. Rev." for 1855.

just as reasonable to do the same thing in the case of our Lord's grandmother, great-grandmother, etc. Anselm, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas agreed with the mediæval popes in denying the immaculate conception of Mary. Duns Scotus and his followers insisted on the doctrine, which gradually made its way to acceptance as a church dogma. The Council of Trent was non-committal. The Jesuits espoused the Scotist side, and industriously propagated the doctrine in opposition to Dominicans and Jansenists. With their restoration to leadership they began to scheme for the enforcement of the doctrine on the consciences of the entire church.

In 1849 Pope Pius IX. sent an encyclical to the bishops requesting them to express their opinions on the matter and their wishes as to an authoritative definition, making clear his own conviction as to the supreme importance of the doctrine and its definition. The encyclical contained the following remarkable utterance: "Ye know full well, venerable brethren, that the whole ground of our confidence is placed in the most holy Virgin," since "God has vested in her the plenitude of all good, so that henceforth, if there be in us any hope, if there be any grace, if there be any salvation, we must receive it solely from her, according to the will of him who would have us possess all things through Mary." More than six hundred prelates responded, all but four approving the doctrine itself and the papal definition of it as a dogma of the church.

On the occasion of the Feast of the Conception (December 8, 1854), in the presence of more than two hundred cardinals, bishops, and other dignitaries, Pius IX solemnly defined and promulgated the dogma as follows: "That the most blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instant of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, by the intuitive perception (*intuitu*) of the merits of Christ Jesus the Saviour of the human race, was kept immune from any contamination of original sin." This dogma, it is added, "has been revealed by God, and therefore must be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful."

The promulgation of this dogma without the calling of

a general council, and amid the enthusiasm of a jubilee in honor of the Virgin, was no doubt shrewdly designed to prepare the way for the dogma of papal infallibility, the definition and recognition of which formed an integral part of the Jesuit programme which Pius IX. was systematically striving to carry out.

From the Roman standpoint this dogma completes the Mariology and Mariolatry, which, step by step, proceeded from the perpetual virginity of Mary to her freedom from actual sin after the conception of the Saviour, then to freedom from sin after her birth, and at last to her freedom from original or hereditary sin. The only thing now left is to proclaim the dogma of her assumption to heaven, which has long been a pious opinion in the Roman Church. To this corresponds the progress in the worship of Mary, and the multiplication of her festivals. Her worship even overshadows the worship of Christ. She, the tender, compassionate, lovely woman, is invoked for her powerful intercession, rather than her divine Son. She is made the fountain of all grace, the mediatrix between Christ and the believer, and is virtually put in the place of the Holy Ghost. There is scarcely an epithet of Christ which devout Roman Catholics do not apply to the Virgin; and Pope Pius IX. sanctioned the false interpretation of Gen. 3 : 15, that she (not Christ) crushed the head of the serpent.—*Schaff.*

(2) *The Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs and the Public Declaration of the Necessity of Preserving Intact the Temporal Sovereignty of the Church.*[1] At Pentecost, 1862, Pius IX. called the prelates together to participate in the canonization of the Japanese martyrs of 1597, but really to join with him in a protest against the past and imminent spoliation of the Patrimony of Peter. The prelates expressed their conviction that the civil power was necessary to the Holy See, to which it had been annexed by a special and visible providence of God; that in the actual order of things the civil power was an indispensable requisite to the free government of the church; that the head of the church of God could not be the subject of any prince; that he must enjoy the fullest independence in his own territory and in his own States, as in no other way could he protect and defend the Catholic faith and guide and govern the whole Christian commonwealth. The pope presented each prelate

[1] See Wiseman, "Rome and the Catholic Episcopate at the Feast of Pentecost," 1862; Döllinger, "The Church and the Churches," 1862; Alzog, "Univ. Ch. Hist.," § 412; and Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neuesten Kirchengeschichte,*" *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 120 *seq.*

with a copy of a great work on "The Temporal Sovereignty of the Roman Pontiffs" (in six folio volumes), containing protests from all parts of the world against the actual and imminent spoliation of the Patrimony of Peter.

(3) *The Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864.*[1] By 1864 Ultramontanism had a multitude of enemies inside of the Roman Catholic Church as well as outside of the body. In France Gallicanism was represented by men of high estate and great repute. In Germany, especially in the Catholic faculties of the Universities of Munich, Tübingen, and Bonn, a large number of Roman Catholic scholars had been under the influence of the current Protestant liberalism, had come to be advocates of the application of the scientific method to the study of theology, church history, the Bible, civil government, etc., and did not regard with favor the claim of the pope and the Roman Curia to determine what every Catholic must believe and how the facts of history should be interpreted. The bitter opposition that had been encountered by Pius IX. and the Jesuits in their efforts to foist upon the church the doctrine of papal infallibility, and the utter repudiation of the pope's claim to dictate the policy of civil governments, led to the sending forth at this time of an Encyclical and a Syllabus of eighty errors, which Catholics everywhere must join with the pope in anathematizing. In the Encyclical, Pius states that scarcely had he assumed his office "when We, to the extreme grief of Our soul, beheld a horrible tempest stirred up by so many erroneous opinions, and the dreadful and never-enough-to-be-lamented mischiefs which redound to Christian people from such errors." He feels it now incumbent upon him in the exercise of his apostolic authority to condemn these errors in detail. He also comes to the defense of the Religious Orders that have been so bitterly attacked by the naturalism and unbelief of the time.

The eighty errors specified and condemned in the Syllabus are arranged in ten sections: Pantheism, Nat-

[1] See Schaff, "The Creeds of Christendom"; Badenoch (editor), "Ultramontanism: England's Sympathy with Germany," 1874; Janus (Döllinger and Friedrich) "The Pope and the Council," 1869.

uralism, and Absolute Rationalism; Moderate Rationalism; Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism (Toleration); Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies; Errors about Civil Society considered in itself as well as in its Relations to the Church; Errors concerning Natural and Christian Ethics; Errors concerning Christian Matrimony; Errors concerning the Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff; Errors that are referred to the Liberalism of the Day, all these were opposed and condemned by him. Only a few specimen articles can be here given.

The Syllabus anathematizes the proposition that "the decrees of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Congregations impede the free progress of science" (art. 12); that "Every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which, guided by the light of reason, he shall have thought to be true" (art. 15); that "Protestantism is nothing else than a different form of the same Christian religion, in which, just as well as in the Catholic Church, it is possible to please God" (art. 18); that "The church is not a true, perfect, and entirely free association" (art. 19); that "The church has not the power of defining dogmatically that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion" (art. 21); that "The Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of Princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals" (art. 23); that "The church has not the power of availing herself of force, nor any temporal power direct or indirect" (art. 24); that "The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church" (art. 55); that "The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself to and agree with progress, with liberalism, and with recent State polity" (art. 80).

These extracts are sufficient to show that the papacy of the nineteenth century is fully prepared to defend every act of intolerance and of interference with civil matters, including the burning of heretics, the preaching of crusades against heretics, and the deposition and the setting up of kings, and makes it a matter of disloyalty for any one to call in question a past or present papal act.

It is distinctly asserted that the church has the power to use force and to employ temporal power for the enforcement of its decrees. It is expressly denied that popes have ever exceeded the proper bounds of their power or usurped the rights of princes. Modern civilization in all its forms, except so far as it accords with the ideas of the pope, is utterly repudiated. These teachings are in complete accord with contemporary utterances of the Jesuits (see "The Pope and the Council," by Janus, Chap. I.). The repudiation of Magna Charta, condemned by Innocent III., and of all modern European and American constitutions, is involved.

Pope Leo XIII., the infallible successor of Pius IX., declared (April 21, 1878) that the utterances of the Syllabus have the authority of papal infallibility.

(4) *Celebration of the Eighteenth Centenary of the Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29, 1867).*[1] This occasion was utilized for bringing to Rome a vast concourse of Ultramontane Catholics and to further the Jesuit scheme of papal absolutism with Jesuits as the power behind the throne. About ten thousand priests, gathered from far and near, listened in the great Hall of Consistory to the exhortations of the venerable pontiff as if to an oracle of God. Fifteen hundred representatives of one hundred Italian cities presented the pope with an album containing the signatures of those who were loyal to him, and deprecated the spoliation of the church by Victor Emmanuel. The pope's response was full of bitterness toward the enemies of the church. He spoke of the date (July 2) as coincident with the termination of a pestilence some years before, and he sees indications that "to-day marks the beginning of a season of mercy." It is the anniversary of the liberation of Rome by a friendly army (1849). "This day has been regarded as fatal to Rome; but I say that the hour of triumph has already dawned. It has been said that I hate Italy. No, I do not hate her. I have always loved her, always blessed her, always sought her happiness, and God alone knows, how long and ardently I have prayed for her." Yet he regards the present striv-

[1] See good account of this celebration in Alzog, "Univ. Ch. Hist.," § 4:2, and the literature there referred to.

ing for unity as based upon selfishness and injustice, and predicts that "the whole world will cry out against such infamy." "The hour of triumph gives tokens of its presence, and cannot be long delayed." Five hundred bishops were present "to honor his great virtues, to comfort him in the midst of the trials which afflicted the church, and to renew the strength of their own hearts by gazing upon his fatherly countenance." They declare that the Chair of St. Peter is "still the organ of truth, the center of unity, the bulwark of liberty." They give their full assent to the Syllabus, stating that their "most pleasing, as well as most sacred, duty would be to believe and teach what he taught and believed; to reject the errors that he rejected; to follow whither he led; to combat at his side; to be ready, like him, to encounter dangers and trials and contradictions." The occasion was utilized all over the Catholic world for arousing enthusiasm on behalf of the supposed successor of Peter.

(5) *The Vatican Council (December 8, 1869–July 18, 1870).*[1] *a. Antecedents of the Council.* In the Jesuit "Voices of Maria Laach" (1869), it is remarked: "The intrinsic and essential connection between the Encyclical of December 8, 1864, and the Ecumenical Council, convoked by Pius IX. and to be opened this year, is self-evident. The council will complete the structure, the foundations of which were laid in the Encyclical." Two days before the publication of the Encyclical and Syllabus, the pope had made known his purpose to call such a council. In March, 1865, he appointed a commission to consider the advisability and opportuneness of holding an Ecumenical Council at an early date. A favorable report was followed by the appointment of a Congrega-

[1] See official "*Acta et Decreta Sacrosancti et Œcumenici Concilii Vaticani*," 1872; Friedrich, "*Documenta ad illustrandum Conc. Vat.*," 1871; Janus (Döllinger *et al.*), "The Pope and the Council," 1869; Quirinus (*pseudonymous*), "Letters from Rome on the Council," 1870; Pomponius Leto (*pseudonymous*), "Eight Months at Rome during the Vatican Council. Impressions of a Contemporary," 1876 (the most realistic and interesting account yet published, evidently based upon close observation and access to inside sources of information. The Appendix contains a large body of important documents in the languages in which they were written); Friedberg, "*Sammlung der Actenstücke zum ersten Vat. Concil*," 1872; Pressensé, "*Le Concile du Vatican*," 1872; Manning, "The True Story of the Vat. Council," 1877; Gladstone, "The Vatican Decrees" and "Vaticanism"; Bacon, "An Inside View of the Vat. Council," 1872; Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. I., pp. 134–188; Vol. II., pp. 234–271 (Schaff gives the literature very fully up to 1878).

tion of Direction, composed of five cardinals, eight bishops, and a secretary, whose business it should be to ascertain fully the needs of the church and to prepare materials for the action of the future council. Secret letters were sent to many prelates in Europe and the East asking them to state frankly what questions in their opinion ought to be treated by the council. There was a general agreement that the action of the council should be along the line of the Syllabus of 1864. The attitude of the bishops was still further tested by a circular sent out June, 1867, by the Prefect of the Congregation of the Council (Trent), asking their opinions on seventeen matters of morals and discipline, and intimating the intention of the pope to call a council for the settlement of such questions. Their response was again accordant with the Syllabus, and heartily favorable to the proposed council. On the occasion of the centenary of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, the pope definitely announced the convocation of an Ecumenical Council to be held in the Vatican on December 8, 1869, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. In September, 1868, the pope addressed letters couched in deeply devout language, but full of arrogance, to the Oriental and Protestant communions, bewailing the schisms which he attributed to Satanic agency and inviting them to return to the one church founded upon Peter whose successor he is, and to participate in the coming council.

During the intervening months many prelates from different parts of the world were summoned to Rome for consultation regarding the matters to be presented and the methods of procedure. As a result of such consultations it was determined that all prelates, titular as well as those in actual authority, should without distinction sit and vote in the council, and that "the right of regulating the council belonged to the authority which convened it . . . the Head not only of the Council but of the Church." The liberals of Germany, France, Belgium, etc., had become fully apprised of the Jesuit programme, and vigorous protests were published against the injustice involved in arranging beforehand the entire business to be transacted by the council, and the pro-

posed stifling of the convictions of an honest and intelligent minority by the readiness of a prearranged majority to carry through with unbounded enthusiasm the prearranged programme of pope and Jesuits. It is surprising how accurately their prognostications corresponded with the facts.

b. The Council in Session. It would be interesting, if space permitted, to give some of the picturesque details of the assembling of the council, its pompous ceremonial, its proceedings, and its prorogation. Suffice it to say that the Jesuit programme was remorselessly carried out, no consideration having been given to the earnest remonstrances of the minority. On July 17, 1870, a memorial signed by fifty-five bishops, urged the abandonment of the scheme for the declaration of the infallibility of the pope. The memorial states that in the vote on the dogma regarding the church of Christ a few days before, eighty-eight members of the council had voted in the negative, sixty-two had voted with reservations (*placet juxta modum*), and seventy had remained away to avoid voting. They expressed a determination to be absent on July 18, when the vote on infallibility had been arranged for. When the vote was taken only five hundred and thirty-five of the more than seven hundred members of the council were present, and of these only two voted in the negative. Many of the opponents of the measure, when they found that nothing could be done to prevent its going through, had departed for their homes.

c. Decrees of the Council. The only important action of the council was the constitution concerning the church, in four chapters.

Chapter I. asserts the Petrine primacy with the usual scriptural proof and ends as follows: "If any one, therefore, shall have said that Blessed Peter the Apostle was not constituted by the Lord Christ Prince of all the Apostles and visible Head of the whole church militant, or that the same (Peter) directly and immediately received from the same Jesus Christ our Lord a primacy only of honor and not of true and proper jurisdiction, let him be anathema." Chapter II. asserts the perpetuity of the primacy of Peter in the Roman pontiffs, and ends as follows: "If, then, any one shall have said that it is not by the institution of the Lord Christ himself, or by divine right, that the blessed Peter has perpetual successors in his primacy over the universal church; or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor

of the Blessed Peter in the aforesaid primacy, let him be anathema." The third chapter, on the power and the nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, after asserting with scriptural proofs that he has a "primacy over the whole world" and that the Roman Church "possesses a sovereignty of ordinary power over all other churches," and condemning and reprobating "the opinions of those who hold that communication between the supreme Head and the pastors and their flocks can lawfully be impeded, or who make this communication subject to the will of the secular power," ends: "If, then, any shall have said that the Roman Pontiff has the office only of inspection or direction, but has not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal church, not only in things that pertain to faith and morals, but also in those that pertain to the discipline and government of the church diffused throughout the whole world; or that he has only the more important parts but not the whole plenitude of this supreme power; or that this power is not ordinary and immediate, whether over all and each of the churches or over all and each of the pastors and faithful; let him be anathema." The fourth chapter, for which the three first have prepared the way, is on the infallible teaching function (*magisterium*) of the Roman Pontiff. An attempt is made to prove from Scripture and history that this infallibility was included in the primacy given by Christ to Peter ("Feed my sheep," "Feed my lambs," "Thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren," etc.). It is claimed that "all the venerable Fathers have embraced and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed" the "apostolic doctrine" of the bishops of Rome, "knowing most fully that this See of St. Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error, according to the divine promise of our Saviour Lord made to the Prince of his disciples" (Luke 22 : 32). "Therefore, by faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian peoples, with the approbation of the sacred Council, we (Pius IX.) teach and define as a dogma revealed by God that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks from the Chair (*ex Cathedra*), that is, when performing the function of pastor and teacher of all Christians by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals as to be held by the universal church, through the divine assistance promised to him in the Blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his church to be equipped in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the church. But if any one should presume—which may God avert—to contradict this our definition: let him be anathema."

It will be noticed that this definition is somewhat ambiguous, and it was no doubt designedly made so. Considerable discussion has occurred among Roman Catholic prelates as to what is involved in the infallibility claimed. It can be interpreted to mean much or little, according to

the purpose to be subserved. Its chief aim was to place the pope entirely above councils and to give him the undisputed right to decide all doctrinal questions that might arise without the consent of the church assembled representatively in general councils. There is apparently only one farther step left to be taken by the Roman Pontiff. He has long claimed to be the vicar of Christ, having a right to all the authority that Christ would have if he were on earth. The last conceivable step is that he should declare himself to be an incarnation of Christ or of God.

(6) *Some Results of the Successful Carrying Out of the Jesuit Scheme Culminating in the Decree of the Dogma of Papal Infallibility.* *a. Loss of the Temporal Power.* The declaration of war between Prussia and France, immediately after the dogma of papal infallibility had been proclaimed, that led to the withdrawal of the French troops from Italy and permitted Victor Emmanuel to take possession of Rome and to make it the capital of united Italy, was not in the strict sense of the term a result of the decree of papal infallibility, though the well-known determination of the Ultramontane party may have indirectly contributed to the irritation that brought about the declaration of war. At any rate it was a striking coincidence that at the moment when the papacy had reached the very height of its pretensions to absolute civil as well as spiritual authority, it should have been deprived of the last of its territorial possessions. The Italian government sought to conciliate the pope and his supporters for the appropriation of the States of the Church and of the city of Rome by guaranteeing to him sovereignty and immunity in his possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, and the castle of Gandolfo, a yearly income of three and a half million francs, a bodyguard, and a post office and telegraph bureau. In general, the king sought to carry into effect the maxim of Cavour, "A free Church in a free State." He soon felt obliged, however, because of the irreconcilable hostility of the pope, to subject the Italian clergy to civil control.

b. The Culture Conflict (Kulturkampf) in Germany.[1]

[1] See English translation of the German laws that occasioned the conflict of 1870–1880 in Badenoch's "Ultramontanism: England's Sympathy with Germany," pp. 186–

Among the direct results of the declaration of papal infallibility was the precipitation of the struggle that had long been impending between Germany and the pope. Legislation of the most stringent character (1871–1874), intended to protect the German government from the machinations of the pope and the Jesuits, was enacted. The latter were banished and utterly prohibited from teaching in Roman Catholic schools. The laws facilitated the withdrawal of individuals from the Roman Catholic Church, limited the use of ecclesiastical penalties and discipline, and placed them under government inspection. Appeal from ecclesiastical sentences to the State magistracy was provided for. A royal tribunal for ecclesiastical affairs was constituted. Foreign church officers were absolutely prohibited. The qualifications for teaching in ecclesiastical schools and for the priesthood were definitely fixed, and the Roman Catholic schools were placed under government inspection. The founding of additional boys' seminaries and retreats was prohibited. Candidates for ecclesiastical offices nominated by ecclesiastical authorities must secure the approval of the government. Roman Catholic bishops were required to swear fealty to the king and obedience to the laws of the State. Violation of these requirements involved heavy fines and imprisonment. The laws were for some years remorselessly enforced, but were resisted with the utmost determination by the bishops and priests. The persecution to which they were subjected awakened public sympathy to such an extent that Bismarck, who had been the chief mover in the anti-Roman Catholic legislation, found that the struggle was a useless one, and the legislation was gradually relaxed and finally abolished. Says a distinguished English writer: "Bismarck has succeeded in morally rehabilitating Ultramontanism by persecuting it."

c. The Old Catholic Movement.[1] The extreme anti-

211 and 587–602. See also Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neu. Kirchengesch.*," *Bd.* II., *Sect.* 729–737; Hahn, "*Gesch. d. Kulturkampf*," 1881; Wiermann, "*Gesch. d. Kulturkampf*," 1886; Fechenbach-Lautenbach, "*Papst, Centrum, und Bismarck, oder d. Kernpunkte der Situation*"; and Troxler, "*Der Kulturkampf von 1863–1888.*"

[1] See "The New Reformation: A Narrative of the Old Catholic Movement," 1875; Loyson (Hyacinth), "Catholic Reform," 1874; Merrick, "The Old Catholic Movement," 1877; Reinkens, "*Ursprung, Wesen, und Ziel des Altkatholicismus*," 1882; Scarth, "Story of the Old Catholic and Kindred Movements," 1883; Schulte, "*Der*

infallibilist party, including a number of the ablest scholars of Germany, such as Döllinger, Reinkens, Friedrich, Huber, Michelis, Reusch, Langen, Schulte, etc., led in the organization of a new religious party under the name of the Old Catholic Church.

The organization took place, after several preliminary conferences, in 1873. Reinkens was appointed bishop, and was ordained by the Jansenist bishop of Deventer. Efforts were made to secure the recognition and co-operation of the Anglican and Greek churches. Conferences to which these churches were invited, and in which they participated, were held in 1874, 1875, and on several subsequent occasions. No organic union was secured, but friendly relations were established. The Old Catholics profess "to strive for the restoration of the unity of the Christian church." "We frankly acknowledge that no branch of it has exclusively the truth. We hold fast to the ultimate view that upon the foundation of the gospel and the doctrines of the church grounded upon it, and upon the foundation of the ancient undivided church, a union of all Christian confessions will be possible through a really ecumenical council."

They claim to adhere to the Council of Trent *versus* Vaticanism, to Scripture *versus* Tradition, except so far as tradition is equivalent to the unanimous consent of the orthodox Christians of the first five centuries, and insist on freedom in reading the Bible, on communion under both kinds, and on the right of the clergy to marry. They have simplified the mass, which they regard as a memorial of the atoning sacrifice of Christ and celebrate in the vernacular. They give to the laity an equal share with the clergy in church government.

The Old Catholic movement met with considerable encouragement during the first few years, and many hoped that it would make a serious break in the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church. It was hoped that so large a number of German Catholics would cast in their lot with the new party as to justify the governments in giving them control of considerable church property. This

Altkatholicismus," 1887, and art. in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3; Braasch, "*Altkatholicismus und Romanismus in Oesterreich*," 1890; Hunt, "Contemporary Essays"; Beyschlag, "Origin and Development of the Old Catholic Movement," in "Am. Jour. of Theol.," 1898; Nippold, "*Handbuch d. neuesten Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 737–749.

expectation has been disappointed, and in spite of the government patronage that could safely be bestowed, the churches that have been organized have had a struggle for existence, and have had to appeal to England and America for help. In 1873 the number of congregations in the German Empire was estimated at one hundred, with a membership of seventy thousand. At present there are probably less than fifty thousand. "Thousands who in their first zeal had signed the anti-Vatican protest were lost to the movement when it became clear that unless they withdrew they must suffer a lifelong martyrdom; the papal church, ceaseless in its efforts, reduced many to subjection; there are, perhaps, still more who, wearied of their material and moral sacrifices, have quietly taken refuge in the Protestant church" (Beyschlag, 1898). In Switzerland the movement has met with more encouragement. In Bohemia and other parts of the Austrian Empire several thousands were converted to Old Catholicism during the later years of the nineteenth century. Later converts for the most part were gained by the Lutheran secession.

How are we to account for the failure of this movement to win the German masses to its support?

1. The movement was based upon rationalistic revolt against papal dogma and intolerance, and not on religious aversion to the moral corruption of the papal church or a conviction that the multitudes of its deluded members would fail of eternal salvation. The spirit of enthusiastic evangelism seems to have been almost completely wanting. 2. The spirit of self-sacrifice that would have made them superior to the persecutions that they needs must suffer was almost completely wanting in the Old Catholics. There was not in most of them that religious enthusiasm that has animated martyrs and reformers in the past. 3. Their position is an illogical one. The Roman Catholic church has been for so many centuries essentially what it is to-day that it is absurd for them to declare that they are the true Catholic church and that Ultramontanism is an apostasy. They should have taken their stand with the Lutherans or Reformed of Germany and Switzerland, if in their view these Christians approached sufficiently near to the apostolic standard, or should have taken the Scriptures rather than the tradition of the first five centuries as their standard, and have sought to bring their individual and organized life into conformity with this standard, which alone is sure and steadfast. 4. It appears that while Old Catholicism may be serving a useful purpose as a stepping-stone for those who cling to the name Catholic, but are out of sympathy with Rome, to something higher, it has no permanent reason for existing and cannot be expected

to take its place among the great Christian denominations. 5. Its expressed hope of securing a union of Anglican, Greek, and Old Catholic Christians around the few principles that it professes is futile. While High Church Anglicans have taken considerable interest in the movement, there is really almost nothing in common between the two parties. High Churchmen are Romanizing (ascetical, ritualistic, sacerdotal, and withal enthusiastic), Old Catholics are anti-Romanizing and rationalistic, and are wanting in ascetical enthusiasm. They have far more in common with English Broad Churchmen.

(7) *The Current Free-from-Rome Movement.* Not so closely connected with the Vatican Council, but intimately related to the Old Catholic movement, is the rapidly progressing secession of Austrian German Catholics to become Lutherans. The precise significance of this movement it is not possible at present to determine. To-day it is stirring the life of German-speaking Austria to its foundations. Great Roman Catholic conventions have been held of late in many centers to take measures against the movement. These are usually followed by more largely attended and more enthusiastic Protestant conventions. Within the past three years more than seventeen thousand Austrian Catholics have become Protestant, and more than seven thousand have become Old Catholic. Romanists declare that their losses to Protestantism are due to agitation in favor of the union of the German-speaking provinces with Germany. The Lutherans claim that the movement, so far as they are concerned, is a purely religious one. It is well known that for years the relations between the German, Slavic, and Magyar populations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire have been seriously strained, and it would be no wonder if many Austrian Germans were led by the splendor and prosperity of the German Empire and by their strong race feeling to wish to change their allegiance. That the Roman Catholic priesthood should seek to discourage such aspirations and should thereby become unpopular, and that aspirations after German unity should carry with them loss of interest in Roman Catholicism and increase of interest in the national religion of Germany, is certainly quite easy to be believed. The Catholics even claim that money from Germany is being used to promote disloyalty to the Austrian government and seces-

sion from the Catholic church, and it would not be surprising if German Lutherans should be found using their money for the promotion of the Loose-from-Rome movement. The Romanists are seeking at present (July, 1902) to induce the Austrian government to put forth its hand against the Lutheran propaganda.

The above paragraph, written about thirty years ago, may be allowed to stand. The anti-Romanist sentiment was due in some measure to the fact that the Roman Curia, realizing the strength of the Pan-German sentiment in Austria discriminated against the Germans in appointments to higher clerical positions, placing Slavs, Huns, and other non-Germans in the bishoprics, abbacies, etc., and often placing non-German priests in charge of German parishes. This was due to fear of Old Catholic and Lutheran propaganda and to the superior subserviency of the non-German priests and their hostility to Pan-Germanism. The World War checked the anti-Romanist propaganda.

CHAPTER III

LUTHERANISM SINCE THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

1. *Economic, Social, and Religious Condition of Lutheran Lands at the Close of the Thirty Years' War.*

(1) *Economic.* It is difficult to conceive of the extent of the economic ruin wrought by the war. The absorption of so large a part of the male population for so long a time in military life; the breaking up of so many homes and the prevention of the establishment of so many more; the enormous loss of life involved in camp-following; the destruction of such multitudes of soldiers in battle and from disease, could not have failed to impoverish the countries involved and to decimate their productive populations, even if warfare had been conducted in the least wasteful manner that was possible. But when we consider that many of the armies were supported by plunder and pillage, it is easy to see that the very sources of supply would be to a great extent destroyed, and that the agriculturists and townsmen alike would be left without the means of supporting themselves or continuing their industries. It was many years after the close of the war before the rank and file of the population that remained had attained to a state of comfort, and many years more before the cities had attained to anything like their former prosperity.

(2) *Social.* The social effects of continuous and all-pervasive war could not fail to be of the most baneful character. Extreme poverty is itself a fruitful source of vice, and the license of military life combined with the utterly impoverished condition of a large part of the population and the diminution of opportunities for the establishment and maintenance of family life must have played havoc with right social relations and so with morality.

(3) *Religious.* We cannot conceive of pure religion

as flourishing under the conditions that existed during the later years of the war. Along with economic, social, and moral ruin, religious deterioration proceeded to a shocking extent. Even before the war the energies of Lutheran ministers had become so absorbed in controversy with Roman Catholics and Calvinists, and in internal strife, as greatly to detract from their interest in the spiritual needs of the people, and the churches had little vitality. To a remarkable extent the theological faculties of the universities, with meager support and depleted classes, persevered in their teaching and in their literary activity; but they were dominated by the polemical and the scholastic spirit of the time, and their self-sacrificing efforts were by no means so fruitful as they might otherwise have been.

2. *Syncretism and Ultra-Lutheranism: Calixtus and Calovius.*

LITERATURE: Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol." (Eng. Tr., 1871), Vol. II., pp. 185, *seq.*; Henke, "*Geo. Calixt und seine Zeit*," 1853–1856; Gass, "*Gesch. d. prot. Dogmatik*," *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 67 *seq.*; Frank, "*Gesch. d. prot. Theol.*," 1885, *Bd.* II., *Seit.* 4 *seq.*; writings of Calixtus and Calovius; pertinent sections in the histories of doctrine and articles "Syncretism," "Calixtus," and "Calovius," in the encyclopædias.

(1) *George Calixtus.* Calixtus has been designated by a recent writer (Tschackert, in Hauck-Herzog, ed. 3, art. "Calixtus") as "the most independent and the most influential among the Lutheran theologians who still in the seventeenth century may be regarded as successors of Melanchthon." A native of Schleswig (b. 1586), son of a pastor who had studied under Melanchthon, when sixteen years of age he was sent to the University of Helmstädt, where Joh. Caselius, the venerable humanist and a personal friend of Melanchthon, Casaubon, and Scaliger, still gave lectures. Among his most influential teachers was Martini, the Aristotelian, whose predilection for ancient philosophy may have led the young student to inquire whether ancient theology were not preferable to the dry dogmatism and the biting polemics of his own time. Interest in ancient theology stimulated his taste for church history, especially the history of doctrine, in which he became pre-eminent among his contemporaries.

From 1607 onward he applied himself to theological studies. The years 1609–1613 he devoted to scientific journeys, which embraced Germany, Belgium, England, and France. He came in close touch with leading Reformed, Anglican, and even Roman Catholic theologians, wishing to have as complete an understanding as possible of the various modes of theological thought with which he would have to deal and to gather for himself whatever of truth they might contain. Thus equipped he returned to Helmstädt as a professor of theology, where he labored for forty-two years, and was generally regarded as one of the two or three foremost theologians of his time. It will not be practicable here to give an account of his contributions to theological literature or to better methods of theological study. These were very great and far-reaching in their influence. No man of his age did so much to promote the application of the historical method to the study of the Scriptures and of Christianity.

Converse with the leading representatives of other communions, the study of the church Fathers, and reaction against the narrow dogmatism and the harsh polemical spirit that dominated Lutheran theology, led him to go to extremes in minimizing the importance of the distinctive views of Lutherans, Reformed, and Romanists, and in magnifying and exalting the elements of truth that are of essential importance and are common to all. As early as 1629 he expressed the conviction that in the Apostles' Creed and in the tradition of the first five centuries everything of essential importance is contained. His view was sharply attacked as "Cryptopopery" by Buscher (1640), and from this time onward the Helmstädt theology was a target for the darts of Lutheran polemicists. It should be observed that Calixtus gave the first place to Scripture, which has the power of giving divine certainty concerning its own contents. It is with him the ultimate principle which has of itself certainty, authenticity, and authority. Nothing, he maintains, can be placed beside Holy Scripture with respect to certainty and infallibility, because it is full of divine power effectually to move the heart and constrain it to acquiescence. He accepted the Apostles' Creed because it was a simple, definite statement of Scripture truth, in

which all true Christians could easily agree. The tradition of the first five centuries was valuable to him simply because it represented the way in which the Christians of the time immediately succeeding the apostolic age understood the Scriptures. He insisted that no tradition has any standing that is not in complete conformity with Scripture. The chief value of early tradition is to show us how the early Christians understood the teachings of Scripture and where they put the emphasis. He adopted the maxim of Vincentius of Lerins, maintaining that what has been believed always, everywhere, and by all, is alone essential. He maintained that Christ's infallible church on earth still exists, but has lost much of its capability of being known. The boundaries of truth and error have been obliterated by additions and ecclesiastical divisions that have resulted therefrom. Romanists had gone astray by making such innovations as papal infallibility, enforced celibacy of the clergy, denial of the cup to the laity, the sacrificial view of the mass, and transubstantiation. The apostasy of Rome called forth Lutheranism and Calvinism with their strong tendency toward undue dogmatism. He was not disposed to find fault with differences of view among various communions so much as with the spirit of dogmatism which led each party to claim exclusive validity for its own set of views or its own method of interpreting Scripture and to revile and persecute those who differ. If Lutherans, Reformed, and Roman Catholics would accept the Scriptures as understood by the church of the first five centuries and the doctrinal formularies of that age and tolerate each other in distinctive views, he thought an end might be made to partisan strife, and that the spirit of Christian love and fellowship and proper emphasis on Christian life would supervene.

The conciliatory tone of his writings, and his depreciation of the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism, early gave offense to the strict Lutherans, and especially his (correct) representation of the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human body and of the communication of all attributes of the divine nature to the human in the person of Christ as Eutychian. His successive works were severely criticised, and efforts were made to

bring about his dismissal from the Helmstädt faculty. In 1645, influenced by Calixtus' writings, King Wladislaus of Poland arranged a conference at Thorn to which Lutherans, Reformed, and Catholics were invited, with a view to securing union along the lines indicated by Calixtus. Calixtus was present and had for his Lutheran opponent the young and brilliant Abraham Calovius, who represented extreme and uncompromising Lutheranism, and who was for years to be the champion of this type of Lutheranism over against Syncretism and Pietism.

(2) *Abraham Calovius.* Born in 1612, Calovius entered the University of Königsberg in 1626, where his career as a student was one of remarkable brilliancy. At twenty he became master of philosophy and was made a member of the philosophical faculty. While teaching mathematics and philsophy he pursued his theological studies, and when only twenty-one distinguished himself by a polemical writing in defense of the substantial presence and the perception of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper. In 1637, after a period of ministerial activity in Rostock, he received his doctor's degree and accepted a position in the theological faculty at Königsberg. In 1650 he was called to Wittenberg, which had become a bulwark of Lutheran orthodoxy. Here, surrounded by like-minded colleagues, as professor and pastor he exerted an almost unrivaled influence till his death (1686), often having five hundred auditors. Among his most distinguished colleagues in the university was Quenstedt.

(3) *Syncretism.* This term was applied to Calixtus' views on Christian union by his opponents in the sense of a conglomeration and confusion of divergent views in which matters judged by themselves to be of primary importance were treated as of slight consequence (*adiaphora*). It had often been used in earlier times in the sense in which Calixtus and his associates would have admitted its application to their views to designate an earnest effort to secure union in matters of essential importance and mutual toleration of differences in matters regarded as of secondary importance. After the conference at Thorn (1645) the assaults on Calixtus and

his associates became fiercer and fiercer, Calovius soon coming to be regarded as the great champion of orthodoxy. The University of Leipzig stood side by side with Wittenberg in support of strict Lutheranism. The House of Brunswick and several other princes favored and protected the advocates of peace and conciliation. The strict party drew up and attempted to foist upon the Lutheran States, and especially upon the universities, a new confessional document (*Consensus Repititus Fidei Lutheranæ*, drawn up in 1655, first published in 1663), in which eighty errors were enumerated and condemned. The scheme failed, notwithstanding the most determined efforts of its advocates, chiefly because of the opposition of the University of Jena under the leadership of the great Joh. Gerhard, who from being an opponent of Calixtus had come to occupy an intermediate position between the two factions. The controversy continued for many years after the death of Calixtus.

(4) *Results of the Syncretistic Controversy.* Whatever may be one's opinion as to the merits of Calixtus' scheme of Christian union, it is highly significant that the best equipped theologian of his time should have been willing to take an independent position in favor of peace and harmony among Christians in the face of the narrow and bitter dogmatism of the Lutheran body as a whole. That he secured a considerable following and sufficient support to protect him and his followers from the persecuting fury of the majority is equally significant. It has been justly remarked that this controversy led the extremely controversial element in Lutheranism to exhaust its polemical energies. The controversy was followed by a marked indifference in relation to the scholastic definitions of Lutheran orthodoxy. The extreme dogmatism, formalism, and polemical bitterness of Lutheran orthodoxy, involving a neglect of the spiritual side of Christianity, co-operated powerfully with the syncretistic indifference to dogma and laying of stress upon Christian life and primitive types of Christian teaching in bringing about a revival of evangelical mysticism (Pietism). The breaking down of the old orthodoxy by the syncretism of the Helmstädt theologians prepared the way also for the later rationalism.

3. *Pietism and the Pietistic Controversies.*

LITERATURE: Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol.," Vol. II., pp. 203 *seq.*; Baur, "*Kirchengesch. d. neueren Zeit*," 1863, *Seit.* 343 *seq.*, and 572 *seq.*; Göbel, "*Gesch. d. chr. Lebens in der Rheinisch-westphalischen Evang. Kirche*," 1852–1862, *Bd.* II.; Schmidt, "*Gesch. d. Pietismus*," 1863; Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism," 1866, Chap. I.–III.; Ritschl, "*Gesch. d. Pietismus*," 1880–1886; Lives of Spener, by Hossbach (1828 and 1861), Wildenhahn (1858, Eng. Tr. by Wenzel, 1881), Horning (1883), Waldron (1893), and Grünberg (1896); pertinent sections in works on church history and history of doctrine, and art "Pietism," "Spener," "Francke," "Bengel," in encyclopædias.

(1) *Antecedents of the Pietistic Movement.* The utterly depressed condition of religious life in Germany, the almost universal immorality in the universities, the almost complete destitution of edificatory preaching, and the almost complete lack of other means of awakening and stimulating spiritual life, remaining unchanged, Spener attempted to bring about a reformation (1666 onward). Personal conversion, even in the case of ministers of the gospel, seems not to have been expected. Baptism, administered in infancy, was supposed to have magical efficacy in procuring salvation; and the partaking of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper was supposed to be a means of grace even in the cases of the most immoral and irreligious. Exclusion from communion was almost the only discipline employed, and this was resorted to only in the case of outbreaking transgression. In the Protestant Netherlands and in England and Scotland more earnest types of Christian life had arisen and were being widely disseminated (Puritans, Independents, Baptists, etc.). The spiritual forces that were involved in the great Anabaptist movement had been crushed out in Germany, whereas in the Netherlands and in England they were having free course and bringing forth fruit abundantly. Some mystics of the extreme (pantheistic) type, such as Val. Weigel (d. 1588), Jacob Böhme (d. 1624), Val. Andraeæ, *et al.*, had influenced considerable circles, and rationalistic-mystical societies had been formed in many communities for the promotion of greater freedom and inwardness in religious thought (Rosicrucians, Alchemists, Caballists, Paracelcists, etc.); but the contribution of these to pure religion was very slight, and it is probable that they ministered

rather to downright skepticism and unbelief. Calixtus, while he had advocated the placing of emphasis on religion rather than on doctrine, had done little or nothing for the quickening of spiritual life. It was left for Spener to lead in a great religious movement, whose consequences were to be far-reaching and beneficent.

(2) *Philip Jacob Spener.* A native of Alsace (b. 1635), he was religiously brought up in close association with the nobility of his neighborhood, the Countess Agatha of Rappoltsweiler, a lady of strong ascetic and quietistic piety, being his godmother, and the court preacher, Joach. Stoll, a man of excellent character, being his teacher and spiritual director. He early showed a taste for devotional reading and became acquainted not only with German works of the earlier time, but also with translations of the English devotional books of Bayly, Dyke, and Baxter. As a student in the University of Strasburg he was noted for the rigor of his moral life and for the devoutness of his demeanor. On the completion of his university course he spent some months in Switzerland in close association with leading Reformed ministers and professors, studying carefully the methods of work and the church life of the Swiss. He also visited Lyons in France and a number of German universities. He was pastor in Strasburg and lecturer in the university during the years 1663–1666. His lectures on the possibility of the loss of the grace of regeneration and the necessity of renewing the process attracted considerable attention. His preaching was strongly practical and deeply devout. He sought to impress on those having the ministry in view the responsibility of the pastoral office and the importance of preaching for the conversion and edification of the people rather than for the defense of dogma and the combating of adverse forms of belief. He began at this time to inquire into the causes of poverty with a view to the betterment of the temporal condition of the masses. As pastor in Frankfort-on-the-Main (1666–1674) his preaching became still more intensely practical and spiritual. He began to insist that laymen should assist the pastor in spiritual work. He now began to discredit merely intellectual belief as a means of salvation and to insist that saving faith involves a complete

transformation of the whole being by the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit. In 1670 some of those who had been led into a new life by his preaching complained of the lack of means for spiritual culture and expressed a desire for social meetings for mutual edification. The result was the formation of devotional meetings (*collegia pietatis*), which under his influence soon became widespread and highly influential in promoting spiritual life. The meeting conducted by himself in his own house began with the devout study of devotional literature. From 1675 onward the Bible alone was used as a basis for the edificatory exercises. His "Pious Desires" (*Pia Desederia*), published in 1675, had a wide circution and was highly influential. It consisted in a devout expression of a wish for the thorough reformation of the Lutheran Church and of suggestions for the accomplishment of this desirable end. His chief reliance was on a better knowledge of the Bible to be gained in private assemblies for its study; on a more extensive and systematic employment of church-members in carrying forward the multiform work of the churches; on a general recognition of the fact that Christianity is not a matter of knowledge solely, but of life, and that Christian life should be an exemplification of the principle of love; on a more adequate education of ministers, having reference to piety as much as to scholarship; and on a type of preaching that should eschew rhetorical display and pedantry and make edification its chief aim.

These suggestions seem to us so thoroughly Christian and common sense that it is hard for us to realize the extent of the innovation involved and the bitterness of the opposition aroused. Spener was accused of leaning too much toward the Reformed theology and of not putting sufficient emphasis on the distinguishing features of Lutheranism. The devotional meetings were criticised as tending to separatism and as hotbeds of heresy. This criticism was supposed to be fully justified by the separation of several of these meetings from the churches that treated them with suspicion and contempt. Spener had no desire to found a new denomination. He was a devout Lutheran, and his sole aim seems to have been the reformation of the evangelical (Lutheran) church.

(3) *August Hermann Francke.* Born in Lübeck (1663), but brought up in Thuringia, and early the subject of strong religious influences, he decided while still a boy to devote his life to the gospel ministry. As a student at Kiel he was a member of the household of Professor Kortholt, who had come under Spener's influence. As a student his life was exemplary, but was possibly more ascetical than was wholesome. At the end of his course of study he was still profoundly dissatisfied with his own spiritual condition, regarding himself as "a mere natural man who had much in his head, but was far enough removed from the beneficent life that is in Christ Jesus." In 1684 he continued his studies in the University of Leipzig. He gained his master's degree the next year with Hebrew as his chief subject, and became a docent in the university. In association with Paul Anton and others Francke formed a Bible club (*Collegium Philobiblicum*) for the exegetical and devotional study of the Scriptures. Heretofore he had been dealing with the husks of Scripture truth, now first he came into the enjoyment of its very kernel. The Bible club met with considerable opposition; but it flourished and became a center of strong religious influence in the university and throughout Germany. Yet in 1687, when he left Leipzig, he was still deeply dissatisfied with his own spiritual attainments, being at peace with the world, suffering no persecution for Christ's sake, and making no earnest and thoroughgoing effort at amendment. After spending some time in private biblical study under devout ministers and in reading the writings of Molinos and other mystics, in which he took great delight, and two months' joyful intercourse with Spener, he returned to Leipzig (February, 1689), and with greater confidence and more definite reformatory aims resumed his work as a teacher. Here his biblical lectures and his sermons attracted great audiences, and religious agencies were established which deeply affected the life of the university and of the city. Francke and his followers did not escape criticism. They were accused of spiritual pride, contempt for science, discouragement of earnest philosophical study, and laying undue stress on piety and Bible study as the only things really worth while. Through the unfriendly representa-

tions of Professor Carpzov the university authorities prohibited the Bible clubs and instituted proceedings against him as a teacher of unsettling and dangerous doctrines. It was determined that henceforth his teaching must be limited to secular subjects. A call to the position of chief pastor in Erfurt (1690) was accepted. Many students from Leipzig and Jena who had come under his influence betook themselves to the University of Erfurt, and became active in disseminating pietistic life and thought in the university and throughout the city. Here again opposition became so sharp as to lead to his removal (September, 1691).

Spener, now in Berlin, invited him thither, gave him an opportunity during six weeks of coming in contact with the religious life of the city, and procured for him an appointment to a pastorate and professorship in Halle. Here with the like-minded Breithaupt and Anton as colleagues, and under the patronage of the Elector of Brandenburg, who was sympathetic with this type of religious life and work, he was able to carry forward, with slight opposition, his great beneficent activities. Halle greatly flourished and became the center of religious influence for the whole of Germany. Under Francke's direction a great orphanage was established, that set the example to evangelical Christians everywhere of practical philanthropy, which had been much neglected. The instruction of neglected poor children was begun in 1695. Soon a few orphans had to be provided with a home. In 1698 a hotel with grounds was placed at his disposal for an orphans' home, and it was filled with over a hundred children, who were nurtured and trained in the most careful manner. Through the liberality of Francke's friends additional land was secured and a great building for the various departments of his institutional work was erected. At his death (1727) twenty-two hundred children were receiving training in this institute (one hundred and thirty-four orphans) under one hundred and sixty-seven male and seven female teachers, and two hundred and fifty university students were supplied with their dinners there. The pedagogical work was organized under eight inspectors, and this children's school was a valuable object-lesson for the Christian world.

The missionary enterprise under Frederick IV. of Denmark early came into close relations with Francke's work, and the orphanage supplied many helpers and teachers for work in India. The famous missionaries Ziegenbalg, Plutschau, and Schwartz were trained in Francke's school.

Under Francke's influence a Bible society was founded by Baron von Canstein (1710), which was to have a highly useful career.

(4) *Results of the Pietistic Movement.* *a.* As might have been expected the introduction of changes so radical in methods of preaching and teaching, in conceptions of the Christian ministry, and in the relative importance given to Bible study as compared with church dogma, provoked much violent antagonism. The leaders were stigmatized as heretical innovators, who made little of the distinctive principles of Lutheranism and treated with contempt the great mass of Lutheran professors and pastors as unconverted men unfit to be religious guides of the people, and as sectarian in their tendency. Some of the opponents of the movement were led to declare that the church is so holy and perfect as to be above the possibility of reformation. "It is not the church, but the ungodly in the church that must be reformed." Some went so far as to identify the Lutheran symbolical books in the most absolute way with divine truth, and regarded it as disloyalty to suggest that there might be error therein. Spener's demand that every one should test the symbolical books before subscribing them was regarded as an impertinence. Some of the opponents of pietism came dangerously near to sacerdotalism in their exaltation of the ministerial office, holding that the decisions of the Lutheran clergy were equally authoritative with the word of God. Some were led to insist that with baptism the gift of the Holy Spirit is imparted once for all; so that the person baptized in infancy needs no special work of the Spirit to make of him a true Christian. That men need to be specially illuminated by the Spirit in order to be good theologians and ministers, as claimed by Spener and Francke, was utterly repudiated. Plato and Aristotle might have become good theologians, even though they had regarded the mysteries of the faith as fables. The church was regarded as the self-

centered possessor of divine authority, endowed, once for all, with divine powers and privileges, as if the Holy Spirit had relinquished his direct relation to souls, nay, had abdicated his power and energies in favor of the church and her means of grace. "Faith in the continued agency of the Holy Ghost, in illumination and regeneration, was branded as fanaticism and enthusiasm" (Dorner).

b. Pietism, on the other hand, brought out with great emphasis the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit as the regenerating and illuminating power in every Christian life.

c. Reference has already been made to the stress laid by Spener and Francke upon the study of the Bible under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The effect of this devout attention to biblical study upon subsequent Christian history has been of fundamental importance.

d. The stress and importance attached by the pietists not only to individual conversion by the power of the Spirit, but to the living of separated and consecrated lives, and so to practical Christian morality and beneficent activity, has already been made sufficiently manifest. Sanctification by the indwelling power of the Spirit progressing throughout life was a fundamental feature of pietism.

e. A refined and spiritual type of millenarianism (represented by Spener, Bengel, *et al.*), has exerted a profound influence upon later evangelical movements and is having a great career to-day. Spener's "Hope of Better Times in the Future" (1693) does not look forward to a catastrophic destruction of the present order and the sudden dawning of an age of triumphant righteousness under the rule of the reappearing Christ, but only to the diminution of sin and evil. He does not regard Christ's millennial government as visible, but regards the Saviour's reign as chiefly the result of the labors of regenerate men for their own sanctification and that of others (Dorner). The hope of a better time in the future was to him a trumpet call to holy living and to earnest endeavor for the salvation of men. Bengel's eschatology was far more objectionable, as he indulged in efforts which had long before his time proved futile

to determine by computations from biblical data the temporal metes and bounds of the kingdom of God.

f. The influence of pietism was perpetuated in the Moravian Brethren. The Count von Zinzendorf, a disciple of Francke, was influential in gathering and inspiring with missionary zeal the remnants of the Bohemian Brethren, whose organized life had been almost destroyed in the Thirty Years' War, in establishing for these and other likeminded evangelical Christians a great religious and educational center at Herrnhut on his own estates, where he had allowed them to settle before he decided to cast in his lot with them, and in setting on foot one of the greatest missionary agencies of modern times (1727 onward).

g. As syncretism had provoked orthodox Lutheranism to the expression of views so extreme and the display of a spirit so unamiable as to call forth pietism as a protest and by way of reaction, so pietism led the current orthodoxy, by this time still less evangelical, into statements so rash as to promote the rise and spread of rationalism. The intense religious enthusiasm and the high moral requirements of pietism, and the stress that it laid on the supernatural as not merely a thing of the past but as a present-day reality, may have directly promoted the spread of rationalism among those who held aloof from its religious influence. The banishment of Wolff, the philosopher, from the University of Halle, with the approval of Francke and his followers, no doubt tended to intensify the zeal of those inclined toward rationalism.

4. *The Wolffian Philosophy and Lutheran Theology.*

LITERATURE: Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism," 1866, pp. 199–220; Tholuck, "*Vorgesch. d. Rationalismus*," 1853–1854: Hagenbach, "German Rationalism," 1865; Lecky, "Hist. of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe"; Baur, "*Kirchengesch d. neueren Zeit*," *Sect.* 586, *seq.*; pertinent sections in works on the history of philosophy, and encyclopædia art. on "Wolff."

(1) *Christian Wolff.* Born at Breslau (1679), educated at Jena, where he became imbued with the philosophy of Leibnitz, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the University of Halle in 1706. His popularity as a teacher gradually increased, and his lecture

room was thronged somewhat at the expense of those of the theological professors. In 1719 he published his book entitled "Rational Thoughts on God, the World, and the Soul." This was followed by a work on ethics (1720), and one on politics (1721). Though not a great originator of thought, following essentially in the footsteps of Leibnitz, he far surpassed his master in the power of popular presentation. To the thought of his great master he added the mathematical method of Pythagoras and Spinoza. It was his aim to make philosophical truth as self-evident and incontrovertible as mathematical. He even ventured into the theological realm, claiming that either the doctrines and claims of Christianity (miracles, trinity, etc.) are capable of demonstration, or they are not worthy of belief. He thought he could demonstrate them, and claimed that by doing so he was setting up a mighty barrier to the influx of English deism and French skepticism. But the principle that nothing in religion is to be accepted that cannot be rationally demonstrated was perceived by pietists and orthodox Lutherans alike to be a highly dangerous one. His high commendation of the ethical system of Confucius precipitated a crisis. The Halle theologians felt themselves justified in petitioning the king for Wolff's dismissal. The character of Wolff's teaching was presented to the king in so unfavorable a light that he ordered him to leave Prussia in forty-eight hours or forfeit his life. The reading of his books was strictly prohibited, the penalty being one hundred ducats for each offense.

Wolff was called almost immediately to a chair in the University of Marburg, where his fame and popularity grew so rapidly that ignorance of his teachings came to be regarded as inexcusable, and his methods were applied to every department of study. A new translation of the Bible (the Wertheim Bible), embodying his principles and thoroughly skeptical in its tendency, was published (1735–1737). By 1740 his teachings had virtually mastered the religious thought of Germany. Soon after his accession Frederick II. invited the aged philosopher to resume his chair in the University of Halle, and he was received like a king by professors and students.

(2) *Natural versus Revealed Theology.* Wolff's influ-

ence was manifest in the breaking down of the dogmatic orthodoxy of the Lutheranism of the preceding generation, with its scholastic method based upon the philosophy of Aristotle, and especially in the widespread interest that arose in natural theology. The study of the symbolical books and the refutation of heresy had lost their charm, and the study of nature as illustrative of the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God occupied the minds and filled the discourses of pastors and professors. Canz illustrated the superiority of natural to revealed religion by that of pure, living, cold spring water to warm, stagnant cistern water. A rationalistic work by Reinbeck on the Augsburg Confession (in nine volumes) was sent at the public expense to every Lutheran church in Prussia.

(3) *Frederick the Great as a Promoter of Theological Liberalism.* Frederick's sympathy with religious freethinking was manifest in his restoration of Wolff to the chair from which he had been expelled. He had become himself thoroughly imbued with French skeptical philosophy, was in constant correspondence with its chief representatives, entertained them at his court, and himself adopted the French language as the vehicle for his thoughts. He introduced into Prussia a measure of religious toleration that was unexampled in Germany, and he contributed more than any other man to the progress of the type of thought and life known in history as "The Illumination" (*Aufklärung*). This term is used to indicate the general disappearance from men's minds of the sense of the supernatural in religion, with widespread interest in philosophy and science. It was in an important sense a second edition of the Renaissance, like the latter involving repudiation of everything traditional and an effort to get at the essence and ground of things by the application of the mind to nature and history and insistence on freedom of thought. Among the agencies for the spread of liberal thought were the lodges of Free Masons in such centers as Hamburg, Braunschweig, Berlin, Leipzig, and Altenberg. Societies of Truth-lovers (Alethophiles) were organized among the young preachers through the efforts of Manteuffel and Reinbeck for the dissemination of Wolff's philosophy.

Edelmann, a coarse and sheer opponent and reviler of the supernatural in religion and vaunter of the power and dignity of reason, after a checkered career as a disseminator of blasphemous teaching was permitted by Frederick II. to settle in Berlin (1749), with the understanding that he would cease publishing his views. He devoted himself during the remainder of his life (d. 1767) to controversies with Christians and Jews (Mendelssohn) and to the private circulation of his scurrilous manuscripts. Considerable commotion was caused (1750) by the publication (pseudonymously) of a work by Loen entitled "The Only True Religion," inculcating a kind of eudæmonism, and claiming to furnish the solution of all religious problems. It was attacked by the Giessen faculty. Semler (b. 1725) studied at Halle where he became professor of theology (1757) and aroused much opposition by reason of his rationalistic treatment of the Bible. He sought to discredit the canon as a fortuitous collection of books of very different values, and denied that the Scriptures were intended to be a standard of faith for all men during all ages. He laid the foundation for the later subjective criticism of the Tübingen school by asserting that Paul alone of the New Testament writers taught that Christianity was the universal religion and that the catholic Epistles were written with a view to harmonizing Paulinism with Judaizing Christianity. He taught that the New Testament writers accommodated themselves to the popular notions of their day and so are not to be implicitly followed.

Reimarus, professor at Hamburg 1728 onward (d. 1768), left unpublished a number of blatantly skeptical essays, which were published by Lessing (1774 onward) as "The Wolffenbüttel Fragments." The most objectionable of these was probably that on "The Purpose of Jesus and his Disciples." His idea is that Jesus desired to appear as a reformer of Judaism and to proclaim himself an earthly king. When he failed in his purpose his disciples pretended that he came to establish a spiritual kingdom and invented the story of his resurrection. The publication of these weakly irreverent writings was unworthy of Lessing, and involved him in controversy.

Among the learned and moderate men of this time

were J. L. von Mosheim (d. 1755), the foremost church historian of his age, who combined some of the elements of Syncretism, Pietism, and Wolffianism, cared nothing for orthodox Lutheranism, was fair-minded in his dealing with other forms of Christianity, and was free from the grosser forms of skepticism; J. A. Fabricius, the eminent text critic, editor of patristic writings, and bibliographer (d. 1736); and J. G. Walch, author of many learned works bearing on the history of doctrine (d. 1775). Noteworthy was the great literary revival that formed part of the age of "Illumination" in Germany. Klopstock, the "German Milton," produced the great religious epic of the time, "The Messiah," which though not theologically or artistically perfect, did much toward rescuing the person of Christ from the unworthy conceptions and treatment that characterized the age. Hamann, a noble philosophical spirit, with a strong pantheistic tendency ("all things are divine, all things are human"), was yet an enthusiast for Christianity and a believer in divine revelation. Lavater, the religious poet, belonged to the same school. By way of reaction against the current deism they laid such stress upon the immanence of God as almost to lose sight of his transcendence; but they did much toward promoting worthier views of God, Christ, and religion. Lessing was more daring in his skepticism, and can hardly be said to have been positively Christian; but he seems to have been an earnest seeker after truth, who loved the process of seeking even more than the truth itself. His influence, while it may have been intellectually elevating, was distinctly against faith in historical Christianity. Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany, also a product of the "Illumination," was still more remote from Christian sentiment and Christian morals, and still more pagan in spirit. Schiller had a firmer grasp on Christian principles than Lessing or Goethe, but was distinctly a product of the skeptical "Illumination." Herder, like Hamann, narrowly escaped pantheism. His philosophy of history is not the truly Christian philosophy. Yet he had a keen appreciation of the literary form and the religious thought of the Bible, and he gave to the poetry and the prophecy of the Old Testament a new place in men's thoughts.

5. *Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren.*

LITERATURE: See Spangenberg, "*Leben des . . . Grafen u. Herrn von Zinzendorf*," 1772–1775 (English tr., 1838); Bovet, "*Le Comte de Zinzendorf*," 1860 (Eng. tr., 1865 and 1896); Becker, "*Zinzendorf im Verhältniss zu Philosophie u. Kirchenthum*," 1886; Thompson, "Moravian Missions," 1882; Zinzendorf, Works, mostly in German; Hamilton, "A Hist. of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church, in the United States of America," 1895 (in the "Am. Ch. Hist. Series," Vol. VIII.); fuller bibliography in Hamilton.

The Moravian Brethren were in an important sense a product of Lutheranism in its pietistic phase, and in an equally important sense a perpetuation of the old evangelical spirit as embodied in the remnants of the Bohemian Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*.

Scion of an ancient Austrian noble family (b. 1700), and brought up by his grandmother, the Baroness von Gersdorf, an ardent pietist, Zinzendorf displayed from his earliest childhood a religious enthusiasm that abode with him through life. The love of Jesus and ambition to serve him by bringing salvation to his fellow-men occupied the foremost place in his thoughts and aspirations. When ten years old he was sent to Francke's school at Halle. Here he soon became a leader in religious things, and organized among the boys the "Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed," for the promotion of personal piety and the evangelization of the world. It was from the beginning his desire and aim to devote his life to the dissemination of the gospel; but even his grandmother could not bear the idea of his choosing such a career, and in obedience to the wishes of his guardian and friends he studied law at the University of Wittenberg with reference to public service. Yet he continued to devote his leisure to theological studies and to cherish the thought of devoting his life to Christian work. After traveling in Holland and France, where he came in contact with Jansenistic mystical piety, especially in the person of the Cardinal-Archbishop Noailles, he returned to Saxony (1721), and reluctantly declining a position offered him by Francke as director of the Bible Society, accepted a judicial position under the Saxon government. The following year he purchased of his grandmother an estate in Upper Lusatia, and at the solicitation of Chris-

tian David, who had been converted to their views a few years before and was devoting his life to the gathering and preservation of the remnants of the party, permitted two families of Bohemian Brethren to settle there, with as many more as might be inclined to come. He knew little about the history of the Brethren, but was willing to lend a helping hand to persecuted believers, and probably thought they would make desirable settlers on his undeveloped estate. In 1723 he formed with another nobleman and two Lutheran pastors the "Covenant of the Four Brethren," for the propagation of the gospel throughout the world. By 1727 several hundred of the Brethren had gathered on his estates and had founded a community which they named Herrnhut (Lodge of the Lord). At this time Zinzendorf resigned his office and settled on his estate. The reading of Comenius' *Ratio Disciplinæ* (account of the principles and practices of the Brethren) greatly interested him, and led him to the conviction that his life-work was to consist in reorganizing this ancient brotherhood and leading it in a great missionary enterprise.

It was not his aim to separate from the Lutheran fellowship, but rather to follow the example of Spener in forming little churches within the church (*ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*). Yet he looked after the perpetuation of the episcopacy of the Brethren, and himself received episcopal ordination (1737). To avoid even the appearance of a separation from Lutheranism he also submitted to an examination by the Tübingen faculty, and received ordination as a Lutheran minister. Some time before he had cast in his lot with the Brethren he had established a school at Herrnhut on the model of Francke's, and soon after the reorganization of the Brethren he was able to send forth a considerable number of trained evangelists. It so happened that one of the surviving bishops of the Bohemian Brethren (Jablonski) was court preacher in Berlin, in fellowship with the Lutherans, while the other (Sitkovius) was superintendent of the Reformed churches in Poland. Both of these cheerfully consented to cooperate in giving episcopal succession to the new organization. Thus, old evangelical, Lutheran, and Reformed life and thought were blended in Zinzendorf's new broth-

erhood, which it was his earnest desire not to constitute a new denomination, but rather a great evangelizing agency which should transcend the limits of denominationalism and be simply Christian. Above all things else Zinzendorf was dominated by love to Christ, whose vicarious sufferings were constantly before his mind in such a way as to produce the most exalted enthusiasm for his person, and a passionate desire to follow in his footsteps. His sentimental and realistic representations of the atonement, in which he dwelt upon the details of the passion, were offensive to the Christian taste of that time and to some extent to that of the present, and led to some fanaticism, much obloquy, and considerable persecution.

The organization of the body, like that of the Waldenses, Bohemian Brethren, and Moravian Anabaptists, was of a semi-monastic type, and was very elaborate and complete. The aim was not so much to foster individual liberty as united effort in the great work of world-evangelization. While the organization continued the episcopal office with the principle of general superintendency, the government of the body was really committed to a Board of twelve elders, at whose head Zinzendorf himself stood during his lifetime. At Herrnhut the members of the community were divided into sections for devotional purposes, and times for prayer were so arranged for each that no intermission of petitions to the throne of grace might occur.

As early as 1728 plans for missions to Mohammedans and heathen were being laid, and visits were made by members of the organization to Turkey and Africa. In 1732 Dober and Nitschmann, having learned from Zinzendorf of the sufferings and needs of the Negro slaves on the island of St. Thomas, went thither, and after enduring much persecution accomplished a remarkable work. In 1733 Christian David, with two companions, left Herrnhut for Greenland. In 1734 Lapland was visited by Moravian missionaries, and contingents were sent to Georgia and Surinam. Pennsylvania was entered by Spangenberg and some fellow-laborers in 1735.

In 1736 Zinzendorf was banished from Saxony because of the disturbance that was being caused by his propa-

ganda. After three years of evangelistic labors on the continent, in England, and in the West Indies, he made his way to Pennsylvania (1741), where a large German population, representing nearly every phase of religious life and thought, had settled, and where great spiritual destitution prevailed. Neither Lutherans nor Reformed had any completeness of organization or any adequate supply of pastors, and most of the pastors of both parties were lacking in evangelistic zeal. Many thousands were without religious privileges of any kind. Besides, there was a large Indian population within reach that greatly interested the zealous count. A result of Spangenberg's early activity in Pennsylvania was the gathering of a number of earnest men of various communions into a society known as "The Associated Brethren of Skippach." Zinzendorf was encouraged by the great eagerness of the people for evangelistic preaching and the evident lack of ability on the part of Lutherans and Reformed to cope with the need, to hope to be instrumental in forming a German evangelical union. Being not only a Moravian, but also a Lutheran, and having the approval of a Reformed superintendent, he felt especially conditioned to lead in the work of unification. To facilitate his work he resigned temporarily (1741) his Moravian bishopric and laid aside his titled name, adopting a secondary family name, Louis Türnstein. It does not appear that he designed to make Moravian Brethren of the whole German population; but his zeal for Christian unity and for the evangelization of the entire people was such as to make him indifferent to denominational peculiarities. A number of synods were held in the interest of evangelical union; but contentions finally arose and nothing important was accomplished. Yet the year spent in Pennsylvania was far from being unfruitful; for besides visiting many Indian settlements and organizing a congregation in one of them, congregations were formed at Bethlehem, Hebron, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Philadelphia, and York, in New York City, and on Staten Island, as a result of his efforts, and schools were established at Germantown, Fredericktown, Oley, and Heidelberg.

In Germany considerable scandal was caused (1745–

1749) by fanatical proceedings on the part of some congregations of the Brethren. The fanaticism "did not lead them into gross sins, but gave rise to the most extravagant conceptions, especially as regarded the atonement in general, and Christ's wounded side in particular; to the most sensuous, puerile, and objectionable phraseology and hymns; and to religious services of the most reprehensible character. Such fanaticism Zinzendorf himself unwittingly originated by the fanciful and unwarranted ways in which he expressed the believer's joy and the love which the pardoned sinner bears to the Saviour" (De Schweinitz, a present-day bishop of the Brethren). Zinzendorf saw his mistake, and was afterward influential in eliminating fanaticism from the body. In 1749 the Saxon government rescinded its act of banishment and invited Zinzendorf to establish other communities like Herrnhut.

The Moravian Brethren subserved a highly useful purpose in keeping alive a warm, evangelical piety during a period of great spiritual darkness, in setting an example to other Christian bodies of consecration of life and property to the work of world-evangelization, and especially in transforming the life and views of John Wesley, who was to be instrumental not simply in founding the great Wesleyan bodies, but also in imparting evangelical zeal to other denominations and in preparing the way for the modern missionary movement.

The brotherhood at present is divided into three home provinces: Germany, England, and America. Herrnhut remains the center of administration, and a general convention is held there every ten years. The membership of the three provinces does not much exceed thirty thousand. It sustains missions in Greenland, Labrador, Alaska, the West Indies, Demerara, the Mosquito Coast, Surinam, Cape Colony, Kaffraria, German East Africa, Victoria, Queensland, Cashmere, Little Tibet, and among the North American Indians; sustains a leper hospital in Jerusalem; and carries on evangelistic work in Bohemia and Moravia, at an expense of about $400,000 a year. Its converts in the heathen missions number about eighty thousand. Its educational work has been from the beginning extensive and important as a means of training

workers and of bringing its religious influence to bear upon vast numbers who have not united with the body.

6. *Emanuel Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem Church.*

LITERATURE: Swedenborg's works, in English; Lives of Swedenborg by Wilkinson, White, Tafel, and Worcester, all Swedenborgians.

One of the most remarkable products of the age of "Illumination" in Lutheran lands is the elaborate gnostic system of Emanuel Swedenborg. Son of a distinguished Swedish clergyman who had been highly honored by his king (b. 1688), he took a precocious interest in religious matters, but devoted himself during his early and middle life chiefly to physics, engineering, and psychology. In the mathematical sciences he was an enthusiast and apparently a genius. After completing his university course and spending some years in travel and study in foreign lands, he became a government inspector of mines, and applied his mathematical and mechanical knowledge in promoting the mining industries of his country. The following autobiographical statement shows how he wished the theosophical speculations of his later years to be regarded. After giving an account of his earlier studies and achievements, he continues:

> But all that I have thus far related I consider of little importance, for it is far transcended by the circumstance that I have been called to a holy office by the Lord himself, who most mercifully appeared before me, his servant, in the year 1743, when he opened my sight into the spiritual world, and enabled me to converse with spirits and angels, in which state I have continued up to the present day. From that time I began to print and publish the various arcana that were seen by me or revealed to me concerning heaven and hell, the state of man after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the word, and many other important matters conducive to salvation and wisdom.

It is not necessary, or perhaps reasonable, to regard Swedenborg as an impostor. It seems probable that his constant poring over the great problems of physics and psychology that pressed themselves upon his unusually active mind during this age of unsettlement and inquiry, and his attempt to find a place for religion in connection with his scheme of the physical and spiritual universe

may have wrought in him a morbid psychological state in which he really conceived his own crude speculations and phantasies to be divinely vouchsafed visions and revelations. As his physical, psychological, and philosophical ideas were crude, so the theosophy derived therefrom might have been expected to be without value.

It will not be practicable to present here even an outline of Swedenborg's speculations. It may be said in general, that on a pantheistic basis he sensualizes and materializes the spiritual rather than spiritualizes the things that are temporal and visible. Most characteristic of his system is his doctrine of correspondences. There is a perfect correspondence between every natural object, even the most minute, and the great facts of the spiritual world. The application of the doctrine of correspondences to the interpretation of Scripture gives opportunity for the wildest allegorizing, and completely destroys the value of Scripture as an objective standard of truth.

Swedenborg taught that Scripture is not merely from the Lord, but is itself the Lord. As the whole godhead assumed humanity in Christ, so God embodies himself in Scripture. The Scripture writers were only instruments in the hands of God. Every sentence and word has a spiritual meaning which the natural idea represents. The revelation to Swedenborg of the correspondence between natural and spiritual things, and of the spiritual meaning of the word, constituted, in his view, the second coming of the Lord. He regarded himself as commissioned by God to introduce a new dispensation, in which men should attain to blessedness by gaining a perfect insight into the correspondence between the natural and the spiritual, lost in the fall and not fully restored in the earlier dispensations. Every Christian doctrine is so transformed in Swedenborg's theosophy as to be scarcely recognizable.

Swedenborg was so highly esteemed by the king for his services to science and for the excellence of his character, that attempts to punish him for heresy failed. He died in London in 1772, professing to the last full confidence in what he had taught. In 1783 a few of his English disciples organized themselves as a church and entered upon the task of disseminating his teachings. A year later the propagandism was extended to America. The New Jerusalem Church is to-day disseminating its teachings with considerable vigor in Great Britain, the

United States, Canada, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden. Vast numbers of volumes of Swedenborg's writings are annually distributed to ministers of evangelical denominations and others.

7. *A New Philosophy and a New Theology.*

LITERATURE: See Dorner, "Hist. of Prot. Theol., Vol. II., pp. 321 *seq.*; Lichtenberger, "Hist. of German Theol. in the Nineteenth Century" (Eng tr., 1889); Pfleiderer, "Developm. of Theol. in Germany since Kant, and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825" (Eng. tr., 1893); Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism," 1866 and 1875; Hagenbach, "Germ. Rationalism," 1865; Tholuck, "*Gesch. d. Rationalismus*," 1853–1854; Farrar, "Critical Hist. of Free Thought," 1863.

(1) *Immanuel Kant* (b. 1724, professor in the University of Königsberg 1755–1804), was in a sense a product of the "Illumination," and was the first to subject its results to a searching criticism and to establish a new basis for further investigation of the great problems that had been raised. While his method was thoroughly rationalistic and he may be regarded as the father of the rationalistic theology of modern Germany, he struck a deathblow at the sentimentalism and the eudæmonism that were sapping the intellectual and moral life of the nation. The immediate effect of his teaching was more directly antagonistic to historical Christianity than that of Herder and Lessing had been; but he could build up as well as tear down, and much of the apparent damage that was done to the Christian faith by his "Critique of Pure Reason" was remedied by his "Critique of Practical Reason," his "Ethics," etc.

Kant was led by Hume's expression of doubt regarding the antecedent certainty of human knowledge to a critical examination of the human understanding, the instrument of knowledge. Wolff's method of attaining to truth by means of clear ideas he declared to be utterly vain. He strictly limited our knowledge to phenomena. We do not know things in themselves, but only such appearances as are possible to us under the conditions of knowledge to which we are limited. While reason gives us the ideas of God, the universe, and ourselves, this furnishes no sufficient evidence of the existence of either. While he regards God as the regulative principle of reason, he holds that he may exist only in the reason. Of his objective being we can have no knowledge. He would not allow that God, supposing him to exist, exerts influence on the human mind. This would be to destroy human freedom and the possibility of virtue. And yet this

philosophy "contained a germ which shows an internal affinity with the principle of the Reformation" (Dorner). "He has the merit of having fixed, by means of his categorical imperative, and with a lucidity never before attained, the specific peculiarity of morality in opposition to eudæmonism, and of having again proclaimed, like a philosophical Moses, the supernatural majesty and holiness of the moral law. Everything is, however, resolved into this certainly not lax morality. Religion is only a means thereto, and a means which it did not necessarily stand in need of, for autonomy, as well as autarchy, befits the reason as such" (*ibid.*). The categorical imperative, or the inner prompting to "act from a maxim at all times fit for a law universal," implies an ideal of moral excellence in the mind, and is treated by Kant as a grand certainty in human knowledge and the imperative requirement of human life. "Thou shalt" implies "thou canst." Thus a man is raised above necessitarianism and duty is placed at the very center of his being (cf. Calderwood, art. "Kant" in Schaff-Herzog). It would seem easy from Kant's categorical imperative to infer a moral government of the universe and a Moral Governor. Conformity of the contents of the categorical imperative with that which is central in Scripture would furnish a presumption in favor of the reality of divine revelation. It must be said that Kant did not deny divine revelation. But he was never weary of insisting that pure moral belief is all that is of any value in religion, and that Scripture and creeds have a moral interpretation applied to them, even though it introduces an entirely new sense.

(2) *J. G. Fichte* (1762–1814) sought to bring Kant's teachings into closer relations with theology and Christianity, but the result was an idealism that is hardly distinguishable from pantheism. He was not satisfied with Kant's distinction between pure and practical reason. He made the ego (human personality) to be everything and absolute. Nay, the ego is God. On the other hand, he could affirm that the ego has no substantial existence, and that there is nothing but God. He recognized in a measure the historical Christ as a man in whom God came fully to consciousness. He admitted that Christ is unique through his originality, and that all who enter the kingdom of heaven attain it only through him, in the sense of following his example, and thus becoming perfect organs of the divine. Jesus he called absolute reason, or religion become direct self-consciousness, the perfect sensible manifestation of the eternal Word. When we, like him, have God living in us, the historical Christ loses his importance for us. This is sheer pantheism, and is practically identical with the mysticism of Eckhardt and Suso.

(3) *Jacobi* (1743–1819) insisted that religion is a matter of the heart, and that each individual has a direct heart perception of God. This he considered just as original a perception as Kant's categorical imperative in the sphere of will. Accepting Spinoza's maxim that "all determination (definition) is negation," he maintained that any attempt to give God attributes is anthropomorphic or anthropopathic. External revelation finds no place in his system. He regarded the incarnation of the infinite as a contradiction in terms and as superstitious folly. Yet he affected to believe in the personality of God. His idea of the direct heart perception of God was to bear fruit in Schleiermacher's theology. His negative views were to contribute powerfully to the current of irreverent skepticism.

(4) *Schelling* (1775–1854) was even more pronounced in his pantheism than Fichte or Jacobi, teaching the absolute identity of God and the world, of the ideal and the real, of the soul and the body. God is absolutely immanent in the world, the determining principle of all that is produced in it. He finds divine ideas expressed poetically and symbolically in Christianity, and seeks by a forced method to show the conformity of Christian teaching with his own philosophical ideas. He seeks to combine Spinoza's substance with Fichte's subjectivity, maintaining that these interpenetrate each other and are in fact absolutely identical.

Thus the idea of God becomes animate (in contrast with the immovable God of Spinoza and the Deists), and he is the ideal of knowledge, because in him thought and being are combined into absolute knowledge. He is also the ideal of the ethical and the reconciliation of all the antagonisms of existence, even those of nature and mind. Truth and certainty are rendered possible to mind by this power, which fills it with its presence and obtains it as the organ to which it testifies of itself and makes itself evident (Dorner, p. 357, *seq.*). It is Dorner's opinion that, despite the sheer pantheism that lies at the basis of Schelling's speculations, the work of the Reformation was first continued by him and that science animated by a new breath found again in his thinking a new center. Schelling wrought out a cosmology and a philosophy of history that reminds one of those of the early Gnostics, showing how the Infinite One evolved himself in creation and in the history of mankind. Derived existence he accounts for by the supposition that the infinite put forth a potency of boundless being and permitted its independent agency. Primitive man becomes the embodiment of

the potency of a boundless sovereignty, which he abused, and thereby brought confusion into the universe. In Jesus of Nazareth a divine potency reappears for the restoration of harmony as the God-man, and from him proceeds the Holy Ghost, who leads back to God the rest of mankind. It was something to have philosophy seriously attempt to give to Christ and the Holy Spirit their proper place in the universe and in the work of redemption.

(5) *Hegel* (1770–1831) exerted more influence on theological and other thinking, it is probable, than any of his recent predecessors. Learned, methodical, impressive in his presentation, ambitious, aggressive, enjoying the support of the Prussian government as professor in the University of Berlin, he sought to mold the political, historical, pedagogical, and religious thought of the nation and of the world. He was as decided in his pantheism as Schelling, maintaining the unity of all things and the identity of subject and object. Instead of beginning with the Absolute, like Schelling, he makes the Idea his starting-point, from which by logical methods he seeks to deduce all things.

The Idea includes the Absolute, which is the pure Idea considered in itself abstractly. Nature is the Idea manifested and objectified. Spirit is the Idea turning back upon itself and beholding itself as soul, as society, and as God. God is the concrete unity, the Idea determining itself, the generating principle of immanence. Religion is the consciousness which God has of himself in finite being, or the spirit which is conscious of its essence. He regards religion as a matter of thought rather than of feeling. It is only a lower phase of thought, which should ascend to philosophy. The maxim: "All that is rational is real, and all that is real is rational," strikes at the root of a stable and eternally valid morality, which constitutes the valuable feature in Kant's philosophy, and it tends to justify everything that is and has been. The idea of development, not wholly wanting in the earlier systems, is the most characteristic feature of the Hegelian philosophy. The existing world-order and civilization are the result of infinitely active and impelling mind rising step by step to ever higher and more perfect attainment. Mind is will, and therefore development and differentiation; but as logically enlightened will it strives after unity and necessity, which are indistinguishable from freedom. In the process of development nothing is lost and nothing has a merely transitory importance. Each nation has made its contribution to the progress of civilization. Each system of philosophy and of religion has had its place in the building of the great structure. He was thoroughly optimistic, and regarded the attainments of his own age not only as the highest yet known, but as the highest possible. The idea of the State as exemplified in reconstituted Prussia, the poetical art of Goethe and Schiller. Chris-

tianity rightly apprehended with its conception of divine unity and free personality, and the Hegelian philosophy he regarded as ultimate. All that was wanted was to secure the general recognition and complete utilization of these products of past development.

It was worth much that Christianity should be recognized by the most influential philosopher of his age as the absolute religion, and that the minutest facts of history, religious as well as secular, should have been regarded as of fundamental importance as marking steps in the evolution of the Idea. Hegel's philosophy contributed more than any other influence to set the Germans, and through their example, other peoples, enthusiastically to work seeking to discover everything that can be known in nature, human history, and religion.

(6) It would be inexcusable even in so brief an outline of the religious and theological life of the Germans during the present age, not to mention the *religious awakening caused by the misfortunes of Germany during the Napoleonic wars.* German statesmen like Stein and Scharnhorst sought to encourage the people by promising more of political freedom. Multitudes who had been negligent of religious duties, and even doubters of God's existence, were led now to pray for deliverance from the foreign tyrant. Bibles, hymn books, and other devotional works long disused, were now in demand and were eagerly used. The failure of Napoleon's Russian campaign was looked upon as a divine interposition, and thanksgiving was the order of the day. The national enthusiasm that followed the final overthrow of the tyrant made the Germans comparatively indifferent to constitutional liberty, and was utilized by the sovereigns for further riveting the people's bonds. The religious awakening was utilized by the governments in this interest. The reaction against the French Revolution led in Germany, as well as in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, to romanticism, involving an enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, which manifested itself in literature, art, architecture, politics, and religion. Feudalism, which had been so effectually destroyed in France, received a new lease of life in Germany. An attempt was made to revive mediæval philosophy and theology. As has already appeared, the Roman Catholic Church

profited greatly by this reactionary spirit. The philosophical systems that have been described did much to counteract the influence of romanticism and filled with new enthusiasm multitudes of earnest souls that were searching for truth. It is hard to realize at the present day the extent to which students and educated men were absorbed in the speculations of philosophers like Kant, Schelling, and Hegel. They regarded philosophy as the matter of supreme importance, and hailed with delight and enthusiasm every new point of view that struck their fancy.

(7) Out of this philosophical ferment *an endless variety of theological systems* might have been expected to come forth. Many of the early disciples of Kant became extreme rationalists. Eminent among these was J. F. Rohr, from 1820 onward court preacher and superintendent at Weimar. He was exceedingly fierce in his polemics against supernaturalism in religion, denied that Christianity was a positive religion or had any value apart from its morality, and utterly repudiated its Christology, holding the historical accounts of Christ to be legendary and the gospel method of salvation absurd. He was exceedingly intolerant and bitter toward opponents, and was commonly called the "pope of Weimar." His "Literary Journal for Preachers" was a means of widely disseminating his irreverent and ill-tempered utterances.

J. A. L. Wegscheider (1771–1849), as professor at Halle (1810 onward) and author of "Institutes of Dogmatic Theology" (1815), was a chief promoter of extreme rationalism. J. E. G. Paulus (1761–1851), "the true patriarch of rationalism," as professor at Heidelberg (1811 onward), wrote voluminously in support of rationalism and applied his principles to the interpretation of the Bible. His method was to find for every miraculous narrative a natural explanation. He was an enthusiast in support of this type of thought, but courteous toward opponents.

(8) *Supranaturalistic theology* was not without its supporters even during the darkest period of the age of skepticism. Tübingen was the chief center of this type of thought till after 1840, and the "Tübingen Review"

was its chief literary organ. Among the leaders of this school of thought may be mentioned Reinhard, the eloquent preacher and apologist; Steudel, the Orientalist and biblical interpreter; and Plank, the eminent writer on doctrine history and church government. Midway between extreme rationalism and uncompromising supranaturalism were Bretschneider, the New Testament scholar; Tzschirner, author of an important treatise on "Dogmatic Theology" and of works on the history of doctrine; and De Wette, the eminent biblical interpreter.

(9) *F. D. E. Schleiermacher* (1768–1834), "one of the most beautiful individualities and one of the grandest sons of genius of modern Germany" (Lichtenberger), was a descendant of the Salzburgers and had several Reformed ministers among his ancestors. Four years in the school of the Moravian Brethren at Niesky (1783–1787) produced a profound impression for good on his highly susceptible nature. For a time the doubts which he had entertained before entering the school were in abeyance and he found the utmost satisfaction in a life of trust in Jesus. But to his great sorrow they afterward thrust themselves upon him with a persistence and force that he did not find means to resist. His orthodox father was shocked and pained when he made known to him his doubts, but his uncle treated him sympathetically and persuaded him not to expect absolute certitude, but to trust in God for guidance in the way of truth. In 1787 he entered the University of Halle with its eleven hundred students, eight hundred of whom were studying theology. Rationalism was at this time dominant in the university, but Schleiermacher was little attracted or influenced thereby. His favorite studies were Greek literature and philosophy. About 1789 he became deeply interested in the philosophy of Kant and came in personal contact with him at Königsberg.

After spending some years in pastoral work in the country, he was called to Berlin (1796) as chaplain to a hospital. An intimate acquaintance with Schlegel had considerable to do with his intellectual and spiritual development, and he was led by him to believe that science and religion are not antagonistic but helpful to

each other, and that theology might be rejuvenated by the application to it of the scientific method. During these years he was closely associated, through Schlegel, with a circle of intelligent Jews and became for a time somewhat imbued with romanticism. In fact, he imbibed from Schlegel ideas of love and marriage that greatly disturbed those who had his well-being at heart. In 1799 he published his "Discourses on Religion," which gave him at once a place among the foremost thinkers of his time and which sought to mediate between rationalism and supranaturalism. This was followed by the "Monologues," "Life of Jesus," "The Christian Faith," etc.

He made of religion chiefly a matter of inner experience in which the feelings have more place than the intellect. Faith in the Lord Jesus brings with it an inner assurance that is superior to any external authority. True faith he regarded as a divinely originated restoration of direct vital communion between God and man, brought about by a mental contemplation of the historical image of Christ and by its attractive power. This faith submitting to the Redeemer, participates by means of his continuous agency in his Spirit and life, and attains at one and the same time to the consciousness of personal salvation and of the power of redemption which dwells in Christ. This process is, from the human point of view, supernatural, miraculous; but regarded as the expansion of the Christ-life embodied in his church it is natural. He laid great stress on regeneration as a supernatural process, the carnal mind being utterly incapable of transforming itself into the spiritual. The essence of Christianity consists in redemption through Jesus of Nazareth, which is destined to be the ever-present, all-ruling power in the life of the Christian, and is capable of being implanted in every element of the consciousness as the purest form of the consciousness of God, which again is, on its part, the highest stage of self-consciousness.

In seeking to arrive at the very essence of Christianity, Schleiermacher sought not only to make the way of salvation plain to individuals and to overcome the difficulties that prevented hosts of rationalists from accepting Christ as their Saviour and his religion as supernatural, but he was as earnestly desirous of promoting Christian unity as Calixtus had been, and far more deeply conscious of the supreme importance of Christianity. Brought up in the Reformed communion, educated under Moravian influence, in which Lutheran elements inhered, deeply imbued with the Platonic and the

Hegelian (idealistic) philosophies, which had more affinity for Lutheran than for Reformed theology, he was peculiarly fitted to be a mediator among contending parties, and was able to recognize and appreciate the really Christian elements in Roman Catholic theology.

As professor, preacher, and church official in Berlin (1810 onward), he was the most potent religious force in Germany, and while he fell very far short of our standard as regards the authority of Scripture, giving free scope to subjective criticism and disparaging the Old Testament, he represents an almost infinite advance upon the rationalism of the time. When dying, he desired to partake with his family of the Lord's Supper. After pronouncing the words of consecration, he remarked: "I have never been the slave of the letter, but I press these words of Scripture to my heart; they are the foundation of my faith. We are, and will remain, united in the love and communion of our God."

(10) Among the most distinguished of *Schleiermacher's disciples* may be mentioned Neander, the famous church historian (1789–1850), a converted Jew, who, as professor in the University of Berlin (1812 onward), exerted an influence in favor of devout living and reverent study of the Scriptures and of the history of the Christian church, more wholesome, in some respects, than that of his great master. His defense of the gospel narratives of the life of Christ, whom he considered absolutely divine, against the skepticism of Strauss and others, and of the integrity of the Acts of the Apostles and the New Testament Epistles against Baur and his school ("Life of Christ" and "History of the Apostolic Age"), placed him in the front rank of the defenders of the faith. His motto, "The heart (*pectus*) makes the theologian," involves an earnest protest against mere intellectualism and a determination to make religious experience fundamental. We can only mention, in addition, Nitzsch, author of the "System of Christian Doctrine"; Twesten, author of "Lectures on Dogmatic Theology," and from 1835 to 1876 professor in the University of Berlin; Julius Müller, author of "The Christian Doctrine of Sin"; and Ullmann, author of "The Sinlessness of Jesus" and "Reformers Before the Reformation."

8. *The Evangelical Union of 1817.*

Schleiermacher had long been laboring for a union of Lutheran and Reformed in Prussia and the other Protestant States of Germany. It was not his aim to abolish distinctions of creed and of worship so much as to secure mutual recognition of each other's Christianity, intercommunion, and free exchange of gifts (ministers, etc.)

(1) The desire on the part of Frederick William III., of Prussia, after the country had been delivered from French oppression, to strengthen the things that remained, led him, in 1817, acting under the advice of Schleiermacher and many other leading clergymen and statesmen, to celebrate the third centenary of the publication of Luther's theses by an effort to unite the evangelical life of the nation in one evangelical national church. In August, 1817, Lutherans and Reformed had united in Nassau. On September 27 the King of Prussia sent a mandate to the ecclesiastical officials throughout Prussia to take measures at once for bringing about such a union. The king's proposal was very cordially adopted by a large majority of those concerned. In many communities the Reformation Jubilee (October 31) was celebrated by the joint participation of Lutherans and Reformed in the Lord's Supper. The union proposal met with so much favor in Prussia that the government felt justified in omitting the names Lutheran and Reformed from public documents and employing the word Evangelical alone. Much dissatisfaction arose when congregations of the two parties were united against their wishes and when Reformed were expected to participate in the Supper with Lutheran ceremonies. Some thousands of Lutherans of the stricter type felt it a desecration to join in the Supper with the Reformed, who denied the real presence. In Silesia several thousand Lutherans, under the leadership of Doctor Scheibel and Professors Huschke and Steffens, refused to conform. In many localities the strict Lutherans established independent congregations and for a time defied the authorities. Severe persecution drove many of the non-conforming Lutherans to America, where they were able freely to perpetuate their traditional views.

(2) Closely connected with this effort to effect evangelical union by royal authority was King Frederick William's attempt to foist a new liturgy of his own composition on the evangelical churches. He first introduced it in the court church in Berlin and the military church at Potsdam. In a somewhat modified form it was afterward forced upon all the evangelical churches of the State system. The new liturgy was more elaborate than the old and was thought to be far more Romanizing. The second recension was even more objectionable than the first. It was the king's aim to put so much religious teaching in the service that even if the ministers were rationalistic the people would be kept true to the faith. The time for congregational singing and for the sermon was greatly shortened. Many Lutherans and Reformed denied the right of the king without the co-operation of the church authorities to impose new forms of worship on the churches; but Augusti, of Bonn, went so far as to maintain that the sultan of Turkey had a right to impose a liturgy on his Christian subjects. Opposition was so determined that the king was induced (1828) to permit some changes by the ecclesiastical authorities in the various provinces.

(3) The consummation of the union led to discussions on polity as well; but no important changes have as yet been effected. It was in accord with the spirit of liberty in civil as well as in religious matters that followed the French Revolution that the churches should desire to have a certain measure of autonomy; but the reaction in favor of absolute monarchy was unfavorable to the realization of such aspirations. The territorial system, in accordance with which the king has sole authority in determining the form of religion to be tolerated and supported, still prevailed. Except in some of the minor provinces there was no synodal organization whereby the churches could take united action on matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline; but ecclesiastical matters were transacted by consistories, made up of clerical and lay members appointed by the sovereigns and responsible to them alone. In Prussia bishops were appointed (1816) and an archbishop (1829) to act on behalf of the king as general superintendents. In 1828 a superintend-

ent was appointed over each province. But the term "bishop" has for the most part been laid aside. Where synods are permitted, the authority possessed by them is so small as to make them inefficient. Cæsaro-papacy was, under the empire, as it was before, the order of the day in Germany. Roman Catholics alone succeeded in securing a measure of autonomy, while enjoying government support. A limited toleration was given to dissenting bodies of Christians who receive no support from the State.

(4) Other German States followed the example of Nassau and Prussia in uniting the Lutheran and Reformed Churches: the Palatinate (1818), Baden (1821), Hesse (1818–1823), Anhalt–Bernburg (1820), Waldeck and Pyrmont (1821), and Anhalt–Dessau (1827).

(5) In 1834 the Prussian cabinet announced that in the evangelical union measure the government had no design to interfere with the authority of the Augsburg Confession, but only to promote a spirit of moderation. The aim of this explanation was to pacify the ultra-Lutherans. It only exasperated them still further.

9. *Lutheran Orthodoxy after the Union.*

(1) On the date of the promulgation of the union measure (tercentenary of the Reformation, 1817) Claus Harms, who afterward opposed the union, published ninety-five theses (in imitation of Luther's) in which rationalism, which he supposed had been erected into a pope, takes the place of Luther's pope. These theses embody a most drastic arraignment of current unbelief and created a great sensation.

"The pope of our time, our antichrist, is in relation to the faith, reason, and in relation to action, conscience, to which has been assigned, as a triple crown, the right of legislating, of rewarding, and of punishing" (Art. 9). "The process by the result of which God is deposed from his judgment-seat in order to put man's conscience upon it, was accomplished whilst there was no sentinel in our church" (Art. 14). "We read in an old hymn 'Two places hast thou, man, before thee.' In our days they have put an end to the devil and plugged up hell" (Art. 24). "We regard the very words of our revealed religion as holy; we do not consider them as a dress which can be taken off religion, but as its body. It is owing to them that it has life" (Art. 51). "Some men wish to enrich the Lutheran Church to-day, as if she were a poor servant, by a mar-

riage union. For God's sake, do not consummate the act over the bones of Luther. They might revive, and then woe betide you" (Art. 75).

(2) The effect of this somewhat dramatic declaration of war against rationalism, indifferentism, and union of faiths by royal decree, was to awaken enthusiasm among those who still believed in Lutheranism as a final form of Christianity and to create a determination to wage uncompromising warfare against innovation and neologism. It is worthy of remark that the new Lutheran orthodoxy proceeded largely from pietistic circles, where earnest religious life and profound reverence for the Holy Scriptures had been fostered amid the wreck and ruin of the "Illumination" and of rationalism. A number of earnest spirits who had been converted from Roman Catholicism by way of reaction against restored Jesuitism became zealous missionaries of the new orthodoxy (Boos, Gossner, and Henhöfer may here be mentioned). Judaism also made a noble contribution to the cause of Bible orthodoxy in the persons of Stahl and Philippi in Germany and Da Costa and Capadose in Holland. The influence of the Moravian Brethren on reviving orthodoxy was also very marked. Thus the new Lutheran orthodoxy was not a reproduction of the narrow, formal, scholastic confessionalism of the preceding century, but a profoundly religious movement whose leaders were zealous for the authority and integrity of the Bible and deeply imbued with the missionary spirit. As a persecuted minority the members of this party had abundant opportunity to manifest a spirit of self-sacrifice and to reproduce many of the Christian graces of the Waldenses, the Anabaptists, the Moravian Brethren, and the Pietists.

(3) *Hengstenberg* (1802–69) became by far the most influential leader of the new orthodoxy. Brought up in the Reformed communion, and as a student in the University of Bonn subject to strong rationalistic influences, he experienced a marked change in his views and entered the missionary school at Basel (1823). In 1824 he began his career as *privat-docent* in the University of Berlin, already deeply pious, full of zeal for orthodoxy, and ready to smite with a heavy hand every form of

error. Pietism was in favor at the royal court, and on this account his promotion was rapid and easy. Soon his influence surpassed that of Schleiermacher or Neander. In 1827 he began the publication of his "Evangelical Church Review," which was conducted in a highly popular and politic way and exerted an immense influence upon theological thinking and ecclesiastical politics.

If Harms sought to perpetuate Luther's influence by publishing a new set of theses, it was Hengstenberg that really reproduced the character and the career of the great Reformer. Learned, self-confident, politic, unwearied in availing himself of every possible means of exerting influence, attaching multitudes to himself by his powerful personality, violently denunciatory against his opponents and their teachings, full of inconsistencies by reason of his habit of using strong language in efforts to accomplish immediate results, he stands out for more than forty years as the most powerful religious and ecclesiastical personality in Germany.

The Bible and especially the Old Testament (the latter almost entirely neglected by Schleiermacher and Neander) he made the subject of his lectures and of his voluminous publications. Maintaining as he did the literal inspiration and the absolute infallibility of the Bible, he regarded rationalists of every type as born and sworn enemies of Christ, soul-murderers, and blasphemers. He recognized as properly belonging to the evangelical church only true believers, and these included only such as accepted the Augustinian (Pauline) doctrine of hereditary sin and the vicarious (satisfaction) theory of the atonement, and were ready with Tertullian to believe what to human reason seems absurd (*Credo quia absurdum*). He did not, like Harms, antagonize the union, but on the contrary regarded those who fought against it as fighting against God (1835). Later he expressed dissatisfaction with it, but accepted it as a necessary evil (1844). Still later (1847) he boldly denounced it.

The following unfriendly criticism of his "Evangelical Church Review," while it does injustice to Hengstenberg's spirit and motives, sufficiently attests his power: "A veritable inquisitorial

tribunal, this paper with indefatigable perseverance practised the use of denunciation, of suspicion, and of espionage. Uniting the tone of the prophet with that of the persecutor, and sprinkling his odious attacks with passages from the Bible, Hengstenberg breaks root and branch with all modern culture. He scoffs at the classical literature (Goethe, Schiller, etc.), which he accuses of paganism. He passionately denounces the progress of the democratic movement, in which he sees the realization of the prediction relating to Gog and Magog. . . He puts upon the same line and confounds in the same anathema the pantheistic philosophy and the advances of the cholera. . . All this was interspersed with edifying articles on the development of the religious life, on missions, on tours of inspection among the churches, and on religious conferences and assemblies" (Lichtenberger).

His hatred of democracy and of constitutional government and his glorification of royal absolutism (disloyalty to the king he declared to be a sin against the fifth commandment) ensured him the support of the crown. It may be interesting to note that he was an ardent supporter of the Southern States in their defense of slavery and bitterly denounced President Lincoln. In his later years he did not hesitate to criticise sharply the more liberal measures of the government, yet in such a way as not to offend his sovereign. That he had a multitude of faithful followers goes without saying. Among the most eminent were Hahn, the Krummachers, Harless, Guericke, Rudelbach, and Sartorius.

10. *The New Rationalism.*

By 1835 it looked as if the mediating theology of Schleiermacher and the new orthodoxy of Hengstenberg and Stahl had triumphed. The old rationalism had ceased to attract attention.

(1) At this time appeared Strauss' "Life of Jesus" and opened up the strife over the life of the Saviour and the authenticity of the New Testament books that has not yet completely subsided. Of a brilliant but erratic mind, Strauss had been occupied from early youth with speculative doubts. Among his early teachers was F. C. Baur, under whose influence he came again at the University of Tübingen. A study of the mystical writings of Jacob Böhme and of Hegel's philosophy left him with all their pantheism and none of their mysticism. Even the study of Schleiermacher's "Dogmatics" did

not free him from the sheer, dry, irreligious pantheism into which he had fallen. His mind was undoubtedly penetrating and logical, but he was completely lacking in spirituality and had no sense for the religious. Insisting that the gospel narratives are based upon myths that grew up in the church which in some way had come to idealize a man named Jesus, he utterly denied the historical character of the Gospels and discredited Christianity as a supernatural religion. Equally destructive in its tendency was his "Christian Dogmatics" (1840), in which he sought to explain the origin of each dogma and to show its utter inadequacy. Nothing but pure pantheism could hold its ground before his criticism. His attractive personality and his brilliant literary gifts ensured him a considerable following and a great literature, made up of refutations and defenses of his teachings, poured from the press. In his last work, "The Old Faith and the New," he set forth with less reserve than ever his disbelief in God as a person and in human immortality, and exhibited his immoral and irreligious pantheism in all its poverty and nakedness.

Even more irreverent was the unbelief of Feuerbach, Stirner, and Ruge, the young Hegelians who followed Strauss in their attacks upon the central principles of religion.

(2) Of a far more serious nature was the biblical criticism of which F. C. Baur, of the University of Tübingen (1826–1860), was, for a time, the leading exponent. Strauss had thrown doubt upon the credibility of the Gospel narratives, but had given no adequate explanation of the origin of Christianity and of the New Testament canon. Baur's chief reliance was his tendency theory, by which he sought to account for the rise and peculiarities of each of the New Testament writings. The supposed results of the criticism of the Tübingen school were to disprove the apostolic authorship of the Gospels and to place their date much later than had commonly been supposed, and especially to deny the historical character of the Johannean Gospel and to place the date of its composition toward the middle of the second century; to ascribe the Acts of the Apostles to an effort to harmonize the Pauline and Petrine parties,

whose bitter antagonism is presupposed, from the Pauline point of view; and to deny the authenticity of most of the Epistles (Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans alone being accepted as Pauline). Other members of the party have advanced other theories and have used their ingenuity in analyzing the various books into their composite parts and accounting for the origin and character of each. This work is still going on and, as subjectivity has full play and originality is highly prized among the Germans, it may continue indefinitely. The disadvantages of all irreverent criticism of the Scriptures are manifest. Among the good results that have followed have been the confirmation of the historical character of the New Testament writings, a minuteness in the study of their contents that might not otherwise have found place, and concentration of attention on the life of Christ to an extent unexampled in past ages.

The school of Ritschl, of which Harnack and Kaftan are among the most eminent contemporary representatives, is a lineal descendant of the Tübingen school. Interest in the determination of the exact facts about the New Testament literature has led to the most painstaking investigation of the Jewish literature immediately preceding and contemporary with the New Testament age, and with the Jewish and Christian literature of the post-apostolic times.

Outside of the immediate circle of Baur's disciples and approaching more closely to orthodoxy, yet impelled by the same spirit of exhaustive research and freedom from dogmatic prepossession, might be mentioned such biblical interpreters as Lücke, Stier, Olshausen, Meyer, Ewald, Bleek, and Weiss.

(3) Closely related to the Tübingen school is the modern school of Old Testament criticism, of which Wellhausen is the most eminent German representative, but in which Kuenen, the Dutch scholar, was more original, and which has had eminent promoters in Scotland (W. Robertson Smith), in England (Cheyne and Driver), and in the United States (Briggs and Toy). This school of criticism has occupied itself chiefly with the Pentateuch (Hexateuch), which it analyzes with the utmost confidence into its constituent elements, ascribes each of

these to its supposed date and circumstances of origin, and determines how and when each book was brought into its present form. Proceeding upon the supposition that the religion of the Old Testament was gradually developed from a crude polytheism to the monotheistic and ethical system represented in the Old Testament, it seeks to rearrange the historical materials of the Old Testament in such a manner as to accord with the theory.

11. *The Neo-Lutheran Party.*

Dissatisfaction with the theology of Hengstenberg, who had too much sympathy with Reformed doctrine and too little regard for the magical efficacy of the sacraments, called forth (*c.* 1845 onward) a highly influential school of what may be called High Church Lutherans.

(1) The founder of this school was Stahl, a converted Jew, who as professor of law in the University of Berlin (1840 onward) became greatly distinguished as an ecclesiastical statesman and as a writer on church polity, philosophy, ethics, the relation of Church and State, etc. Up to 1848 he labored side by side with Hengstenberg. From that time onward his predominance in ecclesiastical politics was manifest in his promotion to the leadership of the feudal party in the Upper House, in his high position as a royal councilor, and in the deference that was paid him in all kinds of ecclesiastical meetings. He was undoubtedly a statesman of the first rank and it was part of his policy to base royal absolutism, with its feudalistic accompaniments, on religious sanctions. He may be compared with Archbishop Laud in his devotion to the divine right of kings and in his high-churchism. Of course he greatly surpassed Laud in learning, in philosophical insight, and in statesmanship. He has not inaptly been compared to Guizot, of France; to Lord Beaconsfield, of England; and to Bismarck. He classed rationalism and revolution together as the two inseparable scourges of modern times. Individual liberty, whether in religious thinking and acting, or in political thinking and acting, was an abomination to him.

(2) The purely ecclesiastical side of High Church Lutheranism was represented by Pastor William Löhe (1808–

1872), who maintained that the relation of the individual to God depends on his relation to the church, outside of which there is no salvation; that the saving part of truth does not reside in Scripture, but in baptism; that one church alone has the truth in its fullness, namely, the Lutheran, which possesses in its Confessions of Faith a doctrine that is perfectly pure and in which there is not an iota to be changed.

(3) Franz Delitzsch, the famous biblical scholar, aligned himself with the high churchmen. He refused to admit a distinction between the visible and the invisible church, insisted that the sacraments are the source of life which nourishes the church, and explicitly placed the sacraments above the word, on the ground that the word acts only on those who believe, while the sacraments act invariably and irresistibly on all who receive them for salvation or perdition.

(4) Münchmeyer regarded the church as a spiritual mother entrusted with bringing forth children to the Lord by the holy act of baptism. He held that baptism alone begets members in the body of Christ and that the church is founded on baptism. Kleifoth put the matter somewhat differently. In the Scripture God speaks to man, in the sacrament God acts with man, concentrating in a visible act the sum total of the divine graces in order to confer them upon us. The sacrament is a creative act, the arm of God which fashions the human soul in the image of Christ. He insisted upon the indelibility of the priesthood as a counterpart to the doctrine of the magical efficacy of the sacraments. Vilmar also explicitly placed the sacraments above the word and added penance, confirmation, and ordination to baptism and the Supper. He wished to see the mass re-established and to have every service terminate with the Supper. He regarded prayer at the altar as peculiarly efficacious and would have every pastor kneeling before the altar every day at noon intercede for the people. Of course this type of Lutheranism made much of genuflections and other ritualistic forms.

Among Neo-Lutherans may be classed Leo, Scheele, Philippi, Höfling, Thomasius, Hofmann, Kahnis, Luhardt, and Baumgarten.

12. *The Modern Mediating School.*

The spirit of Schleiermacher has been perpetuated in a line of theologians, embracing some of the most eminent names in German theology, who have occupied ground intermediate between Lutheran orthodoxy and the radical types of theological thought that have been described. It will be sufficient to mention some of the better known names. Here belong Tholuck, Dorner, Rothe, Lange, Liebner, Martensen, Bunsen, Beck, Auberlen, Hagenbach, Hundeshagen, and Beyschlag.

13. *Lutheranism in America.*

LITERATURE: See Jacobs, "A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," 1893, and the full bibliography there given.

(1) A considerable number of Swedish, Dutch, and German Lutherans had settled in the middle colonies of British North America before the beginning of the present period. After the close of the Thirty Years' War, and especially after the opening up of the Quaker colonies with their welcome to continental peoples and their freedom of worship, many thousands from different parts of Germany made their homes in this goodly land. Mention has already been made of the settlement of a colony of the banished Salzburgers in Georgia. The demoralized condition of the German congregations and the spiritual destitution of multitudes of Germans in Pennsylvania when Zinzendorf visited the colony in 1741 have been referred to already.

(2) Soon after Zinzendorf's departure there arrived a man (1742) whose character and training fitted him to lead, instruct, discipline, provide with institutions, and consolidate this vast body of raw material, and to lay the foundation for what was to become a great and influential denomination. H. M. Muhlenberg (b. 1711) early came under the influence of Spener's pietistic teaching. As a student in the University of Göttingen (1735 onward) he was active in philanthropic work and on intimate terms with several devout noblemen. After his graduation at Göttingen and a short stay at the University of Jena, he spent a year as a teacher in Francke's Orphan

House at Halle. He engaged at this time to go to India as a missionary, but could not be sent out for lack of means. After ministering for over two years to a congregation in the neighborhood of Herrnhut, on Francke's motion he was sent to Pennsylvania, where Zinzendorf's labors were emphasizing the need for wise leadership. His career, ending with his death in 1787, shows him to have been a Christian leader of the first rank and he may with propriety be regarded as the apostle of Lutheranism in America. He was soon reinforced by a number of good assistants from Germany and he was able to organize German and Scandinavian Lutheran work, to draw the lines clearly between Lutherans and Reformed, to infuse into the churches more of spirituality, and in many ways to improve the position of Lutheranism in America. The last years of his career coincided with the war of independence and the disorganized political life that succeeded it. American Lutheranism suffered, as did other forms of Christianity, from the disturbed political conditions and the spread of infidelity that marked this time.

(3) During the thirty years succeeding Muhlenberg's death rationalism swept over the Lutheran churches in America and played sad havoc with the religious life and thought of the body, as it did in Europe. In fact, much opposition to Muhlenberg's pietistic type of Lutheran teaching had arisen before his death.

(4) The tercentenary of the Reformation (1817) was celebrated by American Lutherans in such a way as to prove highly invigorating and a sturdier and more aggressive type of Lutheranism was called forth thereby. Immigration brought large reinforcement in numbers and resources. The rapidly increasing wealth of the country made possible rapid progress in the establishing of educational institutions, the strengthening of synodal organization, the formation of home and foreign missionary societies, the founding of a publication society, the establishment of religious periodicals, etc.

(5) Various types of Lutheranism, in sympathy with those that were current in Germany, appeared in the American body and caused considerable friction; but a stanch type of old Lutheran teaching seems to have

prevailed and liberalistic types seem to have been frowned down by the conservative majority.

The last forty years have been marked by a vast increase of Lutheran membership through the immigration to this country of over a million Scandinavians and over four million Germans, mostly Lutherans; and by serious disruptions, resulting from differences in doctrine, polity, and discipline. The various Scandinavian peoples have organized separate synods and established separate institutions.

(6) The first general synodical body established by the Lutherans in the United States was the "The General Synod" (1820). It embraces twenty-three synods, mostly in the Atlantic States, and has a constituency of nearly two hundred thousand, of whom nearly one-half are in Pennsylvania. This body represents a moderate form of Lutheranism and affiliates to some extent with Christians of other denominations. "The United Synod of the South" (1865), a small body formed by way of secession from the "General Synod" on account of issues involved in the Civil War, has a constituency of about forty thousand. "The General Council" (1866) was formed by way of protest against the laxity of the "General Synod" in tolerating millenarianism, in admitting non-Lutherans to the Supper, in allowing exchange of pulpits with "sectarians," and in refusing to make membership in secret societies a ground for exclusion. It was a part of the policy of the "General Council" to hold the various nationalities together. It embraces eight synods, with congregations in over thirty States, and a constituency of about three hundred and fifty thousand, of whom over a third are in Pennsylvania. "The Synodical Conference" ("Missourians," 1872) was formed under the influence of the Lutheran separatists who left Germany because of persecution after the union measure of 1817, and has drawn to itself much of the radical Lutheranism that abhors Calvinism and any sort of variation from what is regarded as strict Lutheran teaching. It is even more pronounced than the "General Council" in its hostility to union services, open communion, exchange of pulpits with ministers of other denominations, secret societies, millenarianism, etc. Its

constituency of nearly four hundred thousand is scattered over more than thirty States and is composed of four synods, of which by far the largest is the "Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States," with its three hundred thousand communicants.

Besides these great non-affiliating bodies there are several minor independent synods, including Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic bodies, and a large number of independent Lutheran churches not associated with any general organization. It is estimated that the total number of communicants in Lutheran churches in the United States and Canada does not fall much short of a million and a half. The differences that separate some of the non-affiliating bodies are so slight that wise diplomacy may be expected in time to bring about greater consolidation. Lutheranism in America has for the most part been chiefly concerned to hold the German and Scandinavian populations and has done little to attract to itself people of other nationalities. In the older States a large part of its constituency is at present English-speaking and its literature, preaching, and teaching are chiefly in English. But a very large percentage of its members are of German and Scandinavian extraction. It is evident that, while Lutheranism has done much in holding and providing for the vast immigrant Lutheran population, it has lost an immense number to other denominations and to the unchurched mass. A comparison of the present Lutheran membership with an estimate of the present number of Lutheran immigrants and their descendants would show a marked disparity.

(7) In sympathy with the union movement in Germany (1817 onward) and under the leadership of missionaries sent to America during the third decade of the nineteenth century by the missionary societies of Basel and Bremen many union evangelical churches were formed, which effected a general organization in Missouri in 1840. Other organizations were formed in the same interest in Ohio and the East. These united in 1872 to form the German Evangelical Synod of North America. This body accepts the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Catechisms, and the Heidelberg Confession (Reformed), "so far as they agree," as rightly interpreting the Holy

Scriptures; "but in points of difference . . . it adheres solely to the passages of Holy Scripture alluding to them, observing that liberty of conscience existing in the Evangelical Church." The Synod has a constituency of about two hundred thousand in twenty-two States, considerably more than half being in Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and New York.

This section written thirty years ago, with the use of the present tense, has been allowed to stand and the student is referred to "The Twentieth Century Supplement" for important unions and other changes that have since occurred.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMED CHURCHES

As Calvin's doctrinal system was more self-consistent and free from obscurities and ambiguities than that of Luther, and as during the preceding period there was little internal strife among the Calvinistic churches except by way of sheer contradiction of its recognized principles (as in Socinianism and Arminianism), so in the present period the Reformed churches have suffered less from internal disturbance than the Lutheran.

1. *The Swiss Reformed Church.*

LITERATURE: Hagenbach, "Hist. of the Ch. in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; Hurst, "Hist. of Rationalism"; Nippold, "*Neueste Kirchengeschichte*," *Bd.* 1.; Gieseler, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. V.; Baur, "*Kirchengeschichte d. Neueren Zeit*," and "*Kirchengesch. d. 19. Jahrh.*"; biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog; and works on the history of doctrines.

The work of Calvin had been perpetuated in Geneva by Theodore Beza (d. 1605), who went beyond his master in the rigor of his teaching (Supralapsarianism), and was, if possible, even more intolerant. Grynæus (d. 1617) had earnestly combated any approach to sympathy with Lutheranism in the University of Basel, and exerted a commanding influence throughout Protestant Switzerland and beyond. Switzerland suffered less than most parts of Europe from the ravages of the Thirty Years' War. The beginning of the present period finds the Swiss Reformed churches thoroughly and aggressively orthodox and almost entirely under the control of the civil magistracy. An indication of the rigor of the orthodoxy that prevailed during the early years of the present period is the uncompromising position taken by Joh. Buxtorf, and maintained in a bitter controversy with Cappel (1645–1653), in favor of the antiquity and the divine authority of the Hebrew vowel points and

accents, and the applause that the defense of this dogma brought him. This view was given symbolical authority in a new confession of faith (*Formula Consensus Helvetica*), adopted by the Swiss Reformed churches (1675). This creed, which also emphasized the antagonism of Reformed and Lutherans, called forth a protest from friends of the Reformed faith in other lands. It was abolished by the canton of Basel in 1685, but continued in use in Geneva until 1706, and in Bern until 1722. One of the authors of this confession was François Turretin, professor of theology at Geneva, and one of the ablest dogmatic writers of the time. He was a stanch defender of strict Calvinism against the liberal views advanced in the theological school at Saumur (denial of reprobation, of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, etc.), and successfully combated his more liberal colleagues, Mestrezat and Tronchin. In his great work (*Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ*) the scholastic method was more completely applied to the Reformed theology than by any other author.

J. A. Turretin (1674–1737), son of François, as pastor and professor in Geneva, became even more distinguished than his father. It was through his influence that the Helvetic Consensus was abolished in Geneva. He became greatly interested in the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. He was willing to commune with the Lutherans in the Lord's Supper, and sought to distinguish between the fundamental and the non-fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Only those are fundamental that are necessary to salvation, and only such should be insisted on as terms of communion. A Jesuit pointed out that there was no sufficient reason for his remaining outside of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as he admitted that truths necessary to salvation were taught by papists. Werenfels (d. 1740), as professor in the University of Basel, practised and taught the grammatico-historical method of biblical interpretation, insisting that it was not sufficient to derive a possible meaning from a passage of Scripture, but that the one actual meaning must be sought for. Osterwald (d. 1747), as pastor in Neuchâtel, exerted great influence as an advocate of moderation and of devout Christian living as even

more important than rigorous orthodoxy. The latitudinarianism that prevailed in England and in Holland before and after the English Revolution (1688) was influential in Switzerland, the younger Turretin having associated in England with men like Bishop Gilbert Burnet. It was the Scotchman, John Cameron, who had introduced liberal teaching at Saumur, whence also, through the teaching and writings of Amyraut, Placæus, and Cappel, they were disseminated among the Swiss.

Another shining example of learning, piety, and Christian moderation belonging to this time is Benedict Pictet (professor at Geneva 1702–1724), whose voluminous writings cover almost every department of theological science, but in which the dogmatic, the ethical, and the edificatory prevail. He was intimately acquainted with leading churchmen in England, Holland, and Germany, and on the most cordial terms with representatives of other denominations; yet engaged freely in controversy when truth seemed to demand it.

Switzerland was powerfully influenced by French and German skepticism from the middle of the eighteenth century onward, and the religious condition there became almost as deplorable as in Germany. Basel became a center of German pietistic influence, and contributed much to the awakening of religious life. Bern remained relatively orthodox, holding fast to the doctrinal standards of the past. Zürich became rationalistic. Through the influence of De Wette, who was called to Basel in 1822, a moderate form of rationalism became prevalent. By 1839 the Zürich authorities had become so pronounced in their unbelief as to call David Frederick Strauss to a professorship in the university. The popular outcry made it necessary for them to recede in this matter, and the controversy that arose invigorated the conservative forces of the country. The union measures in Germany met with much favor in Switzerland, where the importance of Confessions of Faith and doctrinal differences was no longer generally appreciated.

The influence of German philosophy (Leibnitz and Wolff) is seen in the dogmatic and ethical writings of J. F. Stapfer (d. 1775), educated at Bern and Marburg.

The religious condition of Switzerland during the early

years of the present century may be illustrated by the career of Cæsar Malan (b. 1787), son of a Genevese disciple of Voltaire and Rousseau (Geneva had long been a chief center of French skepticism). He was gifted in music, painting, and poetry, brilliant in intellect, and eloquent. Strong-willed, aggressive, enthusiastic, he early took an interest in religious matters, and after studying theology in Geneva and teaching for some years in the Latin school, he was ordained to the ministry (1810). Through the influence of Moravian Brethren, who were laboring in Geneva, he was led to feel his need of regeneration, and in 1816 assurance regarding the great truths of divine grace and a realization that he was saved came suddenly upon him. A few months later the Haldane brothers (Scotch Baptists) visited Geneva and made it a center of their evangelistic labors. By his intercourse with them Malan became convinced that it was his duty to devote his life to proclamation of the pure gospel to his benighted people. In May, 1817, he preached two remarkable sermons on justification by faith alone, which awakened much interest and opposition. His theology had become Calvinism of the most pronounced and uncompromising character, but Calvinism made vital by deep conviction and set on fire by religious enthusiasm for Christ and the salvation of men. The Genevese clergy, with the co-operation of the civil authorities, issued a prohibition against preaching on the union of the two natures in the person of Christ, on hereditary sin, on the manner in which grace works, and on divine foreordination. Malan found it impossible to keep his preaching within the prescribed limits, and after some months he was deposed from the ministry. Reluctantly he established an independent chapel. While making Geneva his headquarters, he made frequent and prolonged evangelistic tours in various parts of Switzerland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. He was exceedingly averse to separation from the established church, but his numerous followers were forced into this position by the refusal of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Calvinistic Switzerland to tolerate Calvinistic preaching.

The case of Alexander Vinet (1797–1847) likewise il-

lustrates the sad lapse of Switzerland in religious matters. Educated at Lausanne, he became teacher of the French language and literature in Basel and afterward professor in the university. In 1823 he came under the influence of Malan's Calvinistic evangelism and was either now first converted or experienced such a change in his religious conceptions and experiences as made a great revolution in his life. The persecution of Malan's followers (called contemptuously "Momiers," or "Mummers," practically equivalent to hypocrites) deeply enlisted his sympathy and interest and led him to write his "Memoir in Favor of Liberty of Cults," which was published in Paris as a prize essay (1826). This essay made him famous. For practical efforts on behalf of liberty of conscience in Switzerland he was arraigned before the courts, fined, and suspended from his ministerial functions (1829). His popularity in Basel increased steadily, and the freedom of the city was given him the same year because of his services as professor, preacher, and writer, and his refusal of an attractive call to labor elsewhere. In 1837 he felt constrained to accept the chair of practical theology at Lausanne. Here he soon found himself at variance with the civil authorities because of the undue interference of the latter in church affairs. As a protest against the abject subservience required of the ministers by the civil authorities, he withdrew from the Vaud Association of ministers (1840). In 1845 there was a violent uprising against "fanatics" and "dissenters." Vinet sought to induce the authorities to grant liberty of conscience. They refused, and he resigned his professorship. He accepted a literary chair in the Lausanne Academy, and soon afterward cast in his lot with the Free Church, that had just been organized. The next year the academic teachers were required to submit to the church law against which he had protested, and he was obliged to retire. He died the following year (1847). His writings on practical theology have had a wide circulation in English as well as in French. He ranks among the ablest and noblest of modern French-Swiss religious leaders.

Of similar spirit and gifts, but more sympathetic with German theological thought, yet relatively evangelical

and conservative, was F. Godet, the eminent New Testament interpreter.

In the most recent times Swiss theology has developed in very close sympathy with German, and apart from the ultra-Lutheran factions, nearly every phase of German thought has had its Swiss representatives. There is to-day little prospect of the restoration of Calvinistic orthodoxy.

The new federal constitution of Switzerland (1874) provides for absolute freedom of conscience, freedom in exercising religion within limits compatible with order and morality, and exemption from taxation for the support of churches to which one does not belong. Much more autonomy is given to the synods of the established church than they formerly enjoyed. Final jurisdiction in ecclesiastical disputes rests with the federal authorities.

Of the three million inhabitants of Switzerland, considerably more than half are classed as Protestants. The free churches have a membership of about ten thousand. [This was written thirty years ago.]

2. *The Dutch Reformed Church.*

LITERATURE: Blok, "Hist. of the People of the Netherlands," Eng. tr., 1898; Hansen, "The Reformed Church in the Netherlands," 1884; Demarest, "Hist. and Characteristics of the Protestant Dutch Church," 4th ed., 1889; Corwin, "The Dutch Reformed Church in the United States" (extensive bibliography); articles on leaders in Hauck-Herzog and Schaff-Herzog.

At the beginning of the present period just thirty years had elapsed since the Synod of Dort, with its uncompromising maintenance of high-Calvinistic doctrine, had excluded men like Episcopius, Uitenbogaert, and Grotius from the pale of toleration. The silenced and banished Remonstrants had been permitted to return after the death of Maurice of Nassau (1625), and twelve years before the beginning of the present period they had established in Amsterdam a theological seminary, which had become now one of the most famous in the world. Grotius escaped the fate of Barneveld only to be thrown into prison under a life sentence. After some years of confinement, which were nobly employed in theological

and legal study and literary production, he managed to escape. He found protection first in France, whose king granted him a pension, and then in the Swedish court. He was sent by Queen Christina as ambassador to France, where he remained for ten years. Recalled at his own request, he died on the journey, three years before the beginning of our period (1645). Uitenbogaert, who with Episcopius had been a champion of the Remonstrant cause, had been dead four years. He had been allowed to resume his ministry at the Hague for a time, but had afterward been silenced on political grounds. Two important works from his pen were published posthumously, a "Church History" (1646) and a treatise on "The Authority of the Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters" (1647). Bogerman, who had been one of the fiercest opponents of the Remonstrants and had translated Beza's work on the execution of heretics (1601), had been dead nine years. Gomar, Arminius' chief opponent and the leader of the extremists in the Synod of Dort, had passed away in 1641. The rigorous Calvinists had seemed overwhelmingly victorious at the Synod of Dort and for some time afterward. As a matter of fact, the harsh and repulsive way in which they presented the truths of Calvinism, and the tyrannical way in which they were willing to employ the civil power for the suppression of their opponents, reacted mightily against themselves, and from the beginning of this period onward strict Calvinistic views came more and more into disfavor. Arminians (Remonstrants) and moderate Calvinists were popular, and Socinians, banished from Poland, found in Holland not only toleration, but a readiness to buy their books and to give sympathetic attention to their teaching. If the Remonstrants did not take the field, it was because the successors of their persecutors had adopted the views of the persecuted. The fact that the Netherlands were not actively engaged in the Thirty Years' War and were not much devastated by friendly or hostile armies had left educational and religious work in a much more prosperous condition than in Germany.

(1) *Some Leaders of the Reformed Church during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Among the most eminent of the Reformed leaders was Cocceius. German

by birth (b. 1603), but educated at Franeker, in Holland, he studied Greek with a Greek and Hebrew with a Hebrew and became easily the most accomplished biblical scholar of his time. His voluminous writings (ten folio volumes) cover almost every department of theology, but dogmatical and exegetical writings predominate. He was pre-eminently a scriptural theologian. He taught Hebrew at Franeker from 1636 to 1650, when he was called to Leyden to succeed Spanheim. Here he labored until his death, in 1669. He was noted for the kindly and conciliatory character of his polemics, and he sought to refute error not so much by scholastic hair-splitting as by confronting it with Scripture. Such notably was his dealing with the theological views of Grotius and of the Socinians. The dominating thought in his theology, as in his interpetation of Scripture, was the divine covenant. This was not a wholly new thought, but he developed it with such richness of scriptural citation, with such logical acumen, and with such an insight into historical relations, that he may properly be regarded as the father of the federal theology. His great work, "Summary of Doctrine Concerning the Covenant and Testament of God," was first published in 1648 and may be regarded as the first serious attempt at the working out of a biblical theology.

The Bible he regarded as the history of redemption in the form of a covenant between God and man. This led him to suppose that the original relation between God and man was a covenant also. Of course the covenant was proposed and imposed by God and man was the mere recipient. But man, as being free, rational, and holy, was capable of receiving it and securing eternal blessedness by observing his side of it. This first covenant was a covenant of works. Man's failure to keep the covenant of works involved him in the fall and the curse. Having fallen, man was still bound to perfect obedience and faith. God now in his mercy substituted for the covenant of works a covenant of grace, the divine side of the covenant being the promise and the actual sending of Jesus Christ as a redeemer, the human obligation being to appropriate by faith God's gracious provision. In the second covenant he distinguished three dispensations (economies): the ante-legal (promise in the protevangelium, conscience, the patriarchal family), the legal (written law, ceremonies, theocracy), and the post-legal (Christ incarnate, establishment of visible kingdom, etc.). He treats of the doctrine of redemption through Christ under nine divisions: its purpose (promised grace), its founder (a mediator), its means (faith), its

recipients (believers), its cause (God's good pleasure), its revelation (the Bible), its application (by the Holy Spirit), its end (the glory of God).

It is noticeable that the doctrine of predestination does not figure in this system and the entire doctrine of divine decrees is kept in the background. The aim of Cocceius was evidently to show that man was so endowed and conditioned that he need not have fallen, that he was responsible for his fall, and that after the fall God placed salvation within the reach of all by covenant and actually provided redemption in Christ for all who would believe.

Cocceius was sharply attacked by Voetius of Utrecht, a disciple of Gomar and a representative of scholastic Calvinism, who denounced him as a heretic and sought to compass his ruin. Universities and political factions were arrayed against each other in favor of or in opposition to this new theological scheme.

It was Cocceius' application of his theory to the Sabbath that more than anything else aroused opposition. Placing the Sabbath commandment in the covenant of grace, he regarded it as a "demonstration of hope in Christ and a means of leading up to the denial of self-righteousness and dead works," and, so, as fulfilled in Christ. The New Testament requires the sanctification of the whole lifetime. The Sabbath controversy thereby precipitated was carried on for years with much bitterness.

After Cocceius' death (1669) the conflict of his defenders and opponents waxed fiercer and fiercer. Maresius and Voetius assailed Cocceius' view with special emphasis on the demoralizing consequences of his teaching regarding the Sabbath. The Cocceians, in some cases, did not refrain from putting in practice their anti-Sabbatarian views. For a time the tide seemed to be turning against the Cocceians, and several of their leaders were deposed; but the controversy was finally settled by a compromise: In each of the universities the professor of systematic theology should be a Voetian, the professor of exegetical theology, a Cocceian, and the professor of practical theology, a Lampean. The king had ordered that pastorates and professorships be filled without reference to the party affiliations of the candidates (1694).

Mention should be made of F. A. Lampe, who, early in the eighteenth century, became the leader of a party that could claim recognition in the universities side by side with the Voetian and the Cocceian. Lampe has been recently designated as "the most influential theologian of the German Reformed Church" (Karl Müller). Born in Germany (1683), he had his early training in Bremen, where he came under the influence of an early form of pietism that prevailed there (Theodore Unterreyck). In 1702 he entered the University of Franeker, where Vitringa, the eminent biblical scholar, and other disciples of Cocceius, were teaching side by side with disciples of Voetius and in friendly relations with them. Labadiean mysticism was also gaining a place in the thought of the Cocceians. Lampe contributed much to the spiritual life of the university and the good fellowship already existing between representatives of the two factions. After several fruitful years in pastoral work in the duchy of Cleve, he accepted a theological chair at Utrecht, where for seven years, trusting in Jesus for help and protection and putting aside all consideration of human fear or favor, he labored with consuming zeal for a spiritual ministry.

(2) *Some Remonstrant Theologians.* Among the foremost scholars of his age was Philip Limborch (1633–1712), best known as the author of a "History of the Inquisition," but a voluminous writer on dogmatic and exegetical themes as well. A nephew of Episcopius and brought up under Remonstrant influences, he decided, when nineteen years old, to devote his life to the Christian ministry. After completing his studies in the Remonstrant seminary under Vossius, Barlæus, and Curcellæus, he betook himself to Utrecht to attend the lectures of Voetius, the famous representative of rigorous Calvinism. After several years of pastoral labor, he was called (1668) to a professorship in the Remonstrant seminary, where, for forty-five years, he labored with remarkable industry and zeal, covering with his teaching and writings the whole field of theological science. Under his administration the institution reached the height of its fame and efficiency. In his "Christian Theology" he placed great emphasis on the inadequacy of a mere

knowledge of Christian truth and the necessity of a personal appropriation of truth by a faith that is not simply knowledge and assent, but also a submission of the whole being in loving confidence to Christ as prophet, priest, and king. He was at much pains to show how Calvinists, Remonstrants, and Socinians differed from each other, and to distinguish between fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith. To the former class belong only those that are declared by Scripture necessary to salvation, and in our statement of things necessary to be believed we must use the language of Scripture.

John Clericus (1657–1736) was a Genevan by birth and studied theology under Turretin and Mestrezat. Afterward he spent some time visiting the theological institutions at Grenoble, Saumur, and Paris, and ministered for a while to the Calvinistic French-speaking refugees in London. Through the study of the writings of Curcellæus, his uncle, and of Episcopius, he was led to accept the views of the Remonstrants. At Amsterdam he came into close relations with Limborch, and through his influence was appointed to a professorship in the Remonstrant seminary (1684). His literary activity was remarkable even for that productive age. Besides editing many works of others (Clericus, Grotius, Erasmus, Petavius, and Hammond), he published many exegetical and controversial writings of his own. Soon after entering upon his professorial career he defended the thesis, "That reason is an infallible guide for the judging of everything that man needs to know for his spiritual well-being." Yet he protested earnestly against the charge of Socinianism and professed his belief in the Scriptures as a divine revelation.

Notwithstanding the fact that the older Calvinism almost completely disappeared in Holland during the rationalistic age that followed, and there was little left against which they needed to remonstrate, the Remonstrants have continued as a small denomination (about fifteen thousand members) until the present day. Their theological seminary, which still survives, has probably done more than anything else to perpetuate the division. Few things are so permanent in their work and influence as institutions of learning.

(3) *The Dutch Reformed Churches during the Nineteenth Century.* The demoralizing effects of English deism, French skepticism, German philosophy, and the French Revolution were fully felt in the Protestant Netherlands. With the revolutionary changes (1796) that resulted in the Batavian Republic, the Reformed Church ceased to be a State Church and was obliged to take its place side by side with the Roman Catholic, Mennonite, Lutheran, and Remonstrant communions. The republican legislature declared: "We have determined that henceforth not only no favored or dominant church can or will be tolerated, but that all decrees and resolutions of the States General in former times that sprang out of the old system of the union of Church and State shall also be held to be null and void."

With the restoration of the monarchy (1815) came the re-establishment of the Reformed Church and its reorganization with a view to its complete subserviency to the civil government (1816). At the same time recognition was given to Lutherans, Mennonites, Jansenists, Remonstrants, Roman Catholics, and Jews, all of which parties, as well as the Reformed Church, still receive annual grants in aid of the maintenance of their worship. In 1852 the ecclesiastical administration was revised and more of independence given to the church. The established church, "The Netherlandish Reformed Church," embraces all the Reformed (*Hervormde*) congregations in the kingdom of the Netherlands, about thirteen hundred and twenty-eight Dutch, sixteen French (Walloon), and three English, and one Scotch Presbyterian, with a membership of considerably over two millions. Up to 1834 nearly all of the Reformed churches were included in the established church. From that time onward dissatisfaction with the liberal theology that had come to dominate the universities and the ministry of the church and with State control led to the formation of dissenting bodies which have become vigorous and important.

Isaac da Costa (1798–1860), son of a wealthy Portuguese Jew, converted (before 1822) through the influence of his Calvinistic teacher, William Bilderdijk (a pronounced opponent of the French Revolution and the

Batavian Republic, and a partisan of the house of Orange), and his kinsman, Abraham Capadose, made a public profession of Christianity, and almost immediately began to champion the cause of orthodox Calvinism against all forms of liberal theology and unbelief. At the time of Da Costa's conversion a spirit of religious indifferentism almost universally prevailed. Even those whose views were moderately orthodox were wanting in zeal and aggressiveness and almost nothing was being done for the conversion of souls. Da Costa's tract, "To All Christians" (1822), was a trumpet call to humiliation and prayer that a great host from all nations, races, peoples, and tongues might come to a knowledge of Jesus Christ. Still more impressive were his tract "Against the Spirit of the Age" (1823), and his "Sadducees" (1824). He denounced not only the liberal theological thought of the age but the democratic spirit as well. What was being glorified as the age of liberty and illumination he characterized as an age of slavery, superstition, unbelief, and darkness. He compared the theological liberalism of his own time and of the seventeenth century (Arminianism) with Sadduceeism in the New Testament time. From this time onward he devoted his learning, eloquence, and poetical gifts with rare enthusiasm to the winning back of his native land to Calvinistic orthodoxy, which he identified with true Christianity. With the hearty co-operation of Capadose, De Clercq, Van der Kemp, and (1830 onward) Groen van Prinsterer, the orthodox propaganda went rapidly forward. The ministers and professors of the established church were aroused from their lethargy, and in many cases amended their ways. Multitudes of the members of the churches were attracted by the earnestness of the new evangelism. The revival movement inaugurated by the Haldanes and carried forward among French-speaking and other peoples by Malan, D'Aubigné, Rochat, Gaussen, Bost, Vinet, and others, reached the Netherlands about 1830 and many were awakened. During the years 1840–1850 a still more widespread work of grace went forward in the Netherlands. A large number of able men came over to the side of evangelical orthodoxy during these years. Prinsterer has

been called the statesman of the movement, Heldring the philanthropist, Beets the preacher, and Da Costa the prophet.

From 1834 onward large numbers separated from the Reformed Church. It was the hope of the leaders to be able to win the establishment as a whole or to secure such reforms as would make separation unnecessary. The resolute refusal of the synod (1835) to make any changes looking toward the securing of an orthodox ministry led to still further secessions. A law was in force against the assembling of more than twenty persons for unauthorized religious worship. A royal rescript declared the separatist assemblies unlawful, but pointed out a way (made more definite in 1841) by which they could organize legally. Still further concessions were made to the separatists (1849, 1852, 1868) until no disability save deprivation of State support remained.

After earlier attempts at general organization representatives of many of the separatist congregations formed a larger union (fusion of the "Separate Church" and the "Churches under the Cross") under the name "Christian Separate Church," which soon gave place to "Christian Reformed Church" (*Gereformeerde*). In 1854 this body established a theological seminary at Kampe, which soon had five theological professors, seventy theological students, and seventy students in its academic department. By 1892 the membership of this denomination had reached one hundred and ninety-four thousand.

A large number of earnest Christians who had come under the influence of the new orthodox evangelism long remained in the established church with the hope of leading it back to evangelical orthodoxy. Foremost among the leaders of the conforming Calvinistic party was Dr. A. Kuyper, who as editor of "The Standard" had been for some years denouncing the State-Church arrangement of 1816–1852 as the chief cause of all the misery and lack of energy in the Reformed Church, weakening as it did the presbyterial character of the church, destroying the autonomy of the local congregation, and discriminating against the separatists. In 1879,

under Kuyper's leadership, a union for higher education on a reformed (*gereformeerde*) basis, was organized, and in 1880 the "Free University" was established for the education of spiritual and aggressive leaders. The refusal of the authorities of the established church to receive students educated in the Free University to the ministry (1882, 1885, etc.) caused much dissatisfaction among the churchly reformers. In 1886 eighty of the Calvinistic members of the Amsterdam church tribunal were suspended by the Amsterdam classis. An appeal to the synod was adverse to the Reformers. This effort to deprive the Calvinists of their rights in the established church led to violent proceedings and another vast secession occurred. Among the ablest of Kuyper's coadjutors in this movement were G. J. Vos, an Amsterdam pastor, and Doctor Rutgers, of the Free University. A new organization was formed which claimed to be the perpetuation of the old orthodox Reformed Church. It adopted the name "Dutch Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Church" or "Doleerenden." By 1889 the Doleerenden had a membership of over one hundred and eighty-one thousand. In 1892 the Christian Reformed united with the Dutch Reformed (Doleerenden), thus forming a great denomination of nearly four hundred thousand. Several congregations refused to enter the union and have united under the name "Christian Reformed" and have established a small theological school at the Hague.

Mention should here be made of the Gröningen school of theological thought, which owed its impulse to Van Heusden, professor of history and Greek in the University of Utrecht (1804–1839). Van Heusden, who has been called the "preceptor of Holland," had become deeply imbued with Platonism and disclaimed indebtedness to any other influence than Plato and the New Testament in the forming of his religious views. He made love the central thing in religion and regarded the atonement as an exhibition of divine love. His view was much like that of Clement of Alexandria, Schleiermacher, Frederick Robertson, etc. From 1829 onward several of those who had come under Van Heusden's influence became members of the Gröningen Faculty: Van Oordt and Hofsted de Groot (1829) and Pareau

(1831), and, in close association with them, Van Herwerden and Amshoff as pastors (1831, 1832). These scholars began to hold weekly meetings for the study of the New Testament. Through Ullmann's "Reformers before the Reformation" they became greatly interested in Joh. Wessel and other Dutch evangelical teachers of the mediæval time. Erasmus, as a Netherlander with whose spirit they sympathized, also occupied their attention. They were glad to have found a type of Christian thought and life older than the Reformation, and in their opinion purer than the Lutheran or Reformed, indigenous to their beloved Holland. They rejoiced to call their type of teaching "Dutch theology." It was to a remarkable extent Christocentric and embodied what we have come to know as evangelical mysticism. They rejected much of the orthodox dogmatizing about Christ, and laid chief stress on his person, work, and example. While they were willing to call Christ "Son of God and man," they yet distinguished carefully between him and the one God who sent him and to whom he is subordinated. In his heavenly as in his earthly life he has only one nature, the divine or spiritual, which belongs to both God and man. They recognized his pre-existence as Son of God, his life on earth as a man who became perfect and sinlessly holy by overcoming temptations, and by his beneficent and self-sacrificing life attained to ever higher perfection, and his present heavenly life in perfection during which he rules his church and leads it onward and upward. They rejected the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and their view of the atonement may be designated "the moral influence" theory. These views gained a wide currency, but were sharply combated by the Reformed theologians as well as by the Christian Reformed (Calvinists).

Denying, as they did, the absolute inspiration of the Scriptures, the deity of Christ, the efficacy of Christ's blood to atone for human guilt, and the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and insisting, as they did, upon absolute freedom of teaching in the pulpit, press, and university, the Gröningen theologians were the forerunners of the later radical school.

Among the most admirable of the leaders of the estab-

ished church in recent times was the eloquent and pacific Van Oosterzee (d. 1882), for the last twenty years of his life professor in the University of Utrecht. His position was between the strict Calvinistic orthodoxy of the separatists and the rationalistic mysticism of the Gröningen school. His German masters were Tholuck, Neander, Dorner, Hagenbach, and Ullmann. His dogmatical and practical works have been translated into English and are well known.

The extent to which extreme theological liberalism had gained the ascendency in Holland is illustrated by the fact that in 1876 the government transformed the theological faculties of the universities into faculties of religions, putting Christianity alongside of heathen religions as an object of scientific study, and in 1878 banished all religious teaching (with the use of the Bible) from the public schools. The great honor in which Professor Kuenen (d. 1891), the coryphæus of recent Old Testament criticism, was held, is also indicative of the strong preponderance of sentiment in favor of extreme laxity of teaching.

(4) *The Reformed (Dutch) Church in America.*[1] The Dutch settlers of what is now New York State brought with them the Reformed religion of their native land, and as early as 1628 a congregation of fifty communicants (Dutch and Walloon) was organized at New Amsterdam, with Joh. Michælius as pastor. Others soon followed, and in 1747 a coetus or synod was formed with the permission of the Amsterdam classis, but without independent authority. Dissatisfaction with Dutch control on the part of some of the churches led to controversy and division; but in 1770 there was general agreement in favor of independence, and a self-governing organization was formed. The teachings of the denomination have not been sufficiently distinctive to attract many people of other nationalities, and though English has long been the language of its services and its literature, most of its members are still of Dutch extraction. Rutgers College (founded 1770) and the Theological Seminary (1784), both at New Brunswick, N. J., are the principal educa-

[1] See Histories of the Reformed Church in America, by Demarest and Corwin.

tional institutions of learning supported by this body. Of its membership of less than one hundred thousand, more than three-fourths belong to New York and New Jersey. Within recent years there has been considerable Dutch immigration to Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and other Western States, and many of these have been organized into churches, which are being fostered by the wealthy churches of the East. The Reformed Church in America has adhered closely to the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort, the Belgic Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism. The membership by 1926 had risen to 153,739.

3. *The German Reformed Church.*

LITERATURE: Goebel, "*Gesch. d. christl. Lebens in d. rheinisch-westphälischen evang. Kirche*," 1849–1860; Ebrard, "*Handbuch d. christ. Kirchen- und Dogmengesch., Bd.* III. and IV., 1866; Mayer, "Hist. of the German Reformed Church," 1850; Smith, "The Reformed Churches of Europe and America, in Relation to General Church History," 1855; Dubbs, "The German Reformed Church in the United States" (extended bibliography); biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog; art. "Reformed Church, German," in Schaff-Herzog.

(1) *The German Reformed Church in Europe.* It has been noticed that the Reformed portions of Germany bore the brunt of the defense of Protestantism during the Thirty Years' War. The peace of Westphalia continued the territorial arrangement of the peace of Augsburg, but admitted the Reformed faith to a position side by side with the Lutheran. The Palatinate had long been of the Calvinistic persuasion, and continued to adhere to its Heidelberg Catechism and to sustain its Heidelberg university. The lower Rhenish provinces abounded in Calvinists. The portion of Poland that fell to the share of Prussia in its successive partitions contained a large number of Calvinists. The tolerant spirit of the Great Elector (Frederick I.) and his successors brought many Reformed from other German provinces to Prussia. Many thousands of French Protestants (Huguenots) were encouraged to settle in Prussia (Brandenburg) after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and were given full toleration. As early as 1656 a Reformed university was established at Duisburg by the Great Elector

for the benefit of his Reformed subjects, which became the chief disseminator of the philosophy of Descartes in Germany. The Reformed churches in Germany yielded even more readily than the Lutheran to the influence of French skepticism, and before the union of 1817 had lost much of their vigor and rigor. There was little protest on the Reformed side against the union. Since the union the Reformed Church in Germany can scarcely be said to exist, although a number of theologians of Reformed antecedents have shown a leaning toward Reformed doctrine. The German Reformed have always been very moderate in their Calvinism, and there are to-day in Germany very few, if any, thorough-going Calvinists.

According to the Westphalian treaty, the use of the Catholic religion in the Palatinate of the Rhine was to be restricted to the royal court. In the Peace of Ryswick (1697), Louis XIV., of France, in defiance of the earlier arrangement, insisted that the Catholic religion should enjoy the same favor that it had enjoyed during the French occupancy. The Catholic Electors had already trenched seriously upon the privileges of their Protestant subjects and were glad to have the support of France in their efforts to restore Catholicism. The Elector, John William, had been educated by the Jesuits, and was in thorough sympathy with Jesuit methods of carrying out Counter-Reformation measures. He now proceeded to assume control of Protestant church property, to give to Catholics the joint possession and use of church buildings and endowments, and to compel Protestants to join in celebrating Catholic festivals, and to have their children instructed in the Catholic faith. Many thousands of the Palatinate Reformed were driven by these measures into exile, and of these a large proportion found their way to America.

The king of Prussia was able, by retaliatory measures against his Catholic subjects, to secure a partial restoration of the rights of Protestants in the Palatinate. But the Jesuits were able to get some foothold in the University of Heidelberg, which had been the chief educational institution of the German Reformed and which had been guaranteed to them, and to treat the Protestant

faculty so shamefully as to call forth rebukes from the Austrian and imperial courts. The publication of a new (unchanged) edition of the Heidelberg Catechism (1719) was the occasion of further persecution. The denunciation of the mass as "an accursed idolatry" in the catechism the Jesuits represented as an insult to the Elector, and they sought to have the edition suppressed. In this they were unsuccessful; but the Protestants were robbed of the largest of the two Heidelberg churches that were left to them. It was restored only after much pressure from without (imperial and other) had been brought to bear. Through the union of the Palatinate with Bavaria (1777) the Reformed lost still more of their privileges; but through the influence of the liberal-minded Emperor Joseph II. all their rights were restored (1803).

By this time the University of Heidelberg had become a chief center of rationalism (Paulus, De Wette, Daub, etc.).

(2) *The Reformed Church in the United States.* Several thousands of the Reformed Palatines who were driven into exile about the beginning of the eighteenth century settled in America, chiefly in Pennsylvania. By 1730 considerable numbers of Reformed from Nassau, Waldeck, Witgenstein, and Wetterau were also in America. Their first minister was Philip Boehm, who came in 1720. In 1746 Michael Schlatter arrived, who was to be for the Reformed what Muhlenberg was for the Lutherans, an organizer of the demoralized and neglected people into a vigorous denomination. In 1747 there were forty-six congregations, with only five ministers. These were now organized into a coetus or synod under the care of the Reformed classis of Amsterdam, to which it looked for encouragement and support. Schlatter was Swiss by birth (b. 1716), but had lived for some years in Holland, and had been ordained to the ministry and sent to America as a missionary to the Germans by the deputies of the synods of North and South Holland. In 1751 Schlatter returned to Europe to solicit financial support and to secure additional ministers. He received liberal financial aid, especially in Holland, and six young ministers. He brought with him seven hundred large Bibles for distribution. For some years Schlatter inter-

ested himself in a system of charity schools, which were to be supported by Lutherans, Reformed, and Quakers. Difficulties arose and the schools proved a failure, not without some loss of prestige to Schlatter. He accompanied the American troops as a chaplain in the campaign against the French in 1757 and was present at the taking of Louisburg. From this time until his death (1790) he took no further part in church matters.

From 1825 onward the denomination grew rapidly in numbers and equipment. About 1836 there arose in connection with Marshall College and Theological Seminary (then located at Mercersburg, Pa., now at Lancaster), what is known historically as the Mercersburg School of Philosophy. This new type of teaching provoked much controversy in the body and came near causing a schism. The founder of this new philosophy and theology was Rauch, the first president of the college, who had studied at Heidelberg under Daub (d. 1836), a noted speculative theologian. Daub had become a disciple of Kant early in his career and had adopted each new improvement in philosophy up to and including that of Hegel. Rauch conceived the idea of amalgamating Scotch and German philosophy. His early death (1841) prevented a complete working out of his system. In 1841, J. W. Nevin, a Presbyterian scholar, became Rauch's colleague and soon came into hearty sympathy with Rauch's type of Reformed teaching. He afterward became president of the college and the chief exponent of Mercersburg theology. In 1843 the brilliant historical scholar, Philip Schaff, who was to do more for the advancement of theological learning in America than any other individual, was called to the chair of church history in the college. A Swiss by birth and a disciple of Neander, he entered with great enthusiasm upon his labors, having before him the purpose of giving to America what he conceived to be best in modern German thought. The Mercersburg theology had a good deal in common with the Gröningen. It was, like that, Christocentric, but did not deny Christ's absolute deity. Christ, as the second Adam, is the head of a regenerate human race. Christ and believers constitute a mystical body, which is the Christian church, holy,

catholic, and apostolic. This spiritual church constitutes the communion in which men may obtain salvation and eternal life. The church is not an aggregation of individuals, but a vital and organized whole, extending into every nation and throughout all ages. As a growing organism, she adapts herself to varying times and circumstances. No doctrinal *formulæ* of earlier times fully meet the needs of a later. The mediæval hierarchy had its justification in the circumstances of the time, and yet the Reformation was necessary and the various evangelical types that arose in connection therewith had each its *raison d'être*. The influence of Hegel's philosophy is here manifest. This idea of the church was urged over against the idea that the church is a voluntary society of Christian individuals organized for their common spiritual good, and against the idea that sixteenth century confessions of faith are adapted to the needs of the present time. The sacraments are regarded by the Mercersburg school not as empty forms, but as the signs and seals of God's covenant with us, as means of grace, that become efficacious by faith alone. In this view they simply return to John Calvin's position. Their magnifying of the sacraments naturally carried with it a demand for liturgical worship, which they sought to promote by publishing "A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship" (edited by Schaff, Nevin, Harbaugh, Gerhart, Appel, Steiner, *et al.*, 1858).

A "peace commission" was appointed in 1880 for harmonizing the differences that still existed between the Mercersburg school, which embraced most of the eminent men in the denomination, and the older type of Reformed teaching.

The denomination has six colleges, most of which have theological departments, and a number of secondary schools. In 1890 it had a membership of over two hundred thousand, of which over one-half was in Pennsylvania. Membership in 1926 had risen to 361,286.

4. *The Reformed Church in France.*

LITERATURE: Baird, "The Huguenots and the Revocation of Nantes," 1895; Baird (C. W.), "Hist. of the Huguenot Emigration to America," 1885; Poole, "Hist. of the Huguenots of the Dis-

persion," 1880; Weiss, "*Hist. des Réfugiés prot. de France*," 1853 (Eng. tr., 1854); Smiles, "The Huguenots . . . in England and Ireland," 1867; and biographical articles in Hauck-Herzog, Schaff-Herzog, and Lichtenberger.

(1) *The Protestants of France from 1648 to 1685.* Reference has already been made to the condition of the French Protestant churches before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the persecutions that preceded the exterminating measures (Revocation of the Edict) of 1685. Until long after the revocation of the Edict the Confession of Faith that all ministers were required to subscribe was that prepared by Calvin and De Chandieu, revised and approved by a synod at Paris (1559), adopted by the National Synod of La Rochelle (1571), and afterward sanctioned by Henry IV. In their address to the king, which precedes the Confession, they designate themselves "the French people who desire to live according to the purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is one of the finest brief statements of moderate Calvinism ever drawn up. One of the local synods (1603) under the influence of Chamier had added an article expressly identifying the pope with the scarlet-clad harlot of the Apocalypse. But the government objected and the article had to be withdrawn. The "churches of the Desert," up to about 1727, required every preacher, candidate, elder, and believer to assent to this symbol. After that time, under the influence of Geneva and under the leadership of the liberal-minded Antoine Court, the requirement was set aside, and a profession of acceptance of the teachings of the prophets and apostles as contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, and of which a brief summary is contained in the Genevan Catechism, was alone required. Modern French Protestants have been still less inclined to bind themselves by formal creed statements. In 1848 an assembly at Paris, in which the leading spirits were H. Gasparin and F. Monod, declared Christ crucified to be the bond of union and recognized no other rule of faith than God's eternal word. In 1872 Thiers, at that time president of the French Republic, with the co-operation of Guizot, the statesman and historian, sought at a general synod in Paris to secure the adoption

of a new Confession. All that the body could be induced to do was to express a general agreement with the Confession of La Rochelle, a recognition of the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and acceptance of the Apostles' Creed.

The French Protestant church had been thoroughly organized in a presbyterial way, with its local tribunals, provincial synods, and national synods, and its organized work had been carried on with much vigor until the beginning of the persecutions.

At the beginning of the present period there were in France about one million Huguenots, with about eight hundred congregations and nearly that number of pastors. Many of the congregations were excessively large, owing to restrictions placed upon the number and location of places of assembly within a given district, and each required several ministers. All classes were represented, nobles, gentry, middle classes, and peasants; but of the last there were relatively few and the bulk of the membership consisted of the middle class, who were everywhere the leaders in trade, banking, manufacturing, and professional life. In many communities where the Protestants were in a small minority they yet constituted the most influential element. The expression "rich as a Huguenot" became proverbial. The discipline maintained by the French Protestants was strict and effective as compared with that of other bodies at that time. Sabbath-breaking was severely discouraged, as well as all kinds of frivolous conduct. Their great temples, though often located very inconveniently by reason of the restrictions, were for the most part plain wooden structures; but some of them had seating capacity for seven or eight thousand, and they were thronged with eager hearers. Four long sermons were often preached each Lord's Day. The preaching was of a very substantial kind and the psalms put into verse by Marot and Beza were sung with much spirit. Liberality in support of the home work and in aid of needy and persecuted brethren abroad abounded. The French Protestant pulpit greatly surpassed the Roman Catholic during the most brilliant period of the latter, although the Catholics had a few preachers more renowned for

finished eloquence (Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon) than the most gifted of the Protestant preachers (such as Du Moulin, Le Faucheur, Mestrezat, Daillé, Amyraut, Du Bosc, De Superville, and Saurin).

The French Protestants supported at this time four great institutions of learning, whose faculties contained some of the most eminent scholars of the age and whose halls were thronged with students. The institution at Nismes had become noted, through the efforts of Claude, for its conciliatory attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. As attempts to harmonize Catholics and Protestants could only result in a weakening of the convictions of the latter, Nismes was at this time a source of demoralization rather than of strength to the Protestant cause. Saumur, which had been established through the efforts of Duplessis Mornay, the leader of the Huguenots during the preceding generation, had at this time the greatest array of distinguished scholars and the greatest number of students. At the beginning of the present period its professors were teaching a modified Calvinism, differing little from Arminianism (Placæus, Cappel, Amyraut, and Pajon). The theologians just named were pupils of the learned and liberal Scotchman, John Cameron. Placæus is well known as the author of the theory of mediate imputation. Cameron had taught that the will is completely subject to the intellect, that sin originated in an obscuration of the intellect, and that the grace which works conversion is not a blind force but a moral agency. Amyraut distinguished between an objective and a subjective grace, between the external means of grace which are free to all and the internal working of the Spirit. By this means he sought to explain why some are saved and others lost. Pajon denied the working of subjective grace, maintaining that God governs the world through the objective connection between cause and effect, without any concurring, direct interference of Providence. He insisted that the word alone is efficacious without any special working of the Holy Spirit. The professors of Saumur became involved in bitter controversy with those of Sedan, Montauban, Geneva, and others, and the disciples of Amyraut and Pajon were excluded from many pulpits.

The schools of Sedan and Montauban defended orthodoxy with great ability. Sedan had on its staff the greatest Calvinistic controversial and dogmatic writer of the age, Peter du Moulin (d. 1658) and (somewhat before this time) Maresius (d. 1673), whose later years were spent in the Netherlands as professor at Gröningen, and Jurieu (d. 1713), also an eminent polemicist. Montauban had numbered among its teachers Chamier, Baraud, and Garissolles.

The destruction of the French Protestant cause that preceded and followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes has been sufficiently described above.

(2) *The Churches of the Desert.* There is no more heroic chapter in modern church history than that of the persecuted remnant of the Huguenots after the great emigration. It reminds us of that of the Paulicians and the Waldenses during the mediæval time, and that of the Anabaptists during the sixteenth century. During the very year of the revocation one of their persecutors (Cardinal Camus) wrote: "They hold small secret meetings, at which they read some chapters from the Bible and their prayers. After that the most able of their number makes an address. In a word, they do just what they did at the birth of heresy. They have an insuperable aversion to service in an unknown tongue and to our ceremonies. I have sent out missionaries. They cannot abide monks." In the Cevennes Mountains Protestantism persisted with rare determination and vigor. The martyrdom of François Tessier (1686) resulted in the conversion of the Roman Catholic missionary and the heightening of the enthusiasm of the Protestants of the region even to the verge of fanaticism. A government order required the massacring of Protestant congregations when detected, including the women. A few were to be reserved for trial in order that information might be extorted from them. The fearful barbarity with which this order was carried out has been put on record by Jurieu in a pastoral letter.[1] On one occasion the soldiers bayoneted three hundred women in their sides and breasts, and stripping others

[1] See Baird, Vol. II., p. 163.

took them as prisoners into the town of Uzès for a worse fate. Of the few ministers who attempted to remain nearly all were destroyed. Yet even without ministers the enthusiastic evangelicals continued to hold their meetings at the peril of their lives. Brave ministers who had gone into exile crossed the border from time to time to visit the scattered flocks, who received them with joy "inexpressible." Many Catholics were converted from time to time by the heroism and enthusiasm of preachers and people. One of the most intrepid and successful of the ministers was Claude Brousson, who made repeated visits and retired from time to time as his position became untenable. He appealed to the king against the atrocities that were being practised; but the price that had been set upon his head was increased, and he was captured and was executed before a crowd of ten thousand, many of whom wept in sympathy with his courageous witness-bearing. Brousson had published much regarding the persecution and had aroused the indignation of the evangelical world against the government of Louis XIV.

(3) *The Camisards and the War of the Cevennes.* From 1702 to 1710 a terrible guerrilla warfare was carried on by the persecuted Protestants of the Cevennes against their persecutors. Driven to desperation, nay, to fanaticism, by the outrages to which they had been for years subjected, they were led by reckless enthusiasts to wreak bloody vengeance on the Catholic populations within their reach. Disguised in white robes (hence the name "Camisards"), armed bands of them would swoop down upon troops of soldiers or police, upon Catholic congregations, upon towns, villages, and even cities, and having accomplished their purposes of destruction retreat to their mountain fastnesses with such supplies as they could carry. The Camisard chiefs were men of heroic type, and some of them could preach as well as fight. They had reached the conviction that in destroying everything Catholic they were doing God service. They looked upon their work as like that of the faithful Israelites destroying the Canaanites from the land of promise. The character of some of the leaders did not stand the test and traitors sometimes brought

disaster upon their followers. That the warfare should have been continued so long and with such destruction of life and property, notwithstanding the insignificance of the numbers and equipment of the Camisards as compared with that of the French government, is one of the wonders of history. The terrible sufferings of the Camisards themselves in the process of their conflict and overthrow need not be here recounted.

(4) *The Remnant and the Revival.* Just before his death (1715), Louis XIV. had added to his previous atrocities by issuing a law requiring the body of every person who refused the sacraments of the church on his death bed to be dragged through the streets on a hurdle and thrown into the sewer. With the death of the king the severity of persecution was somewhat relaxed, but it was renewed with fearful vigor in 1724. During these years there had been considerable gathering of Protestant forces in many communities. In 1726 a royal ordinance was issued condemning to the galleys all males found in Protestant conventicles and committing to life-long imprisonment the women and girls. Heavy fines were imposed for refusal to send children to Catholic schools. Whole communities were fined for allowing Protestant meetings to be held within their bounds. Yet the churches of the desert grew in numbers and in influence. In the scarcity of ministers, licentiates were encouraged to administer the ordinances, with the approbation of the elders. Occasional synods and colloquies were held for securing better co-ordination of effort and for the mutual encouragement of the persecuted bands.

The apostles of this time were Antoine Court and Paul Rabaut. The former has well been called "the restorer of the Reformed Church of France." Born in 1695 and left fatherless when five years old, his heroic Christian mother trained him carefully in the faith of his ancestors, and while still a child took him to secret conventicles. Before he had reached manhood he was full of religious enthusiasm and had resolved to devote his life to the preaching of the gospel, whatever the cost might be. When twenty years of age, he had formed plans for the rebuilding of the evangelical structure that was in ruins. In August, 1715, Court called together a

synod of his brethren in order to lay before them his plan and fill them with his enthusiasm. In a missionary journey that he had recently made he had witnessed a disorganized and demoralized condition that impressed upon him the imperative need of instruction and of concerted measures to deliver the poor, persecuted people from fanaticism. The prophetic spirit had broken out and women and girls were preaching and prophesying. Sometimes two or three men and women would fall into trances and prophesy at once, causing the utmost confusion. He had not hesitated, youth as he was, to rebuke the disorderly and to instruct the ignorant. Some charged him with fighting against God, but he held his ground and brought many fanatics to their senses. He urged upon his brethren in conference the necessity of the restoration of discipline, with the abolition of fanaticism and unregulated preaching (as of women, girls, and incompetent men). Of the nine persons assembled in a deserted quarry not one had been ordained. It was felt to be imperative that some should be authoritatively set apart to the gospel ministry. These could ordain others and bring the work in France back to regular lines. Court and Corteiz were in the opinion of all qualified for the ministry. The latter, as the elder of the two, was sent to Switzerland for ordination, and on his return Court was ordained by him. Court had received no collegiate education, but by early manhood he had gained a knowledge of the Calvinistic system such as duller minds might have spent years in attaining. His was a master intellect and a masterful spirit, and he was able to impress his ideas and his personality upon the churches of the desert in such a way as speedily to bring them to his way of thinking and to restore them to sanity and good order. From time to time he held ministers' institutes for testing the gifts of candidates for the ministry and instructing them in sound theology and in his principles of church discipline. Those applying for admission as licentiates were required to show their qualification for the ministerial office by preaching, but it was not thought essential that they should compose their own sermons. Court was soon able to establish (1730) at Lausanne, in Switzerland, a theological seminary for the

training of ministers for the French churches, and thither a large number of gifted and enthusiastic young men were from time to time sent for courses of study. He had left France in 1730, believing that he could better serve the cause by devoting his life to the training of ministers, which could be done only beyond the French borders. An upper room served as a lecture room and the teaching was furnished at little expense, chiefly by professors of the university. The young men on finishing their studies were eager to venture their lives in the cause of the Master. It has been pointed out as a singular fact, that while Court was radically opposed to extravagant enthusiasm, "he never wearied in sending forth martyrs and of furnishing food for the gallows to feed upon" (Michelet). The same writer calls Court's seminary "a strange school of death."

If Court was the "restorer of the Reformed Church of France," Paul Rabaut was "the apostle of the desert." "Among all that illustrated this age and made their impress upon French Protestantism, down to the very times of returning toleration, no single name approaches his" (Baird). Born (1718) of Protestant parents, but perforce christened as a Roman Catholic, he was brought up under strong religious influences, and when twenty years old consecrated his life to French evangelization. For fifty-six years his life was truly apostolic in its labors and in the perils and sufferings that he gladly endured in the fulfillment of his mission. For a few months (1740) he studied in the seminary at Lausanne, but the calls for ministry in his beloved France were too loud to be resisted. Without extensive literary or theological training, but full of zeal and the spirit of self-sacrifice, and endowed with native eloquence and personal magnetism in a very high degree, he was able to sway the persecuted Protestant people and to mold them according to his own ideals. The "spirit of the desert," defined by Court as "a spirit of mortification, a spirit of reflection, of great wisdom, and especially of martyrdom, which, as it teaches us to die daily to ourselves, to conquer and overcome our passions with their lusts, prepares and disposes us to lose our life courageously amid tortures and on the gallows, if Providence

calls us thereto," was abundantly exemplified in Rabaut. To labor so constantly and so long under the ban of a mighty monarchy required the wisdom of the serpent, and to accomplish the spiritual results that he accomplished called for all the Christian gifts and graces in very large measure. For fifty years he avoided arrest by the government officials. It was left for the atheists of the Reign of Terror to thrust into prison the aged saint for his refusal to renounce his ministry.

After the death of Cardinal Fleury (1743), who had directed the persecuting measures of the government, the churches of the desert enjoyed for two years comparative quiet. Foreign war occupied the attention of the authorities. Rabaut preached on one occasion, it is said, to ten thousand, and great assemblies were common. The mass of the Protestant population at this time was in Languedoc, Cevennes, Vivarais, and Dauphiny. Multitudes that had been outwardly conforming to the Roman Catholic religion were emboldened now to show their colors. But toleration was soon at an end. What has been called "the great persecution" (1745–1752) resulted from the pressure brought to bear upon the government by the clergy. Several of the pastors were seized and executed, among them Jacques Roger, whose thirty years of labor in Dauphiny had resulted in the establishment of sixty churches. Shameless forgeries were put forth by the enemies of the Huguenots with a view to proving their disloyalty to the government. When Rabaut was supposed to be in danger, several thousand men at once gathered for his protection.

The growth of the spirit of liberty during the second half of the eighteenth century, manifesting itself in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, etc., and by these disseminated throughout wide circles, resulted in a public opinion that would no longer sanction the atrocities of the past. Voltaire's spirited protest against the outrageous execution of Jean Calas (1762) and his unwearied exertions on behalf of Calas's family greatly promoted the cause of toleration. Turgot's "Letters on Toleration" were also highly influential. As a member of the cabinet of Louis XVI., along with Malesherbes (1774 onward), Turgot had an opportunity

to labor effectively for toleration. He even induced the young king to omit from his recitation of the coronation oath the promise to exterminate heretics. In a "Memoir to the King on Tolerance" he had the courage to say: "The prince who orders his subject to profess the religion that the latter does not believe, or to renounce the religion which he does believe, commands him to commit a crime. The subject that yields obedience acts a lie, betrays his conscience, and does a thing which he believes to be forbidden him by God. The Protestant who, either from interest or from fear, becomes a Catholic, and the Catholic who, from the same motives, becomes a Protestant, are both of them guilty of the same crime."

Under Turgot's influence the government addressed to the Protestant ministers as well as to the Catholic prelates a cordial letter, asking for their good offices in quelling the spirit of rebellion among the people (Bread Riots) and convincing them of the king's good intentions. Thus after ninety years of proscription the Huguenots received government recognition. Shortly afterward their baptismal registers were officially recognized. Active in securing the rights of the Protestants at this time were Rabaut St. Etienne, son of Paul Rabaut, and Court de Gébelin, the learned son of Antoine Court, who was for years (1765 onward) advocate of the persecuted Protestants at the royal court and was by reason of his merit as an author made royal censor (1780), and given the highest honors of the French Academy. Lafayette, who had co-operated with Washington in the War of Independence, and who had returned to France thoroughly imbued with the spirit of civil and religious liberty, was chiefly instrumental in securing the complete removal of the disabilities of the Protestants in the Edict of Toleration (1787).

(5) *The Reformed Churches and the Revolution.* Scarcely had the exultation of the Protestants over the partial remedying of their grievances ceased when the rumblings of the great Revolution that was for a time to overthrow the very foundations of society and to put Catholicism as well as Protestantism under the ban, were heard, and the evangelical cause suffered disaster almost as great as in the Desert age. With the convocation of the States

General (1789) the Protestants made haste to secure a place of worship in the very heart of Paris, which it had never been their privilege to do before. Rabaut St. Etienne was made president of the National Assembly (1790) and with pardonable pride and exultation wrote the venerable Paul Rabaut: "My father, the president of the National Assembly is at your service." As a member of the Assembly he made a most able and earnest plea for the complete religious equality of his brethren with the Catholics. In the name of two million Protestants he demanded "not toleration," but "liberty." "I demand that toleration in its turn be proscribed. And it shall be proscribed, that unjust word which presents us only as citizens deserving of pity, as culprits to whom pardon is accorded, as men whom frequently accident and education have led to think otherwise than we do. Error, gentlemen, is not a crime. He that professes it takes it for the truth. It is the truth for him. He is bound to profess it, and no man, no association of men, has the right to forbid him." The Assembly did not yield to his demand, but gave the Protestants liberty of worship conditioned on their not disturbing the public order. In 1790 the Assembly decreed a restoration to the Protestants, as far as it could equitably be done, of property that had been confiscated during the age of persecution. Barère, who was to become a leading Terrorist, spoke most eloquently in favor of a recognition of Huguenot claims to reparation.

The atheistic frenzy of 1793–1794 swept many of the Protestant ministers, as it did many of the Catholic priests and monks, off their feet. The pastor of the Parisian congregation, Marron, was ostentatious in his declaration that Christianity was an outgrown superstition and that the only proper objects of worship were liberty and equality. What proportion of the Protestant ministers and members renounced the faith during the Reign of Terror we have no means of knowing, but it must have been very large. Rabaut St. Etienne was one of the victims of the Terror.

(6) *The Reformed Church as Reconstituted under Napoleon (1802 onward).* After sanity had been restored to the French mind (1795) the Huguenots gradually re-

gathered the churches that had been scattered and wasted; but those who after the Revolution adhered fully to the faith of their fathers were relatively few. It was Napoleon's policy to put Reformed and Lutherans on a parity with Roman Catholics. This involved, on the part of the government, protection, financial support, the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions, control in matters of discipline and doctrine and the courses of instruction in the colleges, the prescription of a presbyterial system on a regular numerical basis, and complete government supervision with reservation of veto power. The churches were to pray for the government, have none but French ministers free from relations with foreign powers, submit all proposed changes in doctrinal definition or discipline to the government, secure the permission of the government for the calling of synods, which must be held in the presence of government officials and for not more than six days, and in general to be entirely subservient. It was proposed by Portalis, Napoleon's chief adviser in this matter, that the Protestants should support their own churches and institutions, and, presumably, enjoy a greater degree of independence. But leading Protestants preferred State support and State control.

According to this scheme each section of six thousand Reformed (or Lutherans) was to have a consistorial church, and five consistorial churches were to form a synod. Each consistory was to be made up of the pastors and from six to twelve laymen from among the highest taxpayers. The consistory was entrusted with the administration of the discipline and finances and the appointment and removal of pastors, subject to the approval of the government. Napoleon did not recognize the individual churches in his scheme. A consistory might be a single large church or several churches grouped together. Louis Napoleon (1852) restored the authority of the local churches with their presbyteries (the lay members to be appointed by the congregation) who should constitute together with certain other representatives nominated by themselves, the consistories for each six thousand members. No national synod was provided for in either scheme and none was permitted until 1872, under the new republic.

By 1848 dissension in the ranks of the Reformed body had become acute. A large majority of the pastors and churches had come under the influence of the liberalistic spirit that prevailed so widely in Germany, Switzerland,

and the Netherlands, during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. The evangelical revival led by the Haldanes, Malan, Vinet, *et al.*, had won a considerable number of pastors and others to its support and the Revivalists had come to form a party in opposition to the Latitudinarians, who were liberal in doctrine and ardently attached to the prevailing system of State control. Then there was a more or less distinct mediating party. The failure of the synod called in 1848 to adopt a Confession of Faith led to the secession of a number of prominent ministers and churches, including the Pressensés (father and son, the latter an eminent church historian and statesman), Rosseeuw–St. Hilaire (Professor of History in the Sorbonne), Armand–Delile, Audebez, and De Bersier. Fifty churches united to form a "Union of Evangelical Churches."

Even after this withdrawal to form a free church, doctrinal strife continued in the Reformed Church. When in 1872 a national synod was held to consider the question of formulating Articles of Faith and harmonizing the differences that existed, and a majority adopted a very brief and non-committal statement of views, forty-one liberal consistories protested against even such a declaration of faith. At a synod called the next year the liberals failed to appear. The government gave authority to the new Declaration of Faith (1874), but a controversy raged for several years and could only be quieted by allowing the liberals to act in accordance with their consciences in relation to the Declaration. The orthodox party has twenty-one provincial synods whose consistories accept the Declaration of Faith of 1872. These unite from time to time in a general synod under government control. The liberals hold separate synodical meetings. Recent efforts to harmonize the two parties seem not to have succeeded. It must be borne in mind that the orthodox majority are only relatively orthodox and are not so according to the older Reformed symbols.

There were, in 1900, in France and Algiers about six hundred and fifty thousand Protestants, of whom about eighty thousand were Lutheran. The number of Reformed was considerably less than the estimated number at the beginning of the Revolution. Though constituting only

a small fraction of the population the Protestants of France, by virtue of their superior average ability, exert an influence on government, commerce, literature, etc., altogether out of proportion to their numbers. Catholics have complained that a million Protestants give the law to thirty-six millions of their fellow-citizens. There are communes where the only Protestant is mayor. In MacMahon's cabinet (1879) five out of nine were Protestants. A few years ago a Protestant was at the head of the normal school, Protestants were at the head of primary and secondary instruction, a Protestant woman was head of the school of Sèvres, Protestant generals were in charge of the polytechnic school and the school of Versailles, and a large proportion of the judges, counselors, and eminent lawyers were Protestant (Baird, in 1895). The same general condition no doubt still prevails.

V. THE SCOTTISH REFORMED CHURCHES.

LITERATURE: "Book of the Universal Kirk," 3 vols., 1839–1845; Stanley, "The Scottish Church"; McCrie, "Story of the Scottish Church from the Reformation to 1843," and "Annals of English Presbytery from the Earliest Period to the Present time," 1872; Killen, "Eccl. Hist. of Ireland," 1875; Wodrow, "The Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution," 1841; Briggs, "American Presbyterianism," 1885; Thompson, "A Hist. of the Presbyterian Churches in the U. S.," 1895 (contains excellent bibliography of Reformed churches in general and of European and American Presbyterian churches in particular); art. "Presbyterian Churches," and biographical articles in Schaff-Herzog; and art. "Schottland," in Hauck-Herzog.

(1) *Presbyterianism in England from 1648–1660.* The period opens with English and Scottish Presbyterians in control of Parliament and with a great ecclesiastical assembly (the Westminster) which had been called by Parliament sitting side by side with the civil legislative body and with a deep sense of opportunity and responsibility attempting to impose a carefully wrought-out Presbyterian system upon England and Ireland. The British Isles were to have but one form of religion and that was to be Presbyterian. The triumph of the Independent army and the exclusion of the Presbyterian members from the Long Parliament meant the downfall of Presbyterianism in England. Many Presbyterian

ministers became pastors of State Churches under Cromwell's administration. Two years after the restoration of the Stuarts (1660) those who would not obey the provisions of the new Act of Uniformity (1662) were thrust from their pastorates and hundreds endured great hardships. Many Presbyterian congregations maintained themselves in England during the period of persecution (Charles II. and James II.) and under William and Mary they took their place side by side with the other free churches in accordance with the Act of Toleration (1689). During the following thirty years most of the Presbyterian churches of England yielded to the destructive influence of Socinianism and related types of thought and became Unitarian.

The burning of the Solemn League and Covenant on a street in London by a common hangman on behalf of the new Parliament of Charles II. (May, 1661) was an insult of the gravest character to the entire Presbyterian brotherhood. Many of the English Presbyterians of the more moderate type, such as Baxter, Calamy, Reynolds, Asche, and Manton, made an earnest effort to lead their brethren in a compromise measure whereby Presbyterians might remain in the established church. They were willing to give up presbyterial church government and to accept episcopacy, but wished the liturgy simplified. The king had expressed himself as favorable to a revision of the Prayer Book and such adjustments of the prelatical system as would make it easier for Presbyterians to conform ("Declaration of his majesty to all his loving subjects . . . concerning ecclesiastical affairs," September, 1660), and he called the conference of Savoy (March, 1661) in which the bishops discussed with the leading Presbyterians the points at issue. The Presbyterians were requested to write out their objections to the liturgy. Baxter, Bates, and Jacomb responded, specifying eight points in the Prayer Book with which they thought it sinful to comply. The conference, so far from assuaging increased the irritation between the parties. The bishops counseled the king against any kind of compromise and the subservient Parliament sustained them in this position. Some of the Presbyterians finally yielded obedience to the Act of Uniformity. Reynolds

was appointed to a bishopric. Baxter and Calamy were offered bishoprics, but declined.

(2) *Presbyterianism in Scotland under Charles II. and James II.* The Scottish Parliament, equally with the English, was subservient to the bishops and the king, and in 1661 repealed all legislation favorable to Presbyterianism and re-established episcopacy. All ministers who had been ordained since 1649 in order to hold their livings must secure recognition at the hands of the newly appointed bishops. Four hundred ministers abandoned their livings. A considerable number here as in England conformed, hoping for better times later on. Leighton accepted a bishopric. Sharp became archbishop of St. Andrews and a base persecutor of his brethren. The heroism that has always belonged to the Scottish character had now abundant opportunity to manifest itself. From the beginning of the Reformation it had been usual for the Scotch in times of danger to bind themselves to each other and to God to protect the form of Christianity that they had adopted with life and goods and to do everything possible for the overthrow of popery and prelacy. At this time there were several shades of opinion with reference to the proper course to pursue. Some were ready to conform. Others were unwilling to conform, but anxious to avoid trouble with the government and inclined to temporize.

Those who were stanch and stalwart banded themselves together anew by solemnly signing the covenant, and, as is likely to happen in cases of this kind, became somewhat fanatical in their opposition to the government which seemed to them utterly antichristian and diabolical. The government denounced as traitors all who signed covenants against the established order. For their leadership in insubordination the Marquis of Argyle was beheaded (1661) and James Guthrie was hanged. This still further exasperated the Covenanters. The Earl of Lauderdale was sent to the west of Scotland to enforce the law. He found a large proportion of the people in rebellion. Ejected ministers were prohibited from holding services on pain of death, and heavy fines and imprisonment were the penalties for attendance at unauthorized meetings. Troopers patrolled the country for

the detection and punishment of those who insisted on worshiping God in the Presbyterian way. Sometimes the exasperated people turned upon their persecutors and took bloody vengeance. This usually led to still severer measures in the regions concerned. In 1679 Archbishop Sharp was seized by a band of Covenanters and assassinated because of his treachery and tyranny. In 1680 a body of extremists, led by Richard Cameron, drew up a declaration, disowning Charles II. because of his tyranny and his violation of the constitution of the country. Cameron was slain in battle a few months later, but his followers organized themselves into societies, who after the Revolution (1688) and the re-establishment of Presbyterianism were dissatisfied with the settlement and refused to co-operate with the established church, which in their opinion had made unworthy compromises. They insisted upon the independence of the church and the recognition of the covenants, and thought that God was not sufficiently honored in the new State Church. In 1706 John Macmillan united with them and strengthened them by his leadership. In 1743 they organized a "Reformed Presbytery." They are known in history as "Cameronians," or "Covenanters"; but they call themselves "Reformed Presbyterians." They never attained to much numerical strength, but have proved wonderfully persistent.

It has been estimated that eighteen thousand Covenanters were either banished or put to death between 1661 and 1689. While much of their violence was inexcusable, it is certain that their membership embraced many of the very best ministers and laymen in Scotland at the time, and it may safely be said that if violent resistance to tyrannical measures is ever allowable to Christians it was so in their case.

(3) *Presbyterianism in Scotland from the Revolution to the Secession.* The new settlement of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland under William and Mary was essentially a restoration of the arrangement of 1592. Presbyterianism became again the established form of Christianity, supported by the State, and in important particulars controlled by the State. The Episcopalians of Scotland were thenceforth the persecuted party.

Many of the Scotch resented the Cæsaro-papacy that was involved in the subjection of the church to an Episcopalian sovereign; but the government of William and Mary was highly conciliatory, and little occurred that was calculated to irritate. The union of Scotland with England on a basis of equality (1707) greatly diminished the political friction between the two countries, and would no doubt have tended to promote ecclesiastical peace had not Queen Anne's Parliament (1711) passed an act restoring the principle of lay-patronage, which involved the bestowing of the right of nomination to vacant pastorates upon certain landed proprietors connected with the parishes. This act brought endless confusion, being utterly subversive of the principles of the church and irritating beyond measure in its practical application to a people so sensitive and determined as the Scotch. The very fact that a minister was nominated by a lay-patron was in itself sufficient to prejudice the people against him, and if by the employment of government authority such a nominee was forced upon a congregation he could not hope to escape criticism or enjoy the confidence and sympathy of the flock. The General Assembly protested year by year against this infringement on the rights of the church. In many cases armed force had to be employed in installing those who had been appointed by government authority. During the first half of the eighteenth century there was in Scotland, as in England and on the Continent, a marked decline in religious life. A large proportion of the ministers were without any deep religious experience. Socinianism and Deism wrought their deadening work here as well as elsewhere. Many of the ministers, especially such as owed their livings to lay patronage, became defenders of the system, and many of the churches ceased to realize its incongruity with true Presbyterianism. The refusal of the church authorities to dismiss John Simson, professor of theology at Glasgow, for alleged heresy, was highly unsatisfactory to the more orthodox. A pronouncement by the General Assembly in favor of lay patronage (1732) called forth earnest protests. A book entitled "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," in which laxity of doctrine was sharply criticised, was condemned by the General Assembly.

(4) *The Secession and Relief Movements.* Among the most eminent of the men who stood against lay patronage, theological laxity, and the "course of defection from our Reformed and covenanting principles" in general, was Ebenezer Erskine (1680–1754). Erskine was one of the most impressive preachers and most influential leaders of the time. A contemporary declared he had never "seen so much of the majesty of God in any mortal man as in Ebenezer Erskine." In 1732 Erskine preached a sermon against the action of the General Assembly in favor of lay patronage, and declared "the church of Christ" "the freest society in the world." He was also a stanch defender of "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," and the term, "Marrow men," came to be applied to him and his followers. In 1733 the General Assembly expelled from their charges and suspended from the ministry Erskine, at that time pastor at Sterling; Wilson, pastor at Perth; Moncrief, pastor at Abernethy, and Fisher, pastor at Kinclaven. Erskine suffered for the offenses mentioned above, the rest for their strongly expressed sympathy with him. The following year the Assembly empowered the synod of Perth and Stirling to remove the sentence of censure, but they declined to avail themselves of a forgiveness that implied wrongdoing on their part. These four, with four others who had accepted their views, formed the "Associate Assembly," and in 1740 all eight were solemnly deposed "from the office of the holy ministry" and prohibited from further exercising "the same within this church for all coming time." By 1747 they had increased to forty-five congregations and had made provision for the education of ministers. About this time controversy arose among the Seceders regarding the lawfulness of an oath administered to burgesses in the leading cities of Scotland by which they obliged themselves to support "the true religion presently professed within this realm." The question was whether the expression was to be interpreted as meaning the Established Church of Scotland or simply evangelical Christianity. This controversy led to a schism, "Burghers" and "Anti-burghers" being the names popularly applied to the two parties. These two parties remained distinct for about seventy

years, when measures of reunion led the extremists of both to withdraw and form other non-communing parties.

In 1752 Thomas Gillespie, who had been educated by Philip Doddridge, was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland by reason of his refusal to take part in the installation of a minister who was being thrust upon an unwilling congregation through the exercise of lay patronage. Settling in Dumferline, he gathered a congregation, and for six years labored independently. At the end of this time he was joined by Thomas Boston (son of the theologian). A presbytery, which they called "The Relief Presbytery" (designed to give relief to churches oppressed by lay patronage), was formed (1761), which by 1794 had grown into a synod, that in 1823 was strong enough to found a theological seminary. Up to this date candidates for the ministry were encouraged to study in the State Church divinity school. The Relief Church was Calvinistic, though not as aggressively so as the Secession Church. Its attitude toward other forms of Christianity was also much more liberal. Gillespie had derived from Doddridge liberal views respecting communion. "I hold communion," he said, "with all that visibly hold the Head, and with such only." Such he was in the habit of inviting to participate in the Supper. It was this feature of his doctrine and practice, his more moderate Calvinism, and his comparative indifference to the covenants, that prevented him and his followers from uniting with the Secession Church.

By 1847 the Secession Church had become assimilated to the Relief Church to such an extent as enabled the two parties to unite in forming "The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland." Both parties were vigorous and evangelical at the time of the union, and were engaging largely in foreign missionary and other evangelistic and philanthropic work. The union was a most hearty and joyful one, and has proved a perfect success. The United Presbyterian Church, until its union with the Free Church (1900) to form the United Free Church, was a highly progressive body. It sustained a theological college in Edinburgh and had reached a membership of about two hundred thousand. In the

Basis of Union the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms are accepted, yet in such a way as to exclude any approval "of compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion." Great stress is laid upon the obligation to "preach the gospel to every creature." "In accepting the Standards it is not required to be held that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend his grace to any who are without the pale of ordinary means, as may seem good in his sight."

(5) *The Free Church Movement* (*1843*). At the close of the eighteenth century the established church had sunk to the lowest depth that it ever reached. Acquiescence in lay patronage, opposition to the more evangelical dissenting churches, and the widespread influence of skeptical philosophy, had brought about a condition of lethargy and inefficiency in the ministry and of indifference and unbelief among the people. During the early decades of the century, in sympathy with the wave of evangelical influence that swept over Christendom, the Church of Scotland rapidly recuperated and a number of able and evangelical men came to adorn her pulpits and professors' chairs. The most noted of these was Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847). Brought up in a Calvinistic family, he early came under the influence of the prevailing moderatism, which laid much more stress on culture and philosophical and scientific study than upon religion. Though without a genuine experience of grace, he entered the University of Edinburgh with a view to preparing for the Christian ministry; but he devoted his attention almost exclusively to mathematics, natural science, and economics. After he had accepted a pastorate he still gave much of his time to mathematical teaching, and one of his earliest published writings was on an economic theme (1808). Family afflictions and a long-continued illness led him to think more seriously about religious matters, and he received much help from Pascal's "Thoughts" and Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity." When requested to contribute to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia he at first chose "Trigonometry" as his theme, but afterward decided to write the article on "Christianity." This led him into studies

that completely revolutionized his view of Christianity, and were used by the Spirit of God in transforming his life. From this time onward he became an eloquent gospel preacher, and by reason of his great personality, a mighty leader among men. As a preacher, a professor, a writer on theological, ethical, and economic themes, and as leader in a great movement that shook the religious life of Scotland to its very foundations, Chalmers may well be regarded as the most important Scotchman since Knox. As pastor in Glasgow Chalmers set on foot many philanthropic schemes that proved fruitful there, and set an example for other communities. As a leader in the General Assembly he labored earnestly and successfully for church extension and the meeting of the needs of the neglected classes with evangelizing agencies. It was largely due to his influence that the evangelical party in the General Assembly came to outnumber the "Moderates."

In 1834 Chalmers induced the General Assembly to pass what was known as the Veto Act. In this the Assembly declared that no one could be settled as pastor of a congregation unless he had a call from the congregation, although he may have been nominated by a lay-patron. In other words, it insisted on the right of the congregation to veto a nomination made by a lay-patron. In case a majority of the male heads of families disapproved of a nomination they were to report the vacancy to the lay-patron for a fresh nomination. A test case occurred a few years later. The congregation of Auchterarder almost unanimously rejected Robert Young, who had been nominated by Lord Kintoul. The case was appealed to the courts, which decided in favor of Lord Kintoul and Young. The courts decided that not only was the congregation obliged, under the law, to receive the nominee, though every member was opposed to him, but that the presbytery must take him on trial, and if possessed of the requisite qualifications, ordain him to the ministry. The General Assembly of 1842 entered an earnest protest against what a majority of its members believed to be an invasion of the rights of the church in a "Claim of Right." Appeals were made to the government for relief, but in vain. An effort was made to

secure remedial measures at the hands of Parliament, but a bill in this interest was overwhelmingly defeated. When the Assembly met in 1843, Doctor Welsh, moderator in 1842, laid on the table before the royal commissioner a "protest," in which the grievances of the church were fully recited, and the purpose of those who had signed it was declared to withdraw from the State Church and to join in organizing the "Free Church of Scotland." Two hundred and three members of the General Assembly participated in the original organization of the Free Church. Four hundred and seventy of the twelve hundred ministers of the Church of Scotland gave up their livings and cast themselves upon the liberality of the people. They claimed that in taking this step they were carrying out the principles of Knox, Melville, Henderson, Gillespie, and other worthies of the past, and that they were doing precisely what these fathers would have done under similar circumstances. The lay element nobly responded to the call of the pastors. The four hundred and seventy seceding ministers were able to take with them a large proportion of their flocks. In many cases the laymen were more enthusiastic than the pastors themselves in support of the measure. The whole body of missionaries to Jews and heathen cast in their lots with the Free Church. The great mass of the Highlanders, to whom lay patronage had proved particularly distasteful, went over to the ranks of the new party. Parochial schoolmasters suffered equally with the seceding ministers, being ejected from their schools and obliged to depend upon voluntary support. Chalmers had wrought out beforehand a scheme for church extension, and the Free Church at once took measures for covering with its work the whole of Scotland. A theological seminary was established in Edinburgh with Chalmers at its head. Others have since been provided at Aberdeen and Glasgow. Funds were easily raised for the erection of church buildings for destitute congregations. In many cases it proved difficult to secure sites owing to the unfriendliness of landowners. The foreign mission work assumed by the new organization was vigorously pressed, and the expense involved in re-equipping the missions was cheerfully borne. Many manses were erected by public subscription

chiefly through the agency of Doctor Guthrie. A sustentation fund was created and liberally supported for the supplementing of inadequate salaries, a minimum stipend of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling (later increased to one hundred and sixty) being provided. Liberal provision has also been made for the support of the widows and orphans of ministers. The Free Church has abounded in every good work and its congregations have increased to over a thousand. [Written about 1900.]

The withdrawal of so large a part of the ministerial strength and of the more earnest lay life from the established church might have been expected to leave it in a deplorable condition. For some years the loss was no doubt sorely felt. But the example of the Free Church in its well-planned and successful home and foreign mission enterprise, in education, and in philanthropy proved highly stimulating to the established church. As a matter of fact Scotland was inadequately supplied with church buildings and pastors. The duplication of churches, with the increase of interest that competition brings, brought a greatly increased number under religious influences. A vast amount of Christian wealth that would not have been available apart from the secession was applied to the support of Christian work, to the benefit of the givers as well as of the cause of Christ. The voluntary liberality of the established church has greatly increased since the division. A large number of unendowed churches and mission stations are supported, many new buildings have been erected, and up to 1880 three hundred and twelve new parishes had been created with regular endowments, at an expense of about two million pounds sterling. The present number of ministers in the established church exceeds the number before the disruption. It must be borne in mind that the past sixty years have witnessed a large increase in population and wealth in Scotland. [Written in 1900.]

In October, 1900, after preliminary negotiations that had resulted in bringing the two parties into the most perfect accord and intensified the desire of both for organic union, representatives of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church met in assembly and consummated a union under the name, "United Free Church."

It is noticeable that the Scotch have been so persistently Presbyterian, owing to their reverence for Knox and his coadjutors, the covenants, their sufferings for the faith, and their native sturdiness of character, that however much the spirit of division might prevail, there has been little departure from the old standards. The advantages that have come from the stimulus of competition in other less homogeneous communities where different denominations have wrought side by side have come to the Scotch by such a multiplication of Presbyterian bodies as has been noticed.

(6) *Presbyterianism in Ireland.* A considerable number of Scotch Presbyterians had settled in the north of Ireland before the Revolution. After the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim (1690 and 1691) the English government invited the Scotch to settle in Ulster, which had been appropriated by the crown, on terms which they considered advantageous. Many thousands accepted the invitation, and by the end of their thirty years' lease they constituted a large part of the population. The raising of their rents by the English landlords during the first half of the eighteenth century drove many thousands of the Scotch-Irish to America, where they became (especially in the South) a very important element of the population and took a leading part in the War of Independence. Arianism or Socinianism invaded the ranks of the Irish Presbyterians before 1727, when the synod of Antrim, infected with Unitarian views, seceded from the main body. A hundred years later, under the leadership of Henry Cooke, the synod of Ulster purged itself of Arianism which had continued to give trouble, and a remonstrant synod was formed. The present Presbyterian population of Ireland is nearly half a million, of which all but about twenty thousand are in Ulster. The body sustains two theological seminaries, one at Belfast and the other at Londonderry. The Presbyterians of Ulster, owing to the fact that they were never in the position of being an established church, developed more of the democratic spirit and less of the theocratic than their brethren in Scotland. The former rather than the latter gave tone to American Presbyterianism and impressed itself on American institutions. [Written, 1900.]

(7) *Presbyterianism in America.* There was much of Presbyterian spirit among the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, and many of the Puritans that settled in Bermuda and in Virginia early in the seventeenth century were essentially Presbyterian. A considerable number of English Puritans, who were virtually Presbyterians, settled in the Dutch colony on the Hudson and Long Island (1640 onward). During the later years of Charles II. a very large number of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians emigrated to America to escape persecution. As they found New England, New York, and Virginia with established churches to which they could not conform and closed against dissent, they settled chiefly in East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware (Quaker colonies), and Maryland. Some of these organized themselves into feeble churches, but being pastorless little progress was made. In 1680 some of them petitioned their brethren in Ireland for a missionary, and in 1683 Francis Makemie was sent out to shepherd the scattered flocks. For some time he made Rehoboth, Md., his headquarters, and ministered to several other congregations in the surrounding regions. He also visited Barbadoes, Virginia, and Carolina in the interest of Presbyterian evangelization. Other ministers from Ireland and New England came into this large and needy field during the later years of the century. In 1705 occurred the first general organization of Presbyterianism in America. Seven ministers, Makemie among them, met at Philadelphia and organized the Presbytery of Philadelphia. By 1710 there were in all twelve Presbyterian churches in America: one in Virginia, four in Maryland, five in Pennsylvania, and two in New Jersey. By 1716 the churches numbered seventeen, of which five were in New York. At this time they formed a synod and distributed the churches into three presbyteries. There were now nineteen ministers. By 1729 the number of ministers had risen to twenty-seven and the synod adopted the Westminster symbols. Yet there appeared even at this time considerable diversity of opinion among the ministers, in sympathy with doctrinal differences that had arisen in Britain, some laying chief stress upon educational qualifications for the ministry (Old Side) and

others regarding personal piety as more important than learning (New Side) and willing in the great dearth of godly and learned ministers to accept the services of gifted, zealous, orthodox men who had not enjoyed collegiate advantages.

The differences of view between these two parties were accentuated by what is commonly called the Great Awakening. Before the beginning of the Great Awakening considerable disturbance had been aroused among the Presbyterians through the evangelistic zeal of Gilbert Tennent, who had come under the influence of Jacob Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister of pietistic antecedents and tendencies. William Tennent, Gilbert's father, had established an academy (the "Log College") north of Philadelphia and had educated his sons and others for the ministry (1726 onward). Gilbert Tennent became pastor of the New Brunswick Church in 1726, and while there came in contact with Frelinghuysen. In 1728 a great religious awakening resulting in many conversions occurred among his people and spread throughout the adjacent regions. This occurred before the awakening at Northampton under Jonathan Edwards (1734) or Whitefield's evangelistic tours (1739 onward). The evangelism of Gilbert Tennent was of a remarkably fiery and drastic type. Whitefield, with whom he co-operated heartily, described him as "a son of thunder, whose preaching must either convert or enrage hypocrites." He was not content to labor for the conversion of sinners, but he had a holy indignation against ministers who while pretending to be the spiritual guides of the people were themselves devoid of spiritual life and even stood in the way of the evangelization of their flocks. He and his associates felt no obligation to seek the permission of such to labor in their parishes and denounced them right and left as hypocrites, etc.

In the synod of 1740 Tennent and Blair arraigned the ministers who opposed their evangelism in the most exasperating way, but did not, when required, bring proof of the charges they made. By a sermon on "An Unconverted Ministry" (March, 1740), Tennent made it impossible for the anti-revivalists to continue in fel-

lowship with him. At the next meeting of the synod (1741) Tennent, Blair, and their supporters were arraigned for overthrowing the authority of the synod, irruption into other ministers' parishes, censorious judgments, making a call to the ministry a matter of feeling, preaching the terrors of the law in an unauthorized way, and teaching an unwholesome doctrine of assurance. By a small majority they were denied seats in the synod. The New Brunswick Presbytery at once withdrew. The New York Presbytery, after a vain effort to effect a reconciliation, refused to sit in the synod (1743) from which the New Brunswick Presbytery was excluded. A synod of New York, including the New Brunswick Presbytery, was next formed, which by 1758 had a constituency of seventy-two churches as compared with the twenty-three of the Philadelphia Synod. New York had fallen into line with the Great Awakening and many new churches had been established through the labors of the Tennents, Whitefield, and others. The New York Synod, while thoroughly committed to the new evangelism, recognized the necessity of an educated ministry and established (1745) a college, which was to develop into Princeton University and Theological Seminary, and was to send forth a host of well-trained young men imbued with the spirit of the gospel.

By 1758 the New Light leaders had become more conciliatory and the Old Light leaders had come to appreciate more fully the benefits of the revival. Tennent himself was anxious for reunion, and through the overtures of the New York Synod harmony was restored and the body which, through extensive immigration from Scotland and Ireland and accessions from the Puritan ranks of New England as well as through the conversion of large numbers by evangelistic effort, had greatly increased in numerical strength, thus reunited, had taken its place as one of the three leading denominations in America. From 1758 to the outbreak of the War of Independence growth continued to be rapid. Thousands came from Ulster to the southern colonies and the spiritual interests of these had to be looked after by the Presbyterians of the middle colonies. A large number of Scotch Presbyterians settled in Nova

Scotia. These also required attention. Princeton, under a series of presidents remarkable for learning, ability, and popular power, continued to flourish beyond expectation and enabled Presbyterians to claim a ministry equal in culture to that of the Congregationalists of New England. Representatives of the minor Presbyterian parties of Scotland would have amalgamated readily with the standard type of American Presbyterianism, but interference on the part of the Church of Scotland prevented, and they felt obliged to keep up their old affiliations and names.

Presbyterians, like all other denominations, suffered terribly from the War of Independence. With few exceptions they were ardent supporters of the colonial claims and they contributed their full share to the military strength and leadership, as well as the statesmanship, of the Revolutionary cause. In Virginia, Presbyterians cooperated nobly with Baptists in their struggle for the complete separation of Church and State and absolute liberty of conscience, though they would have been content with compromise measures (*e. g.*, general assessment by the State for the support of worship, each man's dues to be paid to his own church). After the war efforts were made, not altogether successful, to amalgamate the various Presbyterian parties into a great whole. Much attention was given to the completion of the organization of the body and the adoption of a revised form of government and discipline and confession of faith. The Westminster symbols were readopted with certain changes regarding the civil magistrate's relation to the church, toleration, etc. (1789).

The position and prospects of American Presbyterianism at the close of the eighteenth century were unsurpassed by those of any other denomination. It had learning, wealth, completeness of organization, prestige from noble services in the cause of independence, and a sturdy Scotch and Scotch-Irish population, sure to be increased by immigration. It has notably failed to hold its own, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Disciples having drawn into their ranks more of the descendants of Presbyterians than have remained Presbyterian. The later years of the eighteenth century and the early

years of the nineteenth were a time of enthusiastic evangelism and widespread religious awakening. The undue stress laid by Presbyterians on elaborate confessions of faith and catechisms led to formalism and scholasticism in the preaching of the body. Undue stress was also laid upon a highly educated ministry and sufficient encouragement was not given to zealous and spiritually minded men without collegiate education to enter the ministry or to lay evangelism. The great mass of Presbyterian ministers were without sympathy for the enthusiastic revivalism that the times seemed to demand. They were not gifted in popular evangelism themselves and they frowned upon others who insisted on saving the perishing in disregard of good taste and even of accurately orthodox doctrine. Baptists and Methodists met the popular need and won the people. The lack of Presbyterianism, as then constituted, in adaptability to the new conditions is illustrated in the schism that led to the formation of the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination.

In 1800 a religious awakening began in connection with the ministry of James McGready in the presbytery of Transylvania, Ky., and extended throughout the Cumberland Valley in Kentucky and Tennessee. Multitudes were converted and many new churches organized. Among those who had experienced the gracious influences of the awakening, some felt prompted to engage in evangelistic work, and so inadequate was the supply of educated ministers that the Cumberland Presbytery thought it right to license them to preach and in some cases to ordain them. A large proportion of the ministers and elders of the synod to which the Cumberland Presbytery belonged looked with disfavor upon the revival as fanatical and disorderly, and the synod took measures against the presbytery for irregularity in lowering the standard for admission into the ministry. The result was the dissolution by the synod of the Cumberland Presbytery and the transference of the obedient members of this presbytery to the Transylvania Presbytery (1806). In 1805 those who had incurred censure organized themselves into a council for continuing the evangelistic work, and, being reluctant to lead in a

schism, awaited the redress of their grievances by a higher tribunal. An appeal to the General Assembly having failed, they proceeded, in 1810, to form themselves into a new denomination. Through the influence of the Methodists, these evangelistic Presbyterians had adopted Arminian views. Their Confession of Faith denies eternal reprobation, asserts the universality of the atonement, maintains the salvation of all who die in infancy, and declares a working of the Holy Spirit so universal as to leave all men inexcusable. In other respects the new party adopted Presbyterian views and practices. The denomination soon equipped itself with educational and publishing institutions and has had a rapid growth. Its membership (1900) is about two hundred thousand, of which considerably over one-half is in the States of Tennessee, Missouri, Texas, and Kentucky.

The War of 1812 onward was followed by another great religious awakening in which Presbyterians participated. Immigration brought reinforcement and increase of opportunity and obligation. Educational institutions were multiplied. The settlement of the West called for large expenditure in home mission effort, church building, etc. Publication enterprise abounded. Presbyterians participated fully in the great foreign mission enterprise that pressed itself upon the attention of American Christians from the second decade of the nineteenth century onward.

During the third decade of the century the harmony of the Presbyterian body was greatly disturbed by the appearing among its ministers of anti-Calvinistic forms of thought, borrowed for the most part from New England Congregationalism. The teachings of Samuel Hopkins, a modification of those of Jonathan Edwards, had been given fresh currency in a still further modified form by N. W. Taylor, of New Haven. Among those whose views attracted most attention were Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, and Lyman Beecher, then of Cincinnati.

It may be said in general that the objectionable features of "Hopkinsianism" are essentially semi-Pelagian or Arminian: The assertion of free-will (those actually choosing right having the natural power to choose wrong), the limiting of obligation to natural ability

to perform, the assertion that all sin is so overruled as to result in good to the universe, denial of imputation of holiness or sinfulness, limitation of holiness and sin to the exercise of the individual will, comprehension of all God's moral attributes in benevolence, assertion of the universality of the atonement, and representation of the atonement as a manifestation and honoring by suffering of all the divine attributes that would have been manifested by the punishment of the redeemed.

After several years of controversy a great disruption occurred. At the General Assembly of 1837 the Old School party, finding itself for the second time within seven years in the majority, exscinded three New York synods and one in Ohio in which New School sentiments prevailed, their aim being apparently to secure for their own party a distinct ascendency in the Assembly. This act exasperated the New School party, and on the refusal of their demand for the reinstatement of the exscinded synods at the opening of the General Assembly for 1838, the New School delegates organized another General Assembly. There was considerable litigation over the possession of property. The members of the New School party had founded Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1836. Princeton, which occupied a mediating position during the controversies that led to the disruption, became the chief institution of the Old School party.

The schism between the Presbyterians of the Northern and those of the Southern States was not consummated until the outbreak of the War of Secession, although the slavery question had for years caused much irritation. A declaration of the General Assembly, in 1861, in favor of such an interpretation of the United States Constitution as denied the right of secession led the Southern Presbyterians to organize a new General Assembly (December, 1861). This strong and thoroughly organized body is well equipped with institutions of learning, publication facilities, and other denominational appliances. While its relations to Northern Presbyterians are cordial, it has not been thought expedient as yet to re-enter into organic union with them.

The withdrawal of the Southern brethren had the effect of drawing the Old School and the New School parties closer together. The doctrinal differences be-

tween them had gradually diminished and the spirit of toleration had increased. They began correspondence in 1862. In 1866, at St. Louis, representatives of the two parties partook together of the Lord's Supper. In 1870 the reunion was consummated amid great rejoicing. By this time the two bodies had a membership of nearly half a million. To commemorate the union a fund of nearly eight million dollars was raised for extinguishing church debts, building and repairing churches, and endowing educational institutions.

There has been much agitation during the last decade regarding a revision of the symbols of the church and the introduction of liberal teaching into the theological seminaries and the pulpits of the denomination. Union Theological Seminary, as the chief exponent of extreme freedom in biblical criticism, is again arrayed against Princeton as the opponent of innovation.

The present membership of all Presbyterian parties in the United States is about a million and a half, of whom about a million are in the two great Northern and Southern branches, which nothing but sentiment and convenience divides. Besides the Cumberland, with its two hundred thousand members, there are ten minor Presbyterian bodies, some of which perpetuate European divisions and some of which are indigenous.

(8) *Presbyterianism in the Dominion of Canada.* After the cession of Canada to England by the French monarchy in 1760, large numbers of Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, some of whom had fought in the British army, settled in the Maritime Provinces. During the War of the Revolution and afterward a considerable number of Presbyterians went into the northern British possessions. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century there has been an almost perpetual stream of immigration from Scotland and the north of Ireland into Ontario and Quebec. All types of Scotch Presbyterianism were represented among Canadian Presbyterians, and the larger bodies were equipped with institutions of learning, when in 1875, as a result of much wise negotiation and a rare spirit of toleration and conciliation, a union was effected. The United Presbyterian and the Free Church parties had united in 1861. The Canada

Presbyterian Church is equipped with seven theological seminaries, besides several other institutions for higher education, is doing a large home mission work, especially in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories and British Columbia, and sustains an extensive foreign mission enterprise. Its theological faculties and its more important pulpits have been filled to a large extent by importations from Scotland and Ireland and the most intimate relations have been maintained with the Presbyterianism of the old land. Canadian Presbyterians have maintained a high standard of orthodoxy, but in recent years the influence of German and Scotch liberalism has begun to manifest itself among ministers and professors.

(9) *Presbyterianism in Australia and New Zealand.* About one-eighth of the European colonizers of Australasia have been Scotch and Scotch-Irish and the Presbyterian population of these British colonies now constitutes about the same proportion of the entire population. The Church of England stands first in numerical strength, the Roman Catholic Church comes second, and the Presbyterian Church ranks third. But in intellectual, moral, and religious influence Presbyterians are easily foremost.

The Church of England (with the possible exception of the High Church party), the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Disciples, and most of the minor evangelical parties, belong, as regards their doctrinal views, to the Reformed type of Christianity, but it has been thought best not to include these in the present chapter. When these great bodies are considered, in addition to the Reformed bodies that have already claimed our attention, it becomes evident how large a share of the Christian work of the world has been done and is being done by this type of Christian life and thought.

NOTE.—For an account of the Union of Canadian Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists consummated in 1925, see "Twentieth Century Supplement."

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

LITERATURE: Perry, "Hist. of the Ch. of Eng. from the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time," 1861–1864, and "Ch. Hist. of Eng. from 596 to 1884," 1881–1886; Hore, "The Ch. of Eng. from William III. to Victoria," 1886; Stoughton, "Hist. of Religion in England from 1640 to 1800," new ed., 1881; Hunt, "Rel. Thought in Eng. from the Reformation to the End of the Eighteenth Century," 1870–1873; Coleridge, "Notes on English Divines," 1852, 1853; Rogers, "The Ch. Systems of Eng. in the Nineteenth Century," 1881; Conybeare, "Church Parties"; Tulloch, "Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century" and "Rel. Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century," 1885; Stephen, "Hist. of Eng. Thought in the Eighteenth Century," 1881; Cairns, "Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century," 1881; Lechler, "*Gesch. d. Eng. Deismus*," 1841; Lecky, "Hist. of Eng. during the Eighteenth Century," 1872; Churton, "Latitudinarians from 1671 to 1787," 1861; encyclopædia articles on leading characters and movements.

1. *From 1648 to the Evangelical Revival.*

(1) *The Cambridge Christian Platonists.* The present period opens with the Church of England prostrate and the dissenting parties in the place of influence. A large proportion of the educated clergy remained loyal to the Stuarts and patiently labored and waited for the restoration. Various types of churchmanship perpetuated themselves throughout the nearly twenty years of Puritan and Independent control. Most of those who had manifested Puritan tendencies before 1640 became Presbyterians or Independents during the revolutionary time. At the Restoration the disciples of Laud preponderated among those who had to do with the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, but Platonic philosophy, Socinianism, and Arminianism had wrought in a large number of intelligent men a spirit of latitudinarianism that made them indifferent to forms of church government and ready to conform to a system in which they did not recognize any authority save that of the sovereign.

At the University of Cambridge there had grown up during the Cromwellian age a school of Platonic or Neo-Platonic divines, who by their learning and excellence of character had gained a widespread influence. Earlier representatives of this type of thought were John Hales (d. 1656), who through attendance at the Synod of Dort became converted to Arminianism, and William Chillingworth (d. 1644), who in his youth had been converted by a Jesuit to Roman Catholicism, but had recovered his footing, and in his "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation" had made a masterly defense of evangelical religion that is still highly prized, and formulated a maxim that is still constantly quoted ("The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the religion of Protestants"), but repudiated the damning clauses in the Athanasian creed as "most false, and also in a high degree schismatical and presumptuous." He was accused of Socinianism and no doubt had been influenced to some extent by Socinian thought. The most noted of the Anglican Platonists whose activity falls within the present period are Ralph Cudworth (d. 1688), Benjamin Whichcote (d. 1683), and Henry More (d. 1687). Cudworth was one of the greatest scholars and profoundest thinkers of his time and was withal deeply devout. His "The True Intellectual System of the Universe" (1678), of which only the first part was completed, was intended as an exhaustive answer to deism, which through the influence of the philosophy of Hobbes was spreading at the time, as well as to atheism and every other false form of belief or disbelief. He concludes his final chapter, which is occupied with proof of the existence of God and refutation of atheism, with the statement that to derive the origin of all things from a lifeless, unconscious matter is nonsense, as are also the supposition that the universe has proceeded from an unconscious or semi-conscious matter with organically creative potency and the supposition of an eternally existing world. There is, he maintains, only one infinite, self-existent nature, from which everything springs, through which everything is ruled, namely, the most perfect, all-wise, and all-good God. He was a profound student of Plato, the Neo-Platonists, and the

Jewish Cabbala, and his theology was considerably influenced by these earlier types of thought. His view of the godhead was essentially Sabellian. Calvinistic predestination he rejected with the utmost decision. He regarded philosophy as a result of divine illumination, but he did not make it of equal authority with revealed religion. While he was a devoted churchman, he recognized the right of other religious communions to toleration, and did not deny their Christian character. He had little sympathy with High Church formalism, sacerdotalism, and exclusiveness.

Of less importance than Cudworth, more Platonizing and mystical, and less practical, was Henry More, who, putting aside a hereditary benefice and declining from time to time a college mastership and rectorship, a deanery, and a bishopric, spent most of his life at Cambridge as a private tutor. He had come under the influence of Descartes as well as that of Neo-Platonism and the Cabbala. By some of his contemporaries he was regarded as "the holiest person upon the face of the earth," and a modern writer has characterized him as "the most poetic and transcendental and, on the whole, the most spiritual looking of all the Cambridge divines" (Tulloch). He sought to combine Neo-Platonic transcendentalism with a recognition of the reality of the supernatural in historical Christianity.

Benjamin Whichcote was the most eloquent and magnetic of the Cambridge Christian Platonists. From 1644 until the restoration he was provost of King's College, and exerted a strong influence on philosophical and theological thought. His definition of religion is characteristic: "Religion is being as much like God as man can be like him." He was removed from his position by Charles II.

(2) *Persecuting Measures of Charles II.* Charles had come to the throne through the co-operation of Scotch Presbyterians and many English dissenters (including Baptists), and after what were taken to be full assurances of his purpose to tolerate dissent. He had written from Breda, May 1, 1660:

> We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters

of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

But the intolerant spirit of the churchmen, once restored to power, was too aggressive to be long kept in restraint by the feeble-minded king. For a time he interested himself actively in measures for the conciliation of the Presbyterians, and would have gladly made considerable concessions to them if thereby he could have induced them to conform. In a declaration of October, 1660, he promised a number of reforms by way of satisfying Presbyterian scruples, but Parliament refused to give authority to the king's declaration, and the bishops, when called to treat with Presbyterian leaders, were absolutely unyielding (Savoy Conference). Instead of removing from the Book of Common Prayer the features that were objectionable to Puritans, Convocation introduced still further Romanizing features. The king refused his approval to some of the changes, but most of them were allowed.

By this time the king had become convinced that all hopes of conciliation were at an end, and that ecclesiastical order could be secured only by enforcing remorselessly an Act of Uniformity, which prelates and Parliament were ready to approve. It should be remarked that Charles' attitude toward dissent had been rendered distinctly less favorable by reason of the fanatical uprising under Henry Venner, a Fifth Monarchy man (January, 1661). Two thousand ministers (Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and a few Baptists) were, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, driven from their churches and parsonages and deprived of their salaries. The Act of Uniformity required every minister not only to use the Book of Common Prayer as recently revised, but also openly to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained therein. It also required every canon, professor, reader, and tutor in universities and schools, and every teacher of any public or private school to declare it unlawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king and to promise to "conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by

law established." The act also required that all incumbents have episcopal ordination, and prohibited those in charge of church property from allowing any one to preach, read a sermon, or lecture in any church, chapel, or other place of worship unless approved and licensed by the archbishop or bishop, assenting to the Prayer Book, and actually using it in connection with the service.

Having thus multiplied dissent and exasperated dissenters, it was felt to be necessary to supplement the Act of Uniformity with other specific penal legislation. On the petition of the clergy for "severe laws against the Anabaptists," who are characterized as a "strange prodigious race of men who labored to throw off the yoke of government, both civil and ecclesiastical," the Conventicle Act was passed (1664), inflicting heavy fines and imprisonment, and for the third offense transportation to America, with death as the penalty of return, upon those attending unauthorized religious meetings. This was followed by the Five Mile Act, which inflicted imprisonment and a forty pounds fine on ministers refusing to swear that it is not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king and who should come within five miles of any city, town, borough, or any parish in which they have ministered. A few years later (1670) these acts were supplemented by the provision that informers should receive part of the fines, that persecutors were not to be held responsible for outrages they might commit in dealing with heresy, and that record of a fact by a justice should be taken as legal conviction. Archbishop Sheldon declared that the diligent execution of this act would be "to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom." The Corporation Act (1661) had preceded the Act of Uniformity, and required every officer of a town corporation, magistrate, or other local official to swear that it was not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king, to repudiate the oath of the Solemn League and Covenant, and to have partaken of the Lord's Supper in the established church. This was aimed especially against Presbyterians, but affected all

types of dissent. The Test Act (1663) was aimed against Roman Catholics and required partaking of the Supper in connection with the established church, the oaths of supremacy and uniformity, and a declaration against transubstantiation from all who would hold public offices, civil or military. These laws were, for the most part, strictly, even cruelly, enforced for many years, and Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers were greatly afflicted.

James II. (1685–1688) had united with the Roman Catholic Church some years before his accession, and with a view to promoting the interests of Roman Catholicism issued, without parliamentary approval, a dispensation from the persecuting acts of his predecessor. The indulgence applied to dissenters in general; but so great was the horror of popery that dissenters themselves were unwilling to profit by an unconstitutional act that might result in the restoration of Roman Catholicism as the State religion. Seven bishops who refused to read the declaration in their churches were tried in Westminster Hall (June, 1688), and when they were acquitted there was universal rejoicing, many even weeping from the excess of their joy. A terrible calamity had been averted. The people could breathe freely now and suffer persecution, if need be, but they were not to be enslaved again to the pope.

(3) *The Act of Toleration, the Latitudinarian Prelates, and the Non-jurors.* William and Mary were disposed to tolerate differences of opinion in religion as far as English sentiment at the time would allow or their Whig advisers thought safe. In 1689 "An Act for exempting their Majesty's subjects Dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws" relieved dissenters of the burden of all the persecuting measures of Charles II., except that of the Corporation and Test Acts. The new act required all who would minister to dissenting congregations and those who constituted the congregations to swear assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles, with the exception of Articles Thirty-Four, Thirty-Five, Thirty-Six, and the portion of Article Twenty that recognized the power and authority of the church. Provision was made for the substitution of an affirmation

for an oath by those (like the Quakers) whose consciences would not allow them to swear. An oath of allegiance or a declaration of loyalty to the new sovereigns was also required, with the repudiation, on the part of those who declined the oath, of "that damnable doctrine" which made it lawful to depose and murder princes excommunicated by the pope. A declaration of belief in the Trinity and in the inspiration of the Scriptures was also required of such as would not take the prescribed oath. There was evidently a fear lest secret papists should avail themselves of the exemption from the oath intended for the Quakers. A bill for the punishment of public officers who should attend dissenting meetings, and for requiring all such to commune three times a year in the established church was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected in the House of Lords (1702). This led to violent denunciations of the Lords by the High Church party and much irritation between the liberals and the reactionaries.

The most influential of the liberal (Whig, Latitudinarian) prelates under William and Mary were John Tillotson and Gilbert Burnet. Tillotson (1630–1694) was the son of a zealous Puritan and was educated under Puritan influence at Cambridge. But his theological views were to a great extent molded by the Cambridge Platonists. At the Savoy Conference he appeared on the side of the Presbyterians; but he submitted gracefully to the Act of Uniformity and became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, where he soon became known as one of the most popular preachers in England. His theological views were so liberal that he has been charged with Socinianism. He was an earnest polemicist against Roman Catholicism, was strongly opposed to Stuart despotism, especially as embodied in James II. with his Romanizing policy, attended Lord Russell on the scaffold, and rejoiced in the deposition of James and in the accession of William and Mary. In 1691 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. He was in hearty sympathy with the toleration measures of the new government; but he was far more a preacher than an ecclesiastical statesman. Burnet (1643–1715), was son of a Scottish nobleman, and was educated at Aberdeen. After his

graduation he declined church preferment and went abroad for further studies, visiting England, Holland, and France, and coming in close contact with Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Baptists, Independents, and Unitarians. Returning to Scotland he accepted a humble pastorate and combated the episcopacy which was being forced upon the unwilling Scots; yet he was not a thorough-going Presbyterian in his doctrinal or his liturgical views. Finding himself in an uncomfortable position he retired for two years and devoted himself to historical studies that were to bear fruit in the noted works ("History of the Reformation of the Church of England," and "History of His Own Time") by which he is chiefly known. In 1669 he became professor in the University of Glasgow. Here he became intimately acquainted with the Duchess of Hamilton, published (1676) the "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," and prepared the way for his later career as an ecclesiastical statesman. He was offered by Lord Lauderdale his choice of four Scottish bishoprics, but he declined, being convinced, no doubt, that however desirable episcopacy might be in itself, it could never be permanently established in Scotland. With a view to winning him over to the High Church position, Lauderdale procured him a chaplaincy at court and brought him into intimate relations with Charles II. and the Duke of York (afterward James II.). Unable to countenance the Romanizing policy of Charles and James he left the court and became a pronounced opponent of the Stuarts. In 1684 he was dismissed from his position as preacher in the Rolls Chapel because of his sympathy with Lord Russell. After spending some months in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, he settled at the Hague (1685), where he engaged in literary work and acted as counselor of William of Orange in his proceedings for the securing of the British crown. In 1688 he accompanied William to England, where he was made Bishop of Salisbury. As a member of the House of Lords and as the trusted counselor of the king he may be said to have shaped the civil and ecclesiastical policy of this reign, although his pastoral letter (1689) in which he based William's right to the throne on conquest was condemned by both houses of Parliament and

burned by the public executioner, and his exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles (1699) was condemned as heretical by Convocation. Honest, unselfish, upright, stanch in defense of principle, sharply polemical but without bitterness, eloquent, clear-headed, devoted to the interests of the poor and oppressed, a great church historian withal, he stands out as the most admirable of all the churchmen and statesmen of his time.

A large proportion of the High Church clergy, who under the Stuarts constituted a majority, felt constrained to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary and retaining their positions were ready to lead in the reactionary measures of the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714). A considerable number with whom the divine right of kings was a part of their religion, if not indeed the most cherished part, and who regarded Charles I. as a holy martyr, continued to regard James II. as king by divine right and could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Among the four hundred clerical Non-jurors were nine bishops, several of whom were eminent for learning and piety. The Non-juring bishops were Ken, of Bath and Wells, who had not hesitated to rebuke the licentiousness of Charles II., had suffered imprisonment under James II. for refusing to read the declaration of indulgence, an eloquent preacher, a writer of deeply devout and spiritual hymns, in short, one of the finest characters of the age; Sancroft, of Canterbury, who had also suffered for refusing to read the declaration of indulgence; Turner, of Ely, who had had the same experience; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; Thomas, of Worcester; Lloyd, of Norwich; Frampton, of Gloucester; and Cartwright, of Chester. In 1691 the survivors (all except Cartwright and Lane) were deposed. Eminent among Non-jurors was Collier, the well-known church historian, Leslie, the apologist (author of "A Short and Easy Method with the Deists") and Law, whose "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life" has profoundly influenced many minds, including those of John Wesley and Samuel Johnson. The Non-jurors considered themselves the true Church of England and for many years (to 1805) kept up a separate church organization with a

succession of bishops. They were always bitterly opposed to the existing government and ready to join in any movement that looked toward the restoration of the Stuarts.

(4) *The Reactionary Movement under Queen Anne.* During the earlier years of Queen Anne's reign the Whigs (the party of toleration) were in a majority in both houses of Parliament. In 1709 Henry Sachverell, preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached a violently denunciatory and alarmist sermon against the toleration policy of the government and raised the cry which was re-echoed by High Churchmen throughout the land of "the church in danger." The immediate occasion of the alarm was the union of Scotland with England (1707), with the admission of fifteen Presbyterians into the House of Lords and forty-five into the House of Commons, the suspension of Convocation, whose extreme High Churchism had rendered it obnoxious to Parliament, and the naturalization of Protestants from abroad. The trial and punishment of Sachverell for libel by Commons and Lords aroused High Churchmen to such a fury that the Tories triumphed at the election of 1710, and Queen Anne, whose sympathies were with the Tories, was able to further High Church interests at the expense of dissenters. During the later years of this reign the press teemed with the most ill-tempered High Church polemics against dissent, and legislation seriously curtailing the liberties of dissenters, especially in the conducting of private schools, was on the point of being put in force, when the queen relieved the situation by her opportune death.

(5) *King George I. and the Bangorian Controversy.* The new Hanoverian king dared not commit himself to the Tories, whose sympathies were known to be with the Stuarts, and proceeded at once to form a Whig cabinet, that was able to exert such an influence on the elections as soon to secure a Whig Parliament. The toleration of dissent was, of course, a part of his policy, and High Churchmen and Tories were utterly discomfited. In 1717 Benjamin Hoadley, who had been made Bishop of Bangor by the new government (1715), preached a sermon on the text "My kingdom is not of this world,"

which aroused all England to hearty approval or violent denunciation. Fifty writers, some of them eminent (Law, Sherlock, etc.), were engaged in the controversy that followed. It was an earnest plea for liberty of conscience. On the supposition that the church is the kingdom of Christ he argues that Christ must be "the sole lawgiver and sole judge of his subjects in all points relating to the favor or displeasure of Almighty God, and that all his subjects, in what station soever they may be, are equally subjects to him; and that no one of them, any more than another, hath authority to make new laws for Christ's subjects, or to impose a sense upon the old ones, which is the same thing; or to judge, censure, or punish the servants of another master in matters relating purely to conscience or salvation." Convocation impeached Hoadley and churchmen everywhere were led to believe that the very foundations of the Church of England were being destroyed by such teaching. Recent High Churchmen regard the suppression of Convocation as the opening of the floodgates of error and the cause of the later degeneracy of religious life and thought in England. As a matter of fact it was using its authority for the suppression of pure evangelical utterances like that of Hoadley and for arousing the passions of the people against any sort of freedom of teaching and any sort of recognition of dissenters.

(6) *The English Deists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* English deism is a peculiar form of unbelief that was due in part to continental Socinianism and the Cartesian philosophy and in part to the theological and partisan conflicts in England during the revolutionary period of the seventeenth century. It well-nigh wrecked the religious thought and life of England, exerted a profound influence on the men who became leaders of skeptical thought in France and propagated it in other European countries, and along with French skeptical influence, produced a deep and lasting impression on Dutch and German thought during the middle years of the eighteenth century. In an important sense English deism is a revival and adaptation of Stoicism, which identified God with the nature of things and sought a purely natural basis for religion and morality. It was a

reaction against religious mysticism and enthusiasm as these had been manifested among the religious sects of the seventeenth century in England, in the Jansenists and the Huguenots of France, etc. It was the aim of deism to reach a philosophy of religion independently of revelation. It was an attempt to find underlying principles that would unify religious and ethical thought.

The father of English deism was Lord Herbert, of Cherbury (d. 1648). He was a friend of Grotius and Casaubon, and through residence in France had come under the influence of the skepticism of Montaigne. While he regarded religion as the one characteristic of man, he sought to reduce it to its simplest elements and denied the need and the reality of a supernatural revelation. The elements of religion are: the existence of God; obligation to worship; virtue, or conformity of life to the ends of being; repentance, from failure in virtue; rewards and punishments in this life and the life to come. Immortality seems to be presupposed. He regarded the manifoldness of religions as due in part to the allegorizing and poeticizing of nature, and in part to priestly craftiness and fantasy. He supposed that original Christianity had been corrupted in this way. He did not explicitly deny that the Scriptures are a divine revelation in a supernatural sense, but he pointed out difficulties and fostered skepticism.

Thomas Hobbes (d. 1679), in deriving all knowledge from sense-perception and reason, in denying the existence of disinterested affection, and in denying that the contents of God's word could be contrary to reason, fostered sensualistic freethinking.

John Locke (d. 1704) in affirming the sovereign right of the human reason to determine the reality and meaning of revelation, and in denying that revelation could teach anything contradictory of reason, promoted rationalism, though he believed in Christianity and wrote "The Reasonableness of Christianity" (1695).

In his "Christianity not Mysterious" John Toland (d. 1722) denied that original Christianity contained anything that had not been known before and attributed whatever is mysterious in the New Testament to Jewish and heathen influences.

Anthony Collins (d. 1729) affirmed that free thought was an inalienable right of man, practised and approved by the biblical writers themselves ("Discourse on Free Thinking," 1713), and he bitterly assailed the church for its attempt to curtail this freedom. In a later work (1724) he attacked Christianity as being based upon an allegorical interpretation of prophecy.

Thomas Woolson (d. 1733) attacked the New Testament miracles, declaring the narratives to be absurd and incredible as records of fact and supposing that they were intended to be taken mystically.

Matthew Tindal (d. 1733) has been called the "great apostle of deism." He asserted the absolute sufficiency and perfection of natural religion and made of it the criterion whereby Christianity is to be tested. So far as Christianity agrees with natural religion it is true and so far only. The title of his chief work, "Christianity as Old as the Creation," shows his point of view.

In David Hume (d. 1776) deism became pronounced skepticism, and he was not careful to show that Christianity corresponded with natural religion.

Closely related to the deistical mode of thought was the Arianism or Socinianism of Samuel Clarke, William Whiston, and others. Clarke (d. 1729) has been characterized as the founder of rationalistic supranaturalism. While he earnestly defended revelation in its entirety against deism and pantheism, he yet insisted upon the complete validity and the absolute right of reason. Like the deists he ascribed religion and morality to the eternal nature and fitness of things. He regarded the ideas of God, virtue, and immortality as postulates of the practical reason, and showed the necessity and the reasonableness of revelation as adapted to and supplying the needs of the human soul. His proof of the existence of God from the idea of eternity is well known. We cannot escape the idea of eternity. There must be something corresponding to the idea. The world is not eternal as the mind thinks of it as originated, and is not, as regards its form or its substance, necessary. Only God meets the requirement, and his attributes are declared to be eternity, infinity, omnipresence, unity, intelligence, freedom, omnipotence (or at least power to

create everything else that exists), wisdom, holiness, righteousness. In the moral attributes of God human morality has its source and its obligation. The rewarding of virtue and the punishment of its opposite lie in the very nature of God. In opposition to the deists he sought to present a rational view of the Trinity ("The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," 1712), but his careful exegetical study of the New Testament passages concerned gave him no light on the metaphysical essence of the divine persons. In expounding his view of the economic Trinity he maintains (in opposition to Sabellianism) the diversity of persons and (in opposition to Arianism) the eternity of Son and Spirit. Yet he grounds the distinctive being of Son and Spirit not in an inner necessity, but in the inscrutable will of God. Thus he fell short of the orthodox trinitarian doctrine and did not rise much above a refined Arianism, as was fully shown by Waterland.

Whiston (d. 1752) was far more decided and aggressive in his Arian (Socinian) teachings. In an essay on the "Apostolical Constitutions" (1708) he sought to prove that Arianism was the prevailing doctrine during the first two centuries and declared the Constitutions the "most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament." He was expelled from the University of Cambridge in 1710, because of his enthusiastic advocacy of these unsettling views. In his "Primitive Christianity Revived" (1711, 1712) he sought by a diligent study of patristic literature to show the anti-trinitarian character of early Christianity. He spent much time in prophetic study, adopted millenarian views, and fixed the date of the millennium and the restoration of the Jews in 1776. The Athanasian creed was so hateful to him that in 1747 he left the established church and formed a Primitive Christian congregation of his own, preparing for it a new prayer book. Whiston was too eccentric to become a great party leader, but his learning and his literary gifts gave considerable currency to his anti-trinitarian views.

Of a somewhat different anti-trinitarian type was Daniel Whitby (d. 1726) who passed through a number of phases of opinion before he came to his ultimate position. In 1683 he created a great commotion by the pub-

lication of his "The Protestant Reconciler, humbly pleading for Condescension to Dissenting Brethren in Things Indifferent." The University of Oxford had the book publicly burnt, and the Bishop of Salisbury, whom he served as chaplain, required him to retract the statement that "it is not legal for the authorities to require in worship anything to be said or used which the older custom did not," and that it was a violation of Christian duty toward the weaker brethren to require of them things indifferent. He met the requirement of the bishop by publishing a second work in which he urged Nonconformists to come into the church and refuted their objections to so doing. In opposition to deism he issued (1710) his "Discourse" on the five points of Calvinism, in which he took essentially Arminian ground. Anti-Calvinistic views had appeared to some extent in his "A Paraphrase and Commentary on the N. T." (1703). In a Latin treatise (1714) he was at much pains to discredit the Fathers as interpreters of Scripture, and to prove the inadmissibility of appealing to them as authority on the doctrine of the Trinity. Of as little value are councils and ecclesiastical tradition. In a controversy with Waterland he renounced the doctrine of the Trinity and became an avowed Arian. In his posthumous "Last Thoughts" he retracted his exposition of the trinitarian dogma, declaring it to be a tissue of absurdities.

(7) *High Church Defenders of the Faith during the Eighteenth Century.* The most eminent apologists of this century of unbelief were Butler, Waterland, and Warburton. Joseph Butler (d. 1752) was probably the profoundest English thinker of the eighteenth century and stands in the front rank of English theologians in general. When only twenty-one years of age he addressed to Dr. Samuel Clarke a criticism of his "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God," which was so discriminating and searching that the author appended it to the next edition of the work. His sermons preached in the Rolls Chapel are masterpieces of argumentation. His "Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature" (1736) has been characterized by a recent German writer (Buddensieg, in Hauck-Herzog) as "at that time

the most complete and the most thorough answer to the objections of deism against revealed religion." It has attained the position of a classic and it is probable that no apologetical work of modern times has been so much studied or has exerted so profound an influence. He has commanded the highest admiration of men of genius as diverse in character and modes of thought as James Mill, John Henry Newman, and W. E. Gladstone. The "Analogy" was the result of twenty years of profound thinking, and the utility of the work has fully justified the expenditure of time. Its argument was so effective that no contemporary attempted a direct refutation of it. He aimed to show not that "Christianity is as old as the creation" and that revelation must be pared down to the dimensions of natural religion, but that natural religion, with its limitations and its failure to answer many of the questions that it is of the utmost importance to man in his sinful and disordered condition to have answered, points to and imperatively demands revealed religion as its complement. In answer to the contention of the deists that the law of nature is absolutely perfect and absolutely certain, he pointed out with rare acuteness and discrimination that so far from this being the case essentially the same difficulties that confront the human mind in connection with revealed religion are encountered in the study of natural religion. In 1736 Butler was made "clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline," and to her he dedicated the "Analogy," published the same year. He was soon afterward appointed Bishop of Bristol. In 1746 he was made "clerk of the closet" to the king. He is said about this time to have declined the archbishopric of Canterbury on the ground that he was too old to save a falling church. Afterward he accepted the bishopric of Durham.

Daniel Waterland (d. 1740) was one of the boldest and ablest defenders of the faith against Arian and Socinian error during the eighteenth century. He wrote voluminously in refutation of the views of the godhead put forth by Clarke and Whitby. He also combated Bishop Hoadley's Low Church view of the Lord's Supper as well as the Romanizing views of some High Churchmen of an extreme type (Johnson and Brett.)

William Warburton (d. 1779), during a long country pastorate, wrote his "Alliance between Church and State" and his remarkable book, entitled "The Divine Legation of Moses, Demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation" (1737, onward). Deists had sought to discredit the Old Testament by alleging the absence of any definite teaching of immortality with rewards and punishments in a future life. Warburton admitted the absence of such teaching in the Old Testament and made of this very fact his chief argument in favor of the divinity of the Mosaic legislation, since without the help of the doctrine of a future life of rewards and punishments the Mosaic law was able to accomplish moral results that no heathen system was ever able to accomplish. The essence of the Old Testament system he made to be the theocracy, which dealt out in the present life righteous rewards and punishments upon individual and nation. It is probable that he did not give sufficient weight to the intimations of immortality that the Old Testament contains; but it was assuredly a bold undertaking to make of the absence of such a fundamental truth from the Old Testament a proof of its divine origin. His argument was hardly satisfactory, either to the orthodox or to the deists, and it created great commotion in the theological world of the day.

Mention should also be made of Charles Leslie (d. 1722), an extreme High Churchman (Non-juror), who wrote voluminously against deists, Socinians, Jews, and dissenters in general. His "Short and Easy Method with the Deists" was widely used and is said to have been highly effective. Dr. Samuel Johnson characterized him as "a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against." He is said to have brought more people into the Church of England from other communions than were ever won by any other man.

Bishop George Berkeley (d. 1753) should also be noticed as a philosopher and apologist. His idealistic philosophy exerted considerable influence on later speculative thought. His "Alciphron, or, The Minute Philosopher," has been characterized as "a powerful refutation

of the free thinking then so popular and fashionable." It appears to have been written during his several years' residence in Rhode Island. He had come to America under the auspices of the English government to do educational missionary work in Bermuda. The enterprise had to be abandoned for lack of expected support. He is the author of the prophetic lines beginning, "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

(8) *Condition of Religious Life in England during the First Third of the Eighteenth Century.* Queen Anne, though neither intellectual nor remarkably religious, had lavished her wealth upon ecclesiastical enterprises —educational, religious, and philanthropic. Under her patronage the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge entered upon careers that promised much for the prosperity of Anglican Christianity. This religious activity was accompanied by a spirit of intolerance toward dissent that has been already referred to. George I. and George II. were indifferent toward religion, and Sir Robert Walpole, the most influential statesman of the time, seems to have done everything possible to promote the decline of religious interest. The missionary societies of the church languished. Through the influences that have been described already, skepticism and open infidelity became widespread and aggressive. Queen Anne's scheme for building fifty new churches in London was quietly dropped. Church services in London and elsewhere became fewer and the attendance was greatly diminished. Fear of Puritan enthusiasm and of Romanizing pietism and asceticism, along with the free-thinking influences that have been noticed, led to a colorless moderatism in the ministers that had no attractive power. The sermons of orthodox High Churchmen, no less than those of Socinian and deistical ministers were, for the most part, dry, moral disquisitions or scholastic discussions of points of doctrinal controversy which had little interest for the average man. The commercial and industrial prosperity which the peace policy of Walpole had greatly promoted tended also to fix the interests of the people on material things to the neglect of spiritual. Vast populations were being aggregated in the towns by

industrial enterprise and hardly anything was being done for their moral and spiritual welfare. Dissenting bodies had degenerated almost as sadly as the established church. They had dwindled in numbers and doctrinal degeneracy had sapped their lives. The suppression of Convocation in 1717 had done much toward destroying the discipline and the *esprit de corps* of the clergy of the established church. Many church livings were enjoyed by non-residents who made no pretense of rendering services in return. Poorly paid vicars took the places of highly paid incumbents and in many cases the parish work was utterly neglected. Many of the clergy had no sense of the dignity of their office and were the boon companions of the squires in their fox-hunting, drinking, card-playing, etc. Swift's sneering attitude toward religious zeal, which he regarded as fanaticism, imposture, or hypocrisy, was, no doubt, shared by many. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the established church and the dissenting bodies were entirely devoid of zealous and religious men and women. There were thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal and were quietly or more publicly living earnest Christian lives, and scores of ministers in the establishment and outside of it were peaching a comparatively pure gospel and seeking to lead the people in Christian work.

2. *From the Evangelical Revival to the Outbreak of the Tractarian Controversy.*

(1) *Leaders of the Revival.* John Wesley (1703–1791), son of Samuel Wesley, a High Churchman of learning, piety, and literary gifts, and of Susannah Annesley, daughter of a Nonconformist preacher, was a descendant of a mediæval baron, Wellesley, from whom also the Duke of Wellington sprang, and became the leader of the evangelical revival and the founder of Methodism. He was brought up in High Church principles and sent at an early age (1720) to the University of Oxford, the center of High Church influence. On the advice of his mother he devoted considerable attention to practical divinity, and was influenced by Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying," and William

Law's "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call." He received his Bachelor's degree in 1724, was ordained to the ministry in 1725, and was appointed a fellow of Lincoln College in 1726. After two years of service as his father's curate (1727–1729) he returned to Oxford and became a member of the "Holy Club," whose methodical and somewhat ascetical religious exercises and manner of life gave the name to the great religious body he was to be instrumental in founding, though the name Methodist seems first to have been applied to his brother Charles for his methodical attention to the regulations and work of the university. The Holy Club met frequently for reading the Greek Testament, for mutual exhortation, and for heart-searching. Its members engaged earnestly in efforts for the moral and religious betterment of the students, in temporal and spiritual ministration to the poor and to prisoners, and in providing literary and religious instruction for children of the poor. The piety inculcated and practised by these Oxford Methodists was of the High Church, ascetical type, and involved the most scrupulous attention to the rubrics of the Prayer Book and the canons of the church.

In 1736 General Oglethorpe called for a minister "inured to contempt of the ornaments and conveniences of life, to bodily austerities, and to serious thoughts," to accompany him to Georgia as a missionary to the colonists and Indians (1736). Wesley cheerfully responded, his widowed mother having encouraged him and his brother Charles both to go. "Had I twenty sons," she said, "I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more." On his outward voyage he came in contact with Moravian missionaries, but it was not until the return voyage that he fully yielded to their influence. His work in Georgia was not a decided success, owing chiefly to his rigorous High Churchism. He insisted on immersion as the only proper baptism (being prescribed in the Prayer Book) and allowed communicants only to act as sponsors. He excluded dissenters from the Supper unless they would submit to a new baptism, refused to read the burial service at dissenters' funerals, and excluded from the Supper the wife of an influential citizen, with whom before her

marriage he had been in love, because of some breach of discipline. By such proceedings he made himself so obnoxious to the community that he found it best to return to England in 1738.

His later opinion was that when seeking to carry out High Church ideas in Georgia he was still unconverted, that he had had a zeal for God but not according to knowledge. While in Georgia, Spangenberg, who was later to succeed Zinzendorf as leader of the Moravian Brethren, had pointedly asked Wesley whether he had the witness within himself, and whether the Spirit of God bore witness with his spirit that he was a child of God; also whether he knew Jesus Christ. He was unable to give a satisfactory answer to these questions; but they sank deep into his heart, and led him to give attention to the mastering of the German language in order that he might better communicate with these men of God. Arriving in London, he came into close touch with Peter Böhler, and he was led by this godly man to trust in Christ as his Saviour and to experience the assurance of sins forgiven and acceptance with God. He now came to realize the utter inadequacy of Law's High Church pietism, and he wrote his former "oracle" searchingly criticising his views.

His conversion occurred in London at a meeting of the Brethren, where the introduction to Luther's commentary on Romans was being read (May 24, 1738). He entered at once upon a fifty years' career as evangelist and religious leader which, with the co-operation of a multitude of earnest men, was to result in the formation of hundreds of societies that, in spite of his strong desire to avoid separation from the Church of England, were to become Methodist churches; in the building up in the Church of England itself of a strong evangelical party, zealous in philanthropy, Bible distribution, missions, and social reform; and in bringing the dissenting denominations, that had lost their evangelical zeal, to a realization of their obligation to carry out the Great Commission of our Lord.

It will not be practicable to give the details of the work of Wesley and his coadjutors. That they should have met with violent opposition at the hands of churchmen

and dissenters alike was to be expected. Most of the church buildings were closed against the evangelists and field-preaching was commonly resorted to. Those who were converted in many cases went immediately to work for the conversion of others, and so the work propagated itself from community to community until the English-speaking world was covered with its influence.

As a High Churchman, Wesley had no sympathy with Calvinism. The theology of the Moravian Brethren had more in common with Luther's modes of thought, and Luther's doctrine of assurance was embodied in their scheme. This Wesley adopted. From the Bohemian Brethren the Moravians had perpetuated the mediæval evangelical semi-Augustinianism which laid much stress upon human responsibility, and put too little emphasis on the divine sovereignty, but was far removed from the Socinianizing Arminianism of the Dutch Remonstrants as well as from the Romanizing semi-Pelagianism of the English High Church party. Wesley followed the Moravians in laying the utmost stress on the blood of Christ as cleansing from all sin, as well as upon the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit and the witness of the Spirit in the believer.

Closely associated with John Wesley from the beginning was his younger brother, Charles (1708–1788). He followed John to Georgia, experienced with him a revolutionary change under Moravian influence, co-operated with him in evangelistic preaching, and above all, was the lyrical poet of Methodism. Although he married a a wealthy woman (1749) he continued for seven years longer his itineracy, his wife riding behind him from place to place on a pillion, and leading the singing at his meetings. From 1756 onward he was a settled Methodist pastor at Bristol and London. He deprecated the proceedings of his brother that looked toward the separation of the Methodist societies from the Church of England, and the relations of the two were at times considerably strained. As a matter of fact, his own practice of ministering to a congregation at the regular hours for church service, and administering the Supper weekly in his chapel, was more separatist in tendency than John's, who sought in his ministrations to avoid the regular hours for church serv-

ice, attended the church services where he was laboring, and required his disciples to do likewise. Charles Wesley wrote six thousand five hundred hymns, many of which have become classics.

Second in importance to John Wesley in the evangelical revival was George Whitefield (1714–1770). Son of an innkeeper, and himself for a time bartender in the inn, he had received strong religious impressions before he entered the University of Oxford in 1732. Here he came under the influence of the Wesleys, joined the "Holy Club," and engaged with them in religious and philanthropic work. In 1735 he experienced conversion, and although influenced somewhat in 1738 by Moravian piety and evangelism, and with the Wesleys closely associated for a time with the Moravians in their London meetings, he did not, like the Wesleys, repudiate his earlier religious experiences. Urged by the Wesleys to join them in Georgia, he went in 1738, just as they were returning to England, and preached for some months there with great acceptance. He had been graduated from Oxford in 1736 and ordained as a minister in the Church of England. On his return from Georgia he found himself in ill repute because of the alleged extravagance of his evangelism, and very soon most of the churches of London were closed to him. Denied the use of the churches in Bristol (1739), whither he had gone after conference with the Wesleys, he determined to preach in the open air, a thing that the Wesleys at first hesitated to do on account of the odium attached to field preaching. His example and the necessities of the case led them to make this a prominent feature of their work and enabled them to reach multitudes that could never have been induced to enter the churches. It is probable that no evangelist ever surpassed Whitefield in power to draw together and master great mixed assemblies. He was soon preaching to audiences of many thousands (we may well be skeptical when we are told that he sometimes preached to twenty thousand), and multitudes were melted into penitence by his fervid eloquence and found peace in trusting in a crucified Saviour. In Wales, Howell Harris, a layman, had begun evangelizing two years before the Wesleys and Whitefield began. White-

field gave a fresh impulse to the Welsh revival. A tour in Scotland produced a wonderful awakening. His overpowering enthusiasm and his disparaging references to the clergy as "blind guides" aroused much opposition, and in 1739 alone forty-nine publications are said to have appeared against him. His labors in Britain were interrupted by several long periods of labor in America, where his preaching was equally blessed. Whitefield had never been so steeped in High Church semi-Pelagianism as the Wesleys, and never entered so heartily as did they into the old evangelical semi-Augustinianism and mysticism of the Moravians. A moderate type of Calvinistic teaching, which seemed to him identical with that of the Apostle Paul, early mastered his own spirit, and proved in his case, as it had often proved before and has often proved since, a mighty instrument for the conversion of sinners and the building up of Christian character. If Whitefield had possessed, along with his overmastering evangelistic gifts, anything like the statesmanship of John Wesley, a far larger proportion of the Methodists of the later time would have been Calvinistic than was actually the case. For a time these doctrinal differences threatened to alienate the two great evangelists, but the spirit of conciliation prevailed. Whitefield's work was greatly furthered by the Countess of Huntingdon (Selina Shirley), who accepted his views with enthusiasm, gave him the opportunity to preach to the nobility and the clergy, and contributed largely of her means for the building of chapels, the support of preachers, and the founding of a theological seminary (Trevecca College in South Wales) for the training of pastors and evangelists. The Lady Huntingdon Connection of Methodists perpetuates Whitefield's Calvinistic teaching. A bitter controversy between the coadjutors of Wesley and those of Whitefield, in which Toplady and Rowland Hill sustained the Calvinistic side and Fletcher (De la Fléchière), who had been educated at Geneva and was converted in the Wesleyan meetings, the Arminian. Fletcher's character has been described as one of rare beauty and excellence.

(2) *Some Effects of the Great Revival on the Church of England.* It was inevitable that this all-pervasive and long-continued evangelistic movement, which for fifty

years disclaimed all separatist aims, should have made a deep impression on the Church of England as a whole, and that it should have been instrumental in raising up a large body of evangelical ministers and laymen who, while sympathizing profoundly with the spiritual side of the movement, should foresee the schism that was inevitable and should deprecate those features of Methodism that seemed separatist in their tendency. Wesley himself had a decided aversion toward dissenters, and could not abide the thought that his societies would become churches or would unitedly come to constitute a denomination; yet many evangelical churchmen found it far easier to be on cordial terms with avowed dissenters than with Wesley and his followers. It may further be said that most churchmen who adopted evangelical views without becoming Methodists were content with the moderate Calvinism of the Thirty-nine Articles and objected strongly to Wesley's Arminianism. Among the most influential of the evangelical churchmen of this time may be mentioned James Hervey (1714–1758), whose "Theron and Aspasio," a popular exposition of moderate Calvinism, had a wide circulation and influenced many minds toward sound thinking and right living. Though deeply indebted to Wesley, he refused to become an itinerant and rejected decisively his Arminianism. William Grimshaw (1708–1763), because of his eccentricities sometimes called "the mad parson," was abundant in evangelical activity, and built a Methodist "preaching house," but declined to cast in his lot with Wesley. He introduced a rigorous system of church discipline in his parish church at Haworth, and his zeal led him to disguise himself and act as a detective in order to bring transgressors to justice.

Equally eccentric, zealous, and useful was John Berridge, of Everton, who, like Grimshaw, engaged in evangelistic work outside of his own parish and brought large numbers to a knowledge of the truth.

There is much to admire in the character and the self-sacrificing career of William Romaine (1714–1795), son of a Huguenot, eminent as a Hebraist and as a mathematician, an ardent Calvinist, a friend of Whitefield, a chaplain of the Countess of Huntingdon, and deeply de-

vout. For years he preached to crowded congregations in London and stood firmly for a pure gospel. He had occupied the chair of astronomy in Gresham College. A sermon on "The Lord our Righteousness," highly Calvinistic in tone, brought him into disrepute in that High Church center and led to his London ministry. When he saw that Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon were about to become separatists he withdrew from intimate relations with them, but refrained from attacking even Wesley, with whom he differed so greatly in doctrine.

John Newton (1725–1807) had been so degraded as to be the menial servant of an African slave dealer and as depraved as one could easily conceive. An account of his conversion cannot be here given. Brought to a knowledge of the truth, he devoted himself with rare industry and success to the acquirement of an education, and while still a seaman became familiar with several of the Latin classics, made much progress in mathematics, and learned some Hebrew and Aramaic. As rector at Olney he was the spiritual adviser of Cowper. As rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, he was for many years the most influential of the evangelical leaders, and was on the most cordial terms with dissenting ministers. He is now best known for his hymns.

Thomas Scott (1746–1821), a disciple of Newton's and his successor at Olney, was less genial and influential. His rigorous Calvinism made him unpopular, but his well-known commentary has given him a lasting reputation.

Richard Cecil (1748–1810), one of the most sweet-spirited and spiritual of the evangelicals, was an eloquent London preacher and the author of practical works which were widely useful.

Isaac Milner (1751–1820), as professor of mathematics and president of Queen's College, exerted for years a strong evangelical influence on the students of the university and others. In co-operation with his brother Joseph he wrote "The History of the Church of Christ," which was long considered the standard evangelical work on the subject.

Charles Simeon (1759–1836) perpetuated the influence of Milner at Cambridge, and has been called the founder

of the modern Low Church party. His "*Horæ Homileticæ*," in seventeen volumes, long furnished weaker evangelical ministers with materials for their sermons.

Unequaled in influence as an evangelical leader in the established church was William Wilberforce (1759–1833). A pupil and lifelong friend of Isaac Milner, he owed to him the impulse that led to his conversion (1785). He devoted his splendid statesmanship and his great wealth to the promotion of religious and philanthropical enterprises, and brought his personal influence powerfully to bear upon many people of the wealthier class. His "Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity" (1797) passed through many editions and was translated into the principal Continental languages. Its influence for good cannot be estimated. It was distinctly a writing for the time and is little read to-day.

Among the results of the revival inside of the established church may be mentioned the development of the Sunday-school, the establishment (1799) of the Religious Tract Society, the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), the founding of the London Missionary Society (1795), in which dissenters and churchmen united, and the Church Missionary Society (1799). The beneficent influence that led to the formation of these great societies and the work they were instrumental in accomplishing furnish sufficient proof that the Church of England, even after allowing for the entire Methodist separation, gained vastly more than it lost from the revival. It seems certain that the revival was a powerful antidote to the influence of French skepticism and the spirit of the French Revolution in England. That England did not share largely in the moral and spiritual decline suffered by the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany in connection with the French Revolution was due in part, no doubt, to the fact that England alone escaped French invasion, and after the first few years of the revolution was persistently in arms against France, but quite as much to the thoroughness with which the evangelical revival had permeated English life.

3. *Parties and Controversies in the Church of England during the Nineteenth Century.*

The present condition of the Church of England can be best illustrated by the controversies that have occurred and the legal decisions that have been made during the century that has just closed. The party divisions and the great secession to Rome during the century have left the church still strong in resources, strong in social and religious influence, and thoroughly aroused to the necessity of activity in every department of church work. It is probable that the church never had a more learned and efficient ministry than at present, and a higher moral standard never prevailed. The religious life of the members of the Church of England is probably of a distinctly higher type than in any previous age. The rapid growth of dissenting bodies in numbers, wealth, culture, and influence has stimulated rather than weakened the established church. Agitation for disestablishment and disendowment is likely to continue and may be successful in the remote future, but the conservative forces in England are far too strong to yield readily or speedily to demands for religious equality.

(1) *The Tractarian Controversy.* The great evangelical movement of the eighteenth century, with the vast increase of the religious life and activity of dissent, had shocked and alarmed the refined and scholarly churchmen. Agitation for the abolition of class legislation and for the removal of dissenters' disabilities had become intensified. The influence of the American and French revolutions was deeply felt in England about the beginning of the present century. The reform bill having been defeated in 1831 by the votes of the bishops, a strong popular feeling against the sitting of bishops in the House of Lords was aroused. It began to look as if the disestablishment of the Church of England would be speedily accomplished. Roman Catholics co-operated with Protestant dissenters and Jews in agitation against obnoxious laws. In 1833 ten Irish bishoprics were abolished. The evangelical party in the Church of England favored a large measure of religious freedom, and was co-operating with dissenters in philanthropic and mis-

sionary work. The Broad Church party was becoming more and more aggressive. High Churchmen became frantic with alarm. A number of Oxford divines—Percival, Froude, and Palmer, with H. J. Rose, editor of the "British Magazine"—met to consider the feasibility of securing united effort on the part of High Churchmen against innovations. Newman, Keble, Thomas Mozley, and many other leading theologians, soon took an active interest in the movement. The maintenance of apostolic succession and the preservation of the Prayer Book from Socinian adulteration were to be the chief objects of effort. An attempt was made to form associations in this interest throughout England. This failed through the opposition of the bishops. In February, 1834, an address was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by seven thousand clergy, deprecating reckless changes and promising the heartiest co-operation toward reviving the discipline of the ancient church. A similar petition was signed by two hundred and thirty thousand lay heads of families. The declaration of William IV. in favor of the High Church party gave a fresh impetus to the movement. As early as 1833 some Oxford "Friends of the Church" began to publish a series of "Tracts for the Times on Church History and Doctrine." The chief writers were those already mentioned and Doctor Pusey. J. H. Newman probably wrote more than any other individual member. These tracts were widely circulated and created a great sensation. They became more and more Romanizing as time went on. The publication of the famous Tract No. 90, by Newman, brought on a crisis. This tract was designed to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles are capable of being interpreted in accordance with Roman Catholic views of the sacraments. By a Jesuitical process he sought to explain away every vestige of Protestantism from this bulwark of the Low Church party.

Among the results of this movement may be mentioned: *a*. The exodus to Rome of a large number of the ablest and most zealous members of the party. *b*. A great revival of ritualism in the Church of England. Archæological studies as to ancient liturgies, vestments, etc., have occupied a large share of attention. High

Church clergy have in many instances, in defiance of the laws and of the sentiments of their congregations, introduced Roman Catholic ceremonies. A number of test cases have been decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It has thus been accurately determined precisely how far it is allowable to go in the ritualistic direction. Many have preferred to suffer prolonged imprisonment rather than relinquish objectionable practices. *c.* The High Church party has experienced a great revival in practical aggressive work for the masses. The zeal of the party is of a Roman Catholic type. The founding of sisterhoods and brotherhoods of a monastic character for self-denying work among the neglected classes is an important feature of the work of the party. *d.* Auricular confession has been revived. A few years ago a work called "The Priest in Absolution," prepared for secret use among the High Church clergy, was brought to light and created a great sensation. It was an almost literal translation of a French Roman Catholic book, and embraced the worst features of the Roman Catholic confessional. After the withdrawal of Newman, Doctor Pusey became the leader of the party. Liddon, Knox-Little, Mozley, etc., were representative High Churchmen. The party still possesses a very large share of the scholarship and zeal of the church and is supported by a large proportion of the nobility.

(2) *The Gorham Controversy.* This controversy was in some respects one of the most important that have occurred in the Church of England in recent times. Rev. G. C. Gorham was in 1847 presented by Lord Chancellor Cottenham to the living of Brampton Speke. Bishop Philpott, of Exeter, in proceeding to institute him in the living, put him through an examination on one hundred and forty-nine questions, occupying six days. Dissatisfied with Gorham's answers on the matter of baptismal regeneration, the bishop refused to institute him. Gorham proceeded by legal means to compel the bishop to institute him. After going through various courts it was decided against Gorham by the dean of the Court of Arches. Appeal was made to the judicial committee of the Privy Council. The two archbishops sat in the committee by special summons of the

crown. The decision was in Gorham's favor. The Bishop of Exeter sought to get the decision reversed in the Courts of Queen's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas, but unsuccessfully. This was regarded as a test case, and the intensest interest was taken in it by High and Low Churchmen alike. The decision would determine whether or not Calvinism had a right to exist in the Church of England. The High Church party was arrogant and aggressive and would gladly have found a means of excluding all Low Churchmen from the church.

(3) *Broad Church Controversies.* The Broad Church party of the present century may be said to have owed its origin to Coleridge. It may be regarded as in part a reaction against High Church extravagances and in part as the effect of the introduction of German philosophy and theology. Most Broad Churchmen defend the establishment on Erastian grounds. Holding to the doctrine of ecclesiastical development, they regard the establishment as an institution suited to the times. The church they regard as a department of the State, just as are the army, navy, etc. But in order to be national it must be flexible and must comprehend the greatest possible variety of religious life. They would like to see it so broad as to comprehend even dissenters. They insist on the right of the individual to the most absolute freedom of thought and of speech. They oppose with all their might enforced subscription to creeds of any kind. After Coleridge the most influential leaders in the Broad Church party were Arnold, Whately, Hare, Maurice, Hampden, Stanley, Kingsley, and Farrar. The party first came prominently forward controversially in opposition to the encroachments of the High Church party.

a. The Hampden Controversy. Up to 1836 the members of the party labored quietly. They had not hesitated to denounce the Romanizing party, but this they did in common with the evangelicals. In 1836 Doctor Hampden was appointed Regius professor at Oxford on the nomination of Lord Melbourne, a Whig. He had delivered a course of Bampton lectures a year before, and was known to entertain liberal views. His appointment was exceedingly distasteful to the High Church party, then

dominant at Oxford. J. H. Newman, on behalf of the High Church party, attacked the Bampton lectures in a pamphlet and intensified the dissatisfaction with Hampden's appointment. The University Convocation passed a vote of censure on Hampden. This aroused the indignation of such men as Arnold, Whately, Hare, etc. Arnold compared the action of Convocation to the condemnation of Huss at Constance, the condemnation of Bishop Burnet's "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles" by Convocation, etc. He stigmatized the Tractarian party as Judaizers. The difficulty at Oxford was relieved by the appointment of Hampden to a bishopric, but the polemical zeal of the Broad Church party had been awakened, and henceforth the intensest hostility was manifest between the High Church and the Broad Church parties.

b. Maurice's Theological Essays. These appeared in 1853, and up to that time were the most important Broad Church publication. The doctrines of the trinity, incarnation, inspiration, future punishment, etc., were treated with a freedom that startled the conservatives of both High and Low Church parties, and attracted a large number of able young men. Maurice was then professor in King's College, London. The council of the college pronounced the tendency of the book dangerous, and demanded his resignation. He was soon afterward appointed to a professorship at Cambridge, where his influence was widened. His voluminous writings set forth the position of the Broad Church party in many of its most important aspects.

c. The Essays and Reviews Controversy. The most important controversy in connection with the Broad Church movement, almost equaling the Tractarian controversy in the amount of public attention awakened, was called forth in 1860 by the publication of a volume under the title, "Essays and Reviews," containing seven articles written by seven well-known liberal theologians. According to the preface, they were written independently, without concert or comparison, and with a view to illustrating the advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth from a free handling in a becoming spirit of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by

the repetition of conventional language and from traditional methods of treatment. The essays differ greatly among themselves in the degrees of aberration from commonly received views. The first is by Doctor Temple, then head master at Rugby, now (1902) Archbishop of Canterbury, on "The Education of the World." The development view of human history is ably set forth. The present time represents the world's manhood, in which conscience is supreme. The second essay, by Dr. Rowland Williams, is an appreciative review of Bunsen's work in Old Testament criticism. The third essay, by Prof. Baden Powell, is on the Evidences of Christianity. External evidences, such as miracles, are discredited, and internal evidences chiefly relied on. The fourth is by Rev. H. B. Wilson, on the National Church. The article is intensely liberalistic. The fifth, by Goodwin, a layman, on the Mosaic Cosmogony, attempts to show that the Mosaic cosmogony is full of mistakes. The sixth, by Prof. Mark Pattison, on the Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750, has for its chief object to show the inconsistencies of English theology with regard to the basis on which revelation rests. The seventh is by Prof. B. Jowett, and is on the Interpretation of Scripture. The general tone of the "Essays and Reviews" may be said to be negative rather than positive. The volume attracted little attention for the first few months. "The Westminster Review," a rationalistic publication, noticed it appreciatively and assumed an understanding among the writers. It made an extensive collection of passages to show the heterodox quality of the volume. This at once attracted attention to it, and it became the book of the season. It was attacked in the "Quarterly Review." Nine thousand clergy signed a protest against it. Pulpit and press united in condemning it. The Convocations of Canterbury and York condemned the pernicious doctrines and heretical tendencies of the book. Suit was entered in the ecclesiastical courts against Williams and Wilson. Thirty-two expressions were collected from the essays of these clergymen, which, being separated from their connection, appeared even more objectionable than they would otherwise have

done. After much learned argument all but five of the specifications were thrown out. These were, denial of the necessity of a distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted mercies, justification, inspiration, and justification by faith. On these five charges the Court of Arches suspended Williams and Wilson for one year. Appeal was made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Court of Arches had discarded all questions of biblical interpretation and criticism as entirely beyond and outside of the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles. All charges of heresy founded on questions of authorship, date, prediction, or prophecy, etc., were set aside. When the case was brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the two first charges were abandoned at the beginning. One by one the other three were thrown out. The questions at issue assumed the following form: Whether every part of the Old and New Testament upon any subject whatever, however unconnected with religious faith and moral duty, was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or whether the Bible was inspired by the Holy Spirit, that has ever dwelt and still dwells in the church, which dwelt also in the sacred writers of Holy Scripture, and which will aid and illuminate the minds of those who read Scripture trusting to receive the guidance of the Spirit. The court decided that the framers of the Articles have not used the word inspiration as applied to Scripture, nor have they laid down anything as to the extent or limits of the Spirit's operation. On the question of eternal punishment the charge rested on the hope expressed by one of the writers, that at the day of judgment those who are not admitted to happiness may be so dealt with as that the perverted may be restored, and all, both great and small, may ultimately find refuge in the bosom of the universal Parent. The court decided that it had always been permitted to think freely on this subject, an article in the original Forty-two Articles condemning the theory of universal restoration having been thrown out in the revision under Elizabeth. As regards justification by faith, the charge rested on the hint contained in one of the essays, that justification by faith might mean the peace of mind or sense of divine approval which comes of

trust in a righteous God, rather than a fiction of merit by transfer. The court decided that the Article on Justification is wholly silent as to the merits of Jesus Christ being transferred to us, and that therefore they could not declare it penal to speak of merit by transfer as a fiction.

As the Gorham case settled the right of the Evangelical party to a place in the establishment, so the "Essays and Reviews" case settled the right of the Broad Church party. The position taken by the highest courts is in effect: that a clergyman may say and write what he pleases on theological matters so long as he does not distinctly contradict the exact words of the Articles or the Prayer Book. The utmost freedom is now accorded to the English clergy, all shades of opinion abounding.

4. *The Church of England in America.*

The Church of England was the established form of religion from the beginning in Virginia and the Carolinas, in New York (after it had been wrested from the Dutch), and in Maryland (after the dislodging of Roman Catholicism, 1655). As the clergy were for the most part State-appointed and State-paid they were little solicitous, for the most part, about the good-will of the people. In many cases unworthy and even immoral men were sent out from England because of scandals that disqualified them for service at home. In Virginia, where ample provision was made for the support of the Church of England by the glebe lands, tithes, etc., the corruption of the clergy became most notorious, and their loyalty to England during the Revolution co-operated with growing disapproval of their lives and ministrations to make them exceedingly unpopular and to cause successful agitation on the part of Baptists and Presbyterians for the disestablishment and disendowment of the church. In New York City the Church of England early acquired possession of a large amount of property that in course of time became exceedingly valuable, and now yields enormous revenues. Philadelphia early became a stronghold of Episcopal influence and has remained so to the present day.

After the War of Independence the necessity for independent church organization was realized. Just at the

close of the war Samuel Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen, by some Non-juring bishops, to be bishop of the American church. In 1785 a convention adopted a revised Prayer Book, a new constitution, and the name, "Protestant Episcopal Church."

Not being satisfied with the ordination of Seabury, the convention of 1786 sent three of its ministers to England to secure episcopal ordination at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Provoost and White were consecrated by him early in 1787. Seabury's ordination, having been accepted and its validity insisted upon by New England churches, was recognized by the triennial convention of 1789. From this time onward the body prospered. It was not conditioned so as to gain advantages from the great revivals of the nineteenth century and it has not for the most part shown much sympathy with evangelistic efforts for the conversion of souls. It has depended for its growth chiefly upon immigration from England and upon the strong social influence that since the Revolution, as before, it has steadily exerted. Many ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church have been evangelical and have been possessed of spiritual power; but the great mass have been lacking in evangelistic zeal, and have exerted a moral and churchly rather than a distinctively religious influence. In the great cities, and in many of the smaller cities and towns, it is the "society" church. The various parties in the Church of England have their representatives in the United States, Canada, and Australia. It is probable that in the United States the High Church spirit is predominant. The present membership of the Protestant Episcopal Church is about six hundred thousand (1900).

In the British provinces that now make up the Dominion of Canada the Church of England was at first established and endowed, but as a result of agitations during the fourth decade of the nineteenth century its special privileges were withdrawn. It has now an episcopate of its own, and is one of the strong and well-equipped bodies. In Australia and New Zealand, owing to extensive immigration from England, the Church of England occupies a highly influential position from the numbers, wealth, and social standing of its members.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT ANGLO-AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS

I. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

LITERATURE: Dexter, "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years," 1880 (contains remarkably full bibliography up to the date of publication); Weingarten, "*Die Revolutionskirchen Englands*," 1868; Stoughton, "Ecclesiastical History of England" (under various titles covers the time 1641–1880), 1867–1884; Walker, "The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," 1893, and "A Hist. of the Congregational Churches in the U. S.," 1894; Punchard, "Hist. of Congregationalism," 1865–1881; Mather, "*Magnalia*," 1702; Uhden, "The New England Theocracy," Eng. tr., 1858; Hanbury, "Historical Memorials," 1839–1843; Felt, "The Ecclesiastical Hist. of N. Eng.," 1855–1863; Palfrey, "Hist. of N. Eng.," 1859–1890; Ellis, "The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1628–1685," 1888; biographical articles in Schaff-Herzog, Hauck-Herzog, and "Dictionary of National Biography," ed. Stephen and Lee.

1. *English Congregationalists from 1648 Onward.*

The preceding period closed with the Independents (Congregationalists and Baptists) under Cromwell's leadership dominating the army, dispersing the Presbyterian Parliament and Westminster Assembly, trying and executing the king, and introducing an era of religious toleration in England. A brief account of the later history of English Congregationalism must here be given.

(1) *The Cromwellian Time.* It is probable that if Cromwell had been starting out to construct a commonwealth anew he would have preferred a purely voluntary system with no established or favored form of Christianity. But he had the church buildings and the church endowments on his hands, and the problem was how to utilize them in a way that would be promotive of true religion and of loyalty to the civil administration. He recognized the hand of God in every victory of the Independents, in the overthrow of the tyrant Charles I.,

in the defeat of the intolerant purposes of the Presbyterians, and in the putting of himself, as leader of the Independents, in the place of power and responsibility. "Let us look into providences," he said, "surely they mean somewhat. They hang so together, have been so constant, clear, unclouded," etc. "God has accepted the zeal of the Independents, as once he did the zeal of Phinehas."

His situation was one of great difficulty and delicacy. The friends of the late king, though inferior in intelligence and courage and probably in numbers to the triumphant army and its supporters, were not so much in the minority as to allow of any lack of alertness or armed preparation on the part of Cromwell. The execution of the king had caused him to be regarded as a holy martyr, and the publication of the "*Eikon Basilike*" (1649), purporting to be the king's own pious reflections on his administration and justification of himself before the world, tended greatly to increase the enthusiastic devotion of the royalists.

On the other side a considerable number of extreme social and religious democrats (Levelers, etc.) were clamoring for liberty, fraternity, and equality, somewhat in the spirit of the French Revolutionists of 1791–1794. The Presbyterians of England and Scotland, moreover, had been completely alienated.

He did not think it wise, even if he had thought it right, to confiscate church property, and if he had confiscated the productive estates of the church, the buildings would have been still on his hands. He was too deeply impressed with the importance of having Christianity in its purest possible form preached to the people everywhere to be willing in any case to use for secular purposes what had been dedicated to religion. He was not narrow enough to wish to set up Pedobaptist Congregationalism as the religion of the State to the exclusion of other evangelical parties. He regarded "liberty of conscience" as "a natural right," and coupled it with "liberty of the subject," regarding them together as "two as glorious things to be contended for as any that God hath given us." "If the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably

and quietly under you [the new Parliament of 1653]—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected."

But as the exigencies of the time seemed to him to justify the application of the "little, poor invention" that he "found out" (1655) of making himself the military head of the nation and districting the country into major-generalships for military government, and to put a somewhat rigorous consorship upon the press, so he thought it expedient to appoint a committee of thirty-eight Tryers, composed of Independent, Presbyterian, and Baptist ministers, to pass upon the intellectual, moral, and spiritual qualifications of all candidates for the pastorates of State-endowed churches. The representatives of each parish were allowed to choose their own pastor, but he could not be installed without the approbation of the committee of Tryers.

Some of these parish committees chose Presbyterian pastors; some chose evangelical churchmen that could hardly be called Presbyterian (preferring episcopacy, but not devoted to the Stuart cause); some chose Pedobaptist Independent pastors; and about thirty chose Baptists as pastors.

With such a body of Tryers it was impossible that denominational differences should be taken into account. Romanizing and High Church candidates and Arminians and Socinians would be ruled out. Opposition to the Cromwellian government, whether on the ground of devotion to the Stuarts or on the ground of extreme republicanism, constituted a disqualification. A fair amount of education, a good knowledge of biblical truth, good moral character, and ability to edify the people, were the things most insisted upon. It may be here remarked that the great majority of Baptists opposed Cromwell's policy from the beginning, insisting upon pure democracy in the State and absolute separation of Church and State.

Those who did violence to the principles for which Baptists and their mediæval and sixteenth century progenitors had consistently stood (except in a few cases under the influence of millenarian fanaticism) were men of learning and piety who had been trained in the estab-

lished church and had not yet become thoroughly seized of the Baptist position. They realized Cromwell's difficulties and thought it expedient in the meantime to co-operate with him in his efforts to allow the church endowments and properties to be used for religious purposes in such a way as would do most good to the people without danger to the government.

The universities of England being national property were subjected to a treatment somewhat similar to that of the State churches. That aggressive royalists should have been excluded and supporters of the government made the teachers of the nation was to be expected. John Owen, the profoundest theologian among the Congregationalists of the time, was made dean of Christ's Church and vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford. Thomas Goodwin, who had been a Congregational member of the Westminster Assembly, became president of Magdalen College, Cambridge. Among other Congregationalists who occupied high positions at this time were John Howe, who was court chaplain to Cromwell; Philip Nye, who served as rector of St. Bartholomew's, London; and Joseph Caryl, who was rector of St. Mary's Magnus, London.

It should be said that Cromwell perpetuated the rights of patronage and allowed tithes and other parish dues to be collected by civil authority as theretofore.

Under Cromwell's patronage Congregationalism greatly increased in importance, and as up to the end of the last year of his reign there had been no effort to organize Pedobaptist Independents into a denomination, it was thought wise by himself and leading Congregational ministers to summon by public authority an assembly of Congregational elders to prepare a Confession of Faith. After preliminary meetings, the synod met in the Savoy Palace, London, September 29, 1658, twenty-six days after Cromwell's death, and as a result of a session of eleven days, a "Declaration of Faith and Order Owned and Practised in the Congregational Churches" was adopted. The principal members of the synod had, with the exception of Owen, been members of the Westminster Assembly, and it was natural that they should make the Westminster Confession the

basis of their work. Most of the Westminster Confession was adopted bodily. The characteristic feature of the Savoy Declaration is the section, "Of the Institution of Churches and the Order Appointed in them by Jesus Christ," in which "the independent sufficiency and scriptural warrant of particular local churches, composed of saints by calling," are insisted upon, and the propriety and value of advisory councils are recognized.

(2) *English Congregationalism from 1660 Onward.* Congregationalists suffered in common with Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers under the persecuting measures of Charles II., and participated equally with the other bodies of nonconformists in the overthrow of James II. and the bringing of William and Mary to the throne. Under the Act of Toleration promulgated by the latter sovereigns (1689) they enjoyed with the other nonconformists a sufficient measure of freedom to enable them to carry on somewhat effectively their local church work, some educational work, and some home mission work, and to make valuable contributions to literature. When under Queen Anne such liberty as dissenters enjoyed was in jeopardy, Congregationalists joined hands with their brethren of other denominations in earnest and persistent efforts to hold what they had and to secure the abolition of all the religious disabilities under which dissenters still labored and complete religious equality before the law. Through these combined efforts, English dissenters secured in the nineteenth century (1828) the abrogation of the Corporation and Test Acts, with the opening of the universities and all civil and military offices to dissenters, and in fact nearly all the rights that dissenters can enjoy consistently with the maintenance of a State Church, with its bishops *ex officio* members of the House of Lords, its vast endowments, its right to tax the entire population for its support, its control of the universities and to a great extent of popular education, and its overwhelming social ascendency. English dissenters are still unitedly striving for religious equality, and are convinced that the only complete remedy for their grievances is disestablishment and disendowment.

After earlier efforts at union with the Presbyterians of a less general and important character had failed, a

movement in this direction (1690 onward) led by John Howe, then the foremost dissenting minister in England, on the Presbyterian side, and Matthew Meade, and Increase Mather, a leading American Congregationalist at that time in England on colonial business, on the Congregational side, promised for a time to prove effective. Certain "Heads of Agreement" were drawn up,[1] and a common sustentation fund was established. But controversy soon arose and the union effort was abandoned. The "Heads of Agreement," which Increase Mather had assisted in drawing up, proved of more value in America.

Congregationalists suffered in common with the established church and the other dissenting bodies during the eighteenth century from the prevalence of Socinian and deistical modes of thought. Many Congregationalists became anti-trinitarian, while many of their congregations dwindled and became extinct. The spirit of aggressiveness for a time almost disappeared. Yet there was no such general defection to anti-trinitarian sentiments as among the English Presbyterians.

In common with other religious bodies the Congregationalists of England participated largely in the evangelical revival. During the last decades of the eighteenth century their membership greatly increased, moribund churches were revived, many new congregations were established, interest in home and foreign evangelization, Sunday-school work, the circulation of the Scriptures and other religious literature, and in general philanthropy greatly increased. Congregationalists were the chief movers in the founding of the London Missionary Society (1795) on an interdenominational basis. It soon, however, came to be a distinctively Congregational institution. In 1832 the Congregational Union of England and Wales was formed as a means of consolidating, conserving, and increasing the forces and activities of the churches, and in 1833 the union adopted "A Declaration of the Principles of Faith and Order of the Congregational Body."[2] One of their avowed objects in the new declaration was to distinguish themselves from

[1] See document in Walker, "Creeds and Platforms," p. 548 *seq.*
[2] See Walker, "Creeds and Platforms," p. 445 *seq.*

Methodists on the one hand and Socinians on the other. It is a thoroughly irenical statement, and expressed fairly well the average sentiments of the Congregationalists of the time, but it is not regarded to-day as possessing any binding authority. In fact, the spirit of individualism and freedom of thought prevails so widely among English Congregationalists at the present time that they would find it difficult to unite in any doctrinal declaration.

The Congregationalists of England and Wales are at the beginning of the twentieth century a numerous, wealthy, and highly influential body, possessing a large number of learned and able ministers, well equipped with institutions of learning, with societies for various kinds of denominational work, and with well-conducted periodical publications. Among the most eminent leaders of the present generation may be mentioned John Stoughton, the church historian; R. W. Dale, preacher and theological writer; A. M. Fairbairn, one of the profoundest theological thinkers of the time and principal of Mansfield College, Oxford; J. Guiness Rogers, editor and author, and Henry Allon, for many years editor of the "British Quarterly Review." The body has nearly four thousand congregations, a somewhat smaller number of ministers, and between three and four hundred thousand members (1900).

2. *American Congregationalism from 1648 Onward.*

We have seen that long before 1648 New England Congregationalists had become a somewhat numerous body, with a learned ministry and a college at Cambridge, and that a theocratic form of government, that involved a complete identification of Church and State, with the religious element in control and a presbyterial form of church government, had been established. With a view to keeping the magistracy in complete harmony with the churches and thus maintaining the theocratic character of the commonwealth, it was enacted by the Massachusetts Court (1631) "that no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." It had already been provided that no body

could be considered a church for such a purpose but one that had secured the approval of the magistracy and of the elders of the churches already existing. No man was eligible for a civil office unless he was a member in good standing of a recognized church, and loss of membership meant expulsion from office. The object of these regulations was the absolute exclusion of all forms of dissent (Baptist, Quaker, Anglican, etc.).

Up to 1646 there had been no general and authoritative declaration on church polity. At this time the home government was Presbyterian and within the past few years a considerable number of Presbyterians had come from England and were clamoring for a recognition of their rights.

(1) *The Cambridge Platform* (*1648*). In 1646 the court requested the churches of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut to send elders and messengers to sit in a synod at Cambridge to settle by the word of God questions of church government and discipline. Most of the churches sent representatives. John Cotton, Richard Mather, and Samuel Partridge were appointed each to draw up independently a platform. An epidemic hindered the assembling of the synod at the appointed time, and final action was not taken until August, 1648, when the platform drawn up by Mather was with some changes adopted. The Cambridge Platform, which was authoritative until 1662, was strongly presbyterial in tone as regards the relations of elders and people, a preponderance of authority being vested in the elders. The relations of churches to churches are defined more carefully than in any preceding Congregational declaration. Seven ways are mentioned in which churches may intercommune: mutual care for each other's welfare, mutual consultation, mutual admonition, joint partaking of the Lord's Supper, mutual relief and succor, and propagation or the surrendering of members to form new congregations (compared to the swarming of bees). Synods orderly assembled and rightly proceeding are declared to be an ordinance of Christ and necessary many times to the well-being of the churches, yet their power is the power of the churches whose elders and messengers sit in the same. Their function is to debate and determine matters

of religion according to the Word, to put the results in definite form and to publish them to the churches, to convict of errors and heresies, and to establish truth and peace in the churches. The right of magistrates to call synods is admitted, but synods may be called, in case the magistrates be hostile, independently of civil authority. The function of a synod does not extend to "the exercise of church censures in way of discipline nor any other act of church authority or jurisdiction." "The synod's directions and determinations, so far as consonant with the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement therewith, but also secondarily for the power by which they are made as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word."

The most noteworthy feature of the platform is its rigorous insistence on a public profession of faith, involving satisfactory evidence of conversion, as a condition of admission to the Lord's Supper. This rule applied as well to those baptized in infancy as to those not so baptized. Moreover, only the children of parents in full communion, *i. e.*, of those who had given credible evidence of regeneration and had continued a satisfactory Christian walk, were, according to the platform, eligible for baptism. Thus a large part of the community was sure to be deprived of the privilege of communion and that of having their children baptized. Yet the platform insists that all without respect to their fellowship in the churches should contribute for the support of the religious teachers.

(2) *The Half-way Covenant* (1662). As the colonies became large and prosperous, the average of piety sensibly declined. Many of the children of the godly men who had come to America for conscience' sake fell far short of the requirements for full communion, and their children in turn were thereby deprived of any hereditary church-membership. The civil disabilities attached to deprivation of church-membership, involving, as noticed above, disfranchisement and disqualification for office, were grievous to many. By 1656 there had come to be widespread dissatisfaction with these rigorous provisions of the platform. Moreover it was becoming manifest to

some of the ministers that the Baptists (Anabaptists they were commonly called in New England at this time) were deriving an advantage from the existing regulations. People were beginning to ask: "If infant baptism does not entitle one to church privileges and citizenship, what is the use of it?" So asked Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, and could not be persuaded to keep his anti-pedobaptist views in abeyance and thus continue in the work in which he was succeeding so well and where his services were so much needed.

Controversy had arisen in Connecticut among the ministers as to the terms of admission to full membership. A numerous and influential faction of Presbyterian antecedents and sympathies insisted on admitting to full communion all baptized persons who were orthodox in their views and orderly in their lives.

The courts of Massachusetts and Connecticut secured the convening of a small council in 1657. This not proving satisfactory, a larger council was called in 1662, which adopted by a vote of seven to one what has been called the "Half-way Covenant." One of two things, in the language of a participant, seemed necessary: either to enlarge the subjects of full communion or else to extend the privilege of baptism to the children of such baptized persons as were orthodox in belief and moral in life and owned the covenant made for them by their parents, yet were unfit for the Lord's Supper. The latter course was adopted.

But so far from putting the matter on a satisfactory basis, the Half-way Covenant only added to the difficulties. Many, especially among the more intelligent and influential laymen, opposed the result of the synod. For a time controversy raged. The First Church, Boston, underwent a schism as a result of the calling by the majority of John Davenport, of New Haven, a zealous opponent of the Half-way Covenant (1667). The seceders formed the Old South Church. In the New Haven colony, through Davenport's influence, the majority of the churches repudiated the measure.

Yet the Half-way Covenant gradually gained acceptance. The churches in general became laxer and laxer.

Some went far beyond the provisions of the Half-way Covenant, extending the privilege of baptism not only to the children of orthodox and moral persons who had themselves been baptized in infancy, but to the children of the notoriously immoral and irreligious as well. It soon came to be argued, that if a man was good enough to have his children baptized, he was good enough to partake of the Lord's Supper. Some churches voted to all who were willing to have their children baptized the privileges of full membership. Solomon Stoddard, grandfather of Jonathan Edwards and his predecessor at Northampton, a man of extraordinary piety and zeal, maintained (about 1700) that "the Lord's Supper was instituted to be a means of regeneration," and was accustomed to urge all, without discrimination, to participate in the ordinance. Thus the distinction between the church and the world was well-nigh obliterated. In many communities, without any religious awakening whatever, almost all the young people of the congregation would come forward at appointed times and in a formal way own the covenant.

The secularization of the churches had become almost complete by 1679. Immorality and irreligion had become alarmingly prevalent. Public calamities—shipwrecks, droughts, conflagrations, pestilence, war with the Indians, etc., came thick and fast and were attributed by the more godly to the decay of religion and morals. A synod was now called to inquire into the causes of the disasters and to suggest means of deliverance. The diagnosis and the remedies suggested show that vital godliness had sunk to a very low ebb,[1] and that the leaders of the time were unable to cope with the difficulties. Many immoral and irreligious practices are specified and among the breaches of the second commandment are the neglect of baptism and church fellowship, and that Quakers and Anabaptists have "set up an altar against the Lord's altar" without having been "fully testified against." Among other remedies it is urged that the Cambridge Platform be reaffirmed with its provisions regarding baptism and communion. Increase Mather wrote (1700):

[1] See Dexter, "Congregationalism During the Last Three Hundred Years," p. 447 *seq.*

"The Congregational church discipline is not suited for a worldly interest or for a formal generation of professors. It will stand or fall as godliness in the power of it does prevail or otherwise." Congregationalism no longer worked well. The need for a stronger form of church government was felt by many. It seemed very much easier to bring order out of confusion by a system of church courts than by transforming the mixed multitude into spiritually minded Christians.

(3) *The Massachusetts Associations (1705) and the Saybrook Platform (1708).* These arrangements represent efforts to supply the place of vital godliness that had to so large an extent departed from the churches by machinery for the application of external authority. The Massachusetts plan was as follows: All ministers of a given district were to organize themselves into an association, with a moderator empowered to call them together. In the Associational meetings questions of importance propounded by the ministers or by the churches were to be discussed and answered. Among matters to be dealt with were church divisions, accusations against pastors, charges of heretical teaching, the attesting and approving or disapproving of candidates for the ministry, the supplying of pastorless churches, etc. The association of pastors, together with a proper number of delegates from the churches, were to constitute a standing council. The determinations of the standing council were to be looked upon as final and decisive, unless weighty reasons for appeal were apparent. The council itself, presumably, was to judge of the weightiness of the reasons. Churches refusing to submit were to be withdrawn from.

The Saybrook Platform, of Connecticut, provided for consociations of elders and messengers, when the churches see fit to send them, before which all cases of scandal arising within a local church were to be heard, the act of a consociation to be final unless an orderly appeal be made to a joint tribunal of two or more consociations. The teaching elders of each county were to form one Association, or more if need be, to meet at least twice a year for consultation about pastoral matters and the common interest of the churches, to consider and resolve

important questions and cases propounded by themselves and others, to pass upon candidates for the ministry, to examine into charges of scandalous conduct and heresy among the pastors, and arrange for the calling of a council, if need be, to deal with them, and to look after the supplying of bereaved churches with pastors. A general association made up of representatives of the county Associations is provided for. The platform was assumed by the court to express the will of the churches and was made authoritative. It was put in practice throughout the colony, some communities giving it an interpretation which made it virtually identical with Presbyterianism.

The Massachusetts scheme was sharply attacked by John Wise of Ipswich (1710 and 1717), who, in his tracts, "The Churches' Quarrel Espoused," and "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," sought to defend and restore to its place of authority the Cambridge Platform. But he went far beyond this, and sought on democratic principles to defend pure Congregationalism as based upon equality of rights and privileges among church-members. "With an incisive logic and a merciless ridicule" he sought to show the absurdities and inconsistencies of the "Proposals," which involved, as he thought, an utter subversion of the foundations of Congregational polity, and would logically lead to Presbyterianism and even prelacy, "with the steeples of the churches, tithes, surplice, and other ornaments." In fact he thought it smelt "very strong of the Infallible Chair." The great and terrible beast with seven heads and ten horns (Rev. 13) "was nothing else a few ages ago but just such another calf as this is." He concludes the argument of his second tract as follows: "That the people, or fraternity, under the gospel, are the first subject of power, . . that a democracy in Church or State is a very honorable and regular government according to the dictates of right reason: And, therefore, that these churches of New England in their ancient constitution of church order, it being a democracy, are manifestly justified and defended by the law and light of nature."[1]

Wise's second tract was republished just before the

[1] Dexter, p. 498.

American Revolution and did much to foster the democratic spirit. Other influences co-operated with that of Wise in preventing the Massachusetts scheme from going into effect. Connecticut had from the beginning tended strongly toward Presbyterianism and its Presbyterianizing scheme was for some time in operation.

(4) *The Great Awakening* (*1733 onward*). By 1733 a Socinianized Arminianism, blended with deistic modes of thought, having wrought havoc with the established church and the dissenting bodies of England, invaded the colonies. Skepticism and indifferentism were being somewhat widely diffused. Conversions were rare, and deep religious experiences were not only unlooked for, but were regarded by many as savoring of fanaticism. Preaching here, as in England, had lost much of its fervor. The great mass of church-members were living in a hopeless state of carnal security. There were many ministers and others who bewailed this decline of religious interest, and earnestly sought to counteract the influences that were working with such deadly effect.

At Northampton, under Stoddard's ministry, occasional revivals had occurred (1679, 1681, 1694, 1712, 1718). Jonathan Edwards, just out of college, assisted his grandfather for about two years before his death (1726–1728), during which time about twenty professed conversion. The early years of his own pastorate (1728–1731) were "a time of extraordinary dullness in religion." Licentiousness for some years, according to his own account, "greatly prevailed among the youth of the town, many of whom were much addicted to night-walking and frequenting the tavern and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others."[1] About 1731 "there began to be a sensible amendment of these evils. By 1733 the young people had become docile, and readily submitted to the guidance of their pastor." "A remarkable religious concern" began to appear during this year in a little village belonging to the Northampton congregation. In 1734 several sudden deaths occurring greatly impressed many of the ungodly.

At about the same time, according to Edwards, much

[1] Edwards' "Works," Vol. III., p. 232.

noise was being made about Arminianism, which was regarded by the more serious as a most dangerous heresy. Strange to say, this helped forward the religious awakening. Many who looked upon themselves as Christless seemed to be impressed with the idea that with the spread of Arminianism God would withdraw from New England and give it over to unbelief, and that their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past.[1] No doubt the tone of Edwards' own preaching was in part responsible for this impression. The conversion of a frivolous young woman had a remarkable awakening influence upon the entire community. In a short time there was scarcely an individual in the town, old or young, who was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. "The minds of the people were wonderfully taken off from the world." They seemed "to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty than from any disposition they had to it."[2]

From Northampton the good work spread into many other communities throughout New England, Edwards himself doing much preaching outside of his own parish, and influencing many other pastors to engage in evangelism. The activity of the Tennents (Presbyterians), chiefly in the middle colonies, but extending to New England, has already been noticed. During the progress of the revival George Whitefield came the second time to America (1741) and preached with wonderful power throughout the colonies. The details of the movement, which extended over several years and stirred the religious life of the colonies to its foundations, cannot here be given.

That a religious awakening of this kind could not have been carried forward without opposition lies in the very nature of the case. Most of the educated ministers and Harvard and Yale Colleges assumed a hostile attitude. On his first visit (during the revival) to Massachusetts Whitefield was invited to preach at Harvard, on his second visit the college was closed against him. So far as liberalism (Socinianized Arminianism) had extended its influence, so far was the revival looked upon with dis-

[1] Edwards' "Works," Vol. III., p. 232. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

favor. A great awakening of this kind is sure to be accompanied by undue emotionalism and much that is unseemly, or at least shocking, to refined sensibilities. Such ministers as Chauncey made the most of irregularities of this kind, and sought on this and other grounds to discredit the entire movement. Many of the evangelists, including Gilbert Tennent and Whitefield, were sharply censorious in their attitude toward ministers who opposed the revival, denouncing them as unconverted men, blind leaders of the blind, hypocrites, enemies of the gospel, etc. Besides attacking the irregularities of the meetings and the censoriousness of the preachers, the Socinianizing ministers sought to bring the Calvinistic teaching that underlay the movement into contempt by caricaturing it.[1]

About 1700 Increase Mather wrote: "If the begun apostasy shall proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last, surely it will come to pass that in New England (except the gospel itself depart with the order of it) the most conscientious people therein will think themselves concerned to gather churches out of churches." The "begun apostasy" continued, and in a little more than thirty years the prophecy was fulfilled. In many parishes where the minister and a majority of the parish antagonized the revival a minority that had become imbued with the spirit of the new evangelism withdrew and formed "Separate," or "New Light" churches. The conversion of great numbers of people who had been partially without church privileges led to the formation of many other "New Light" congregations. Many of those who had come under the revival influence felt that separation from the ungodly elements in the churches of the standing order and from all connection with a State-supported church was an imperative duty. In these "Separate" churches credible evidence of conversion was made a condition of fellowship.

A large number of ministers admitted that they had been performing the functions of their office as unconverted men, and professed now first to have come to a

[1] See Edwards, "Rel. Affections," "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," and "Thoughts on the Revival in New England," and Chauncey, "Seasonable Thoughts."

saving knowledge of the truth. Twenty in the neighborhood of Boston attributed their conversion to Whitefield's preaching.

Between twenty-five and fifty thousand are supposed to have been converted in New England, and the number converted in the middle and southern colonies cannot have been greatly inferior. About a hundred and fifty new Congregational churches were formed. Baptist churches were multiplied and made more zealous and aggressive. The number of Presbyterian ministers was more than doubled, and yet there were scores of vacant churches in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. The great increase in churches and ministers between 1734 and 1760 was due in part to immigration and natural increase of population.

Among the further results of the Great Awakening may be mentioned a more general recognition of the importance of a converted church-membership, and especially of a converted ministry. Before the revival, if a candidate for the ministry was found moral, educated, and orthodox, no further questions were asked. Vital godliness was henceforth insisted on, at least within the circles that had experienced the awakening influence of the movement.

Again, ministerial education was greatly promoted and along with this education in general. Princeton and Dartmouth were established through the influence of the revival.

Missionary work was also remarkably furthered in America, as in England, by the revival. The evangelism of the time was itself missionary work. Efforts for the evangelization of the North American Indians and of the settlers on the frontiers were zealously put forth with highly beneficent results. The work of David Brainerd, Daniel Marshall, and Jonathan Edwards among the Indians may be mentioned by way of illustration.

Again, the religious awakening demonstrated anew the vital power of Calvinism rightly understood and greatly increased the number of zealous exponents of New Testament teaching as systematized by Augustine and Calvin.

Further, the revival, with its "Separate" churches and its multiplied Baptist churches, did much toward destroy-

ing the pernicious parish system that had grown out of the Half-way Covenant, in accordance with which church government and the control of church property were in the power of the majority of the members of each parish, without regard to Christian character.

Lastly, by way of reaction, it promoted the growth of Socinianism that was soon to develop into avowed and aggressive anti-trinitarianism.

(5) *The Unitarian Defection.* The beginning of the nineteenth century was a period remarkable for intellectual activity. The war was over. The colonies had become a union of States. Commercial prosperity prevailed. Everything tended to stimulate hopefulness and aggressiveness. The "New Light" enthusiasm had given place to a calm but determined missionary spirit. Missionary and other philanthropic societies were being organized here and there throughout the country. Missionary periodicals were diffusing intelligence and arousing enthusiasm with reference to missionary work among the heathen. Andover Theological Seminary was founded by the evangelical party and was from the first a center of orthodoxy and of evangelical zeal.

The Arminianism of the eighteenth century was giving place to the Socinianism of Priestly and Belsham. Harvard College had opposed the revival and had become a center of Socinian influence. The writings of English Unitarians were eagerly read. American publications designed to bring orthodoxy into contempt yet not openly avowing Unitarianism were still more widely circulated. Such were "The Monthly Anthology," "The Christian Monitor," "The Hymns and Psalms" of Buckminster and Emerson, "The Improved Version of the New Testament," a reprint of Belsham's "Reply to Wilberforce," "The General Repository," etc. Hazlitt, an English Unitarian, labored in Boston about 1785 onward. In 1786, James Freeman, of Boston, persuaded his Episcopal congregation to adopt a Unitarian liturgy. Freeman was refused ordination by the Bishop of New York, but the church itself ordained him. From this time onward the Stone Chapel was avowedly Unitarian.

It was the policy of the New England Unitarians, as it had been of Socinians in general, to disseminate their

views by insinuating doubts and by denouncing the rigors of orthodoxy rather than by clearly and openly stating their own convictions.

The movement was finally brought out into the light in this wise: In 1812 Belsham published in London his "American Unitarianism, or a History of the Progress and Present State of Unitarian Churches in America." Only a few copies were sent to America, and these were carefully concealed from the orthodox. At length Doctor Morse secured a copy and had it reprinted in Boston in 1815. The excitement produced by this publication was intense. It contained documents that seriously compromised many of the ministers. Those immediately involved were thus obliged to avow their Unitarianism. Many others soon followed. It appeared that all the Congregational churches of Boston, except the Old South and the Park Street, had become Unitarian. Harvard College was also in possession of the Unitarian party. By a decision of the courts, giving control of church property to a majority in each parish, the Unitarians acquired many church buildings and endowments.

The Unitarian party being thus forced into the light, assumed a polemical attitude. The heretofore timid grew bold. Tendencies toward Unitarianism rapidly developed into Unitarianism itself. The irreligious and indifferent naturally favored a party that was careless about church discipline.

A more complete separation took place between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Heretofore the progress of Socinianism had been insidious and secret. It was no uncommon thing for a Socinian minister to become pastor of an orthodox church, and, by gradually and indirectly impressing his views, to infect the entire body. Such proceedings became far more difficult. The defenders of orthodoxy were no longer striking in the dark, but were confronted with avowed maintainers of what was believed to be ruinous error.

The orthodox now saw as they had not seen before the evils of the Half-way Covenant and of the parish system resulting therefrom. They saw themselves deprived thereby of endowments and church property, an argument of the most convincing kind. The views of John

Wise, which had made little impression when first promulgated, now secured recognition. The Presbyterian element was eliminated, modern Congregationalism pure and simple resulting. This involved complete separation between Church and State, the right and duty of the church to institute terms of church-membership, and the autonomy of the congregation.

The educational work inaugurated under the impulse of the Great Awakening was powerfully stimulated by this hand-to-hand conflict. Andover was strengthened. Yale was wrested by Timothy Dwight from the Socinians and became a stronghold of orthodoxy. Several other evangelical schools were founded.

Home and foreign missionary work, already progressive, were carried forward with renewed energy and zeal.

(6) *The Unitarian Churches.* About one hundred and twenty of the Congregational churches that had been organized before the Revolutionary War, including the original church of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, the original Salem church, and the oldest of those established in Boston and its vicinity, became Unitarian during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The growth of the denomination has been exceedingly slow and has been almost limited, it is probable, to New Englanders and their descendants. There are (1900) over four hundred congregations, with an aggregate membership of about seventy thousand, more than half of whom are in Massachusetts. Their principles are not such as to make them aggressive or evangelistic. Their influence, however, is not to be gauged by their numerical strength, for they have produced far more than their share of eminent writers, and these have indirectly influenced theological opinion to a very considerable extent. No doubt the modifications of views in other denominations as regards the five points of Calvinism, eternal punishment, the Scriptures, etc., has been due in some measure to their influence. All shades of anti-trinitarian opinion have found place among their ministers and members, from the Arian supranaturalism of a Channing and a Peabody to the transcendentalism of a Parker, an Emerson, and a Frothingham.

(7) *American Congregationalists During the Nineteenth Century.* At about the beginning of the nineteenth century a "plan of union" was entered into between Congregationalists and Presbyterians with a view to obviating the inconveniences and waste involved in the multiplication of churches of denominations agreeing in fundamentals in the growing West. It involved a free interchange of pastors, and a free transference of fellowship between the two bodies. This concession on the part of the Presbyterians was one of the bones of contention between the Old School and the New School Presbyterian parties, and was repudiated by the former at the separation (1837). It has been estimated that fully two thousand churches in the West that would have continued Congregational became Presbyterian as a result of this measure.

Notwithstanding this heavy loss and the loss by the Unitarian separation, Congregationalism has continued vigorous in New England, where the great mass of its membership resides and occupies a prominent place among the denominations in scholarship, literary productiveness, educational institutions, missionary work, and consecrated wealth. The present membership of the Congregational churches does not much exceed five hundred thousand. All shades of theological opinion have found a welcome in its ranks, from Calvinistic orthodoxy to an extreme liberalism that can scarcely be distinguished from Unitarianism. Of its theological seminaries, Andover has for the past twenty years stood for extreme liberalism ("New Theology"); Hartford and Chicago for conservative teaching; Yale has occupied an intermediate position; and Oberlin, beginning with Finney's perfectionistic evangelism, has inclined toward evangelical Arminianism in its teaching. [Written about 1900.]

In 1865, standing on Plymouth Rock, the National Council of the Congregational Churches adopted the "Burial-Hill Declaration," a very brief and irenical statement, in which essentials are reduced to a minimum and stated in very general language. It expresses the desire of the body to co-operate with all who hold to these essentials. "With them we will carry the gospel into every part of this land, and with them we will go

'into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' "

In 1883 the National Council, which had been put upon a permanent basis in 1871, adopted a new "Statement of Doctrine," considerably longer and more explicit than that of 1865. It represents an exceedingly moderate type of Calvinistic teaching and is non-committal on many questions that had been in dispute, but is evangelical and in many respects admirable.

II. THE BAPTISTS.[1]

LITERATURE: Crosby, "The Hist. of the Eng. Baptists," 1738–1740; Ivimey, "A Hist. of the Eng. Baptists," 1811–1830; Masson, "Life of John Milton and Hist. of his Time," 1859–1880; Evans, "The Early Eng. Baptists," 1862; Taylor, "The Hist. of the Eng. General Baptists," 1818; Gould, "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich," 1860; Benedict, "A General Hist. of the Baptist Denomination," 1848; Armitage, "A Hist. of the Baptists," 1887; Vedder, "A Short Hist. of the Baptists," 1892, and "A Hist. of the Baptists of the Middle States," 1897; Backus, "A Hist. of New Eng., with Particular Reference to the Den. of Christians called Baptists," new ed., 1871; Riley, "A Hist. of the Baptists in the Southern States," 1896; Burrage, "A Hist. of the Baptists in New Eng., 1894; Cathcart, "Baptist Encyclopædia," 1881; Newman, "A Hist. of the Baptist Churches in the U. S.," 6th ed., 1915.

1. *The Baptists of Great Britain, 1648 Onward.*

The Baptist cause greatly flourished during the revolutionary period. General and Particular Baptist churches multiplied. Associations were formed in various parts of England and Wales for the purpose of strengthening the churches by fraternal conference and facilitating missionary effort by concerted action. The parliamentary army was filled with Baptists, who were among the most enthusiastic advocates of civil and religious liberty and the sturdiest combatants of royal absolutism and priestcraft.

Baptists were chiefly instrumental in preventing Cromwell from accepting the royal title, which some influential supporters urged him to do, and many of them strongly disapproved of his military government.

[1] A considerable portion of the material of this section is reproduced from the author's chapter in "A Century of Baptist Achievement" (1901), edited by himself, and an article by himself in "Progress," 1896.

They were among those who labored zealously for the restoration of the Stuarts, having received from Charles II. ample assurances of toleration.

In common with other dissenters they suffered severe persecution (1662–1675). Those who held benefices were deprived by the Act of Uniformity (1662). Baptist work was greatly hampered by the Conventicle Act, the Five-mile Act, etc. The Corporation and the Test Acts bore heavily upon many Baptists, as they were excluded thereby from public employment and from the privileges of the universities, while it was open to their enemies to secure their election to public offices and then to subject them to heavy fines for refusal to qualify. It is greatly to the credit of English Baptists that while other dissenters frequently evaded the force of these acts by occasional conformity (partaking of the Supper in the established churches), only one Baptist is known to have compromised himself in this manner and he was promptly excluded.

† It might have been expected that the Act of Toleration granted by William and Mary at the beginning of their reign would lead to a great expansion of the Baptist interest. But such was far from being the case. The long period of stress and strain would seem to have exhausted the energies of Baptists of both parties and to have left them in a state of lethargy. Much of their strength for the next century was taken up with efforts for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts that still curtailed their liberty. To this end they united their forces with those of the other dissenting bodies, and they were thereby drawn into such close relations with Pedobaptist dissenters that they came to regard the emphasizing of distinctive Baptist principles as ill-mannered and unbrotherly.

‡ The Particular Baptists of England and Wales had begun to hold Associational meetings for the furtherance of brotherhood and co-operative missionary work as early as 1651. In 1665 the Western Association, made up of churches in the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, and Dorset, feeling the need of a guiding head in connectional work, appointed and ordained Thomas Collier to the office of "General Superintendent and Messenger to

all the Associated Churches." Collier had for ten years been active in evangelism and had served unofficially as a superintendent and director of the labors of a number of evangelists. These Baptists were far from being extreme independents in their church polity, and they no doubt had more regard to immediate utility than to the permanent conservation of the autonomy of the churches. The Confession of Faith set forth by this Association in 1656 breathes throughout the missionary spirit. It is affirmed (Article XXXIV.) "that as it is an ordinance of Christ, so it is the duty of his church, in his authority to send forth such brethren as are fitly gifted and qualified through the spirit of Christ, to preach the gospel to the world." In the following article the obligation to preach the gospel to the Jews is expressly recognized.

The organized work of the denomination was largely in abeyance during the reign of terror (1662–1675). The Bill of Indulgence (1675), though intended primarily for the encouragement of Roman Catholicism, made it possible for Baptists once more to become aggressive and to take measures for the advancement of their cause. The Particular Baptist pastors of London at this time sent an earnest invitation to the churches throughout England and Wales to send delegates to meet in London the following May to make arrangements for "providing an orderly standing ministry in the church, who might give themselves to reading and study and so become able ministers of the New Testament." During the Civil War and Commonwealth periods many highly educated churchmen and noncomformists had become Baptist ministers. This source of supply could no longer be depended upon, and the leaders of the denomination had come to realize the necessity of prompt and vigorous measures for the maintenance and the increase of ministerial efficiency. Such an assembly was held in 1676, when a Confession of Faith based upon the Westminster Confession was adopted. It was afterward approved by a still larger assembly in 1689, and has continued to be the favorite symbolical document of English Baptists. It was adopted early in the eighteenth century, with certain modifications, by the Philadelphia Association, and

in this form has exerted widespread influence on American Baptist life and thought. The assembly of 1689, after the promulgation of the Act of Toleration, was in many respects the most important ever held by English Baptists. The assembly was careful to "disclaim any manner of superiority and superintendency over the churches." Difference of conviction and practice in point of communion is recognized and each church is left free to walk together as it has received from the Lord.

Owing to the difficulty of getting the churches to send representatives every year to so great a distance as the maintenance of a single assembly involved, it was decided in 1692 to divide the body into two, the one to meet in Bristol, the other in London. "These assemblies," it was agreed, "are not to be accountable to one another any more than churches are." It was further decided that churches should not make appeals to the assemblies to determine matters of faith or fact. Reports of both the assemblies are to be sent to all the churches.

At about this time a grievous controversy was raging in the Particular Baptist body as to "whether the praises of God should be sung in the public assemblies." Kiffin, Cox, Keach, Steed, and many others, were involved. All parties agreed to "refer the matter to the determination of seven brethren nominated by this assembly." The committee administered a scathing rebuke for the unbrotherly language that had been employed, to which the veterans submitted humbly. Singing was approved.

The Bristol assembly seems for many years to have been more vigorously sustained than the London. This was due, no doubt, in part to the fact that a Bristol Baptist, Edward Terrill, had left in trust with the Broadmead Church a legacy for ministerial education, and that Bristol, early in the eighteenth century (1720 onward) came to be the educational center of the Particular Baptists.

Efforts were made during the later years of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth to bring Particular Baptists and General Baptists closer together, and to this end the differences between the two parties were minimized by such men as Benjamin Stinton. Thomas Hollis, the wealthy Baptist business man who contributed so liberally to the Baptist cause in Eng-

land, and endowment of Harvard University, preferred to worship regularly in a Pedobaptist church. If the Hollis family, with their great wealth and their remarkable generosity, had been stanch Baptists they might have given tone to the Baptist life of England.

The General Baptists, following the footsteps of the Mennonites, to whom they were from the beginning closely related, adopted a semi-presbyterial form of church government, giving to each aggrieved person a right to appeal to other churches, then to the Association or general meeting, and at last to the General Assembly. Thus every local quarrel was propagated throughout the entire connection and the churches were ruined by controversy. The rigorous exercise of discipline on the ground of differences of opinion drove out of the body many of its ministers and intelligent members. With a few exceptions, the General Baptist churches of England became Unitarian by about the middle of the century, as did so many churches of other denominations during this period (eighteenth century).

The Particular Baptists, so far as they were not drawn into the maelstrom of Socinian indifferentism, reacted against the current rationalism so far as to become hyper-Calvinistic, and in some cases Antinomian. They looked upon the salvation or the damnation of each individual as so absolutely fixed by Divine decree, that exhortations to sinners and missionary work in general were looked upon as not only useless, but as an impertinent meddling with the Divine plans. That the Particular Baptists should have greatly declined during the eighteenth century was what might have been expected.

One of the most aggressive and influential organizations among the English Baptists during the eighteenth century was the Society of Ministers of the Particular Baptist Persuasion, meeting at the Gloucestershire Coffee-house, organized in 1724, which raised money for the assistance of needy churches and ministers, for the distribution of religious literature, and for other religious and philanthropical purposes, passed upon qualifications of candidates for the ministry, and took measures for the silencing of unworthy ministers. It led the denomination in efforts to secure the redress of grievances, undertook

to defend the honor of the denomination when it was assailed from time to time, corresponded with Baptists in the American colonies, counseled them, extended to them financial aid when required, interceded with the home government on behalf of persecuted brethren in the colonies, and in many ways furthered the interests of the denomination at home and abroad. The authority of this body was a purely moral one and depended on its reputation for wisdom and its command of resources. That complaints should sometimes arise of undue assumption of authority and interference with the independence of the churches on the part of this body might have been expected. It was a self-constituted body, its members not even representing the churches of which they were members and pastors in any official way. It was by no means an ideal arrangement; but it is probable that these associated ministers did a work for the denomination and for the cause of Christ that would otherwise have been left undone.

The evangelical revival, led by the Wesleys and Whitefield, was of momentous importance to the Baptists, as it was to the established church and to the various dissenting bodies. It found the Particular Baptists greatly reduced in numbers and influence. The educational work that had been inaugurated at Bristol on the Terrill foundation was conducted in a very feeble and ineffective way during the first half of the eighteenth century; yet a considerable number of able ministers received their training there. The London Baptists were still a respectable body and were exerting a strong and, upon the whole, beneficent influence on the life of the denomination. Several of the Particular Baptist Associations, of which the records have been preserved, devoted much attention to the promotion of godly living and orthodox teaching, and sought to guard against Socinianism on the one hand and Antinomianism on the other. Yet it is evident that there was an almost irresistible drift toward these extremes, and the number of those who were able to steer safely between Scylla and Charybdis steadily diminished. Those inclined toward Socinianism could have no sympathy with the enthusiastic evangelism of Wesley and Whitefield, which to them savored of

fanaticism. Those who had carried their Calvinistic teaching to the Antinomian extreme looked upon the new evangelism as an almost blasphemous interference with the plans and purposes of God. As might have been expected, the religious awakening not only failed to win these classes to its support, but tended to drive them to more extreme statements of their opinions. But many who were less thoroughly committed to these extreme and unevangelical views were won to the support of the evangelical cause, and the numbers of its opponents steadily dwindled.

It was to Andrew Fuller, more than to any other individual, that the restoration of the Particular Baptist body to its original evangelical position was due. Brought up in an illiterate community, with few educational advantages, he came under the influence of the great evangelical movement. The writings of Jonathan Edwards, the great American theologian and evangelist, seem to have greatly aided him in coming to right conceptions of evangelical truth. Through his great activity as a preacher and a writer, multitudes were brought to see the consistency between a true preaching of the doctrines of grace and the most earnest efforts for the salvation of sinners. His career as a leader extended over the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth. Bristol College was greatly strengthened and brought to support this evangelical type of Calvinism.

It is probable that, while Fuller and his associates by their advocacy of missions accomplished so much for the heathen, the results of their widespread visitation of the churches throughout England and Scotland for the evangelization of the home churches were of even greater importance. The Baptist cause in Great Britain was by Fuller's public activity raised to a higher plane, and gained a recognition at the hands of leaders of other denominations that had been wanting for some generations. The marvelous preaching of Robert Hall, at Cambridge, during the last decade of the century likewise contributed powerfully to the reputation and the influence of the denomination. This general recognition of the merits of Baptist leaders by other denominations and by churchmen

no doubt promoted the practice and defense of open communion, but affected adversely the denominational aggressiveness.

From the foregoing facts it is evident that the Particular Baptists at the close of the eighteenth century were awakening from their lethargy and were entering upon a great career of growth in numbers and beneficence.

The General Baptist cause at the beginning of the evangelical revival was even more deplorable than that of the Particular Baptists. As a result of much effort and by the influence of Dan Taylor (b. 1738), who seemed raised up to rescue the cause, representatives of fifteen churches in various parts of England met in London, June 6, 1770, to form "the New Connection of General Baptist churches, with a design to revive experimental religion or primitive Christianity in faith and practice." The articles of faith adopted recognize the fallen condition of men, who are "captives of Satan set at liberty by Christ"; insist upon "the perpetual obligation of the moral law" (against hyper-Calvinistic Antinomianism); carefully set forth the deity and humanity of Christ and the potential universality of the atonement wrought by him, which becomes available to individuals solely by faith, a faith that "produces good works"; maintain the duty of offering salvation by faith freely to all; teach that regeneration is the work of the Holy Spirit; and make immersion "the indispensable duty of all who repent and believe the gospel."

Considerable prosperity attended the labors of the ministers and churches of the New Connection during the remainder of the century. A number of General Baptist churches constituting the Lincolnshire Association made repeated overtures for a union with the New Connection. To this end the New Connection was urged to make the conditions of membership less rigorous as regards the signing of the Confession and the personal religious experience of ministers, and to agree to cooperate with the old General Assembly, which continued to meet in London. But Taylor, the originator of the movement, and his associates were unyielding, being more anxious to maintain the purity of the body than to increase its numbers. One by one

these churches accepted Taylor's terms of fellowship, and by the close of the century a large proportion had joined the New Connection. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the New Connection numbered in its fellowship forty churches and three thousand four hundred members. It is not probable that the General Baptists of the old order equaled this number, as many of their churches were in a declining state.

The New Connection established in 1798 an academy for the training of ministers. Sunday-schools were organized as early as 1800.

The history of British Baptists from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time has been a highly honorable one. In 1800 the Particular Baptists of England, Wales, and Ireland numbered considerably less than forty thousand, and the General Baptists had less than a hundred small churches whose membership would not probably aggregate five thousand. While we have no means of determining the membership of these bodies in 1660, it is safe to say that it was greater than in 1800. But both bodies were now in the ascendant, owing to the evangelical revival and the awakening of the missionary spirit. Andrew Fuller, who with Carey had inaugurated the missionary movement among Baptists, was still to labor for fifteen years advancing the cause of world-wide evangelization and disseminating an evangelical type of Calvinistic teaching that was to dominate the Particular Baptist body. The scholarly John Ryland was to continue for twenty-five years as pastor at Bristol and president of the Baptist college there. Robert Hall, whose majestic eloquence had been for ten years attracting great audiences made up chiefly of intellectual people of other persuasions (from the university and elsewhere), as pastor of the Baptist chapel at Cambridge, was to continue his ministry there for some years into the new century (1806), and at Leicester and Bristol for a quarter of a century more was to be the great light of his denomination. His advocacy of open communion was influential in causing many of the Baptist churches of England (not those of Wales) to adopt it. As Robert Hall was the most eloquent English preacher during the early decades of the century, so

Spurgeon for popular pulpit power and world-wide influence during the second half of the century was not only pre-eminent in his own age but unparalleled in any age, and Alexander McLaren has for more than a generation commanded the admiration of people of all denominations by his rare combination of scholarly and popular qualities.

The foreign mission work of the Baptists of Britain has been pressed with vigor and received the most generous support. It seems to have the foremost place in the hearts of British Baptists.

Home mission work has to a somewhat smaller extent enlisted their interest, but much money has been contributed for this purpose and much valuable work has been accomplished.

The Baptists of Britain have fallen far behind their American brethren in the matter of denominational education. About eight poorly equipped and inadequately endowed institutions prepare men for the ministry, providing combined literary and theological courses.

British Baptists have co-operated heartily with the other great dissenting bodies in the struggle for religious equality, and are to-day leading in aggressive effort for the deliverance of popular education from the thraldom of the Church of England. [Written in 1900.]

In 1812 the Baptist Union was formed for the purpose of directing the public meetings of the various societies of the denomination, but it did not become a pronounced success until about 1832. An estimate of the relative strength of the denomination at this time as compared with that of 1790 showed that churches and ministers had increased three-fold.

General Baptists joined with the Particular Baptists in the Union, maintaining their own societies and colleges independently until 1891, when a complete fusion of the two parties occurred. The two bodies had for many years been gradually becoming assimilated in opinion and practice. The withdrawal of Mr. Spurgeon and a considerable number of ministers closely attached to him from the Baptist Union because of the toleration by the Union of lax teachings respecting the Scriptures, the atonement, eternal punishment, etc., ("Down Grade" controversy,

1887–1889), no doubt made the complete union of the two parties easier. Mr. Spurgeon had insisted on the Union's making a declaration of faith as a test of fellowship that would have ruled out most or all of the General Baptist ministers and churches as well as many of those who belonged to the Particular body.

A large proportion of the English Baptists have come under the influence of modern liberal thought, and many churches nominally Baptist admit Pedobaptists not only to communion but also to church-membership without requiring them to submit to believers' baptism.

The Welsh and Scotch Baptist churches and a small party among English Baptists (with Manchester Baptist College as its theological seminary) are in doctrine and practice nearer to the American type. The present membership of the Baptist churches of Great Britain is about five hundred thousand. On the various foreign fields cultivated by the Baptists of Britain there are about thirty thousand converts (1900).

2. *American Baptists.*

Our survey of American Baptist history to the beginning of the present century may well be made briefer than the British, inasmuch as the facts are more familiar to a large majority of readers. Reference has already been made (p. 288) to the founding of Rhode Island and the first American Baptist churches.

The first in America to advocate Baptist principles, so far as we are informed, was Roger Williams. Born about 1604, educated at Cambridge (B. A., 1627), he became an ardent Nonconformist and at great personal sacrifice emigrated to New England to escape the persecuting measures of Archbishop Laud. During his pastorate at Plymouth he spent much time among the Indians, mastering their language and seeking to promote their moral and spiritual welfare. As pastor of the Salem church (1634–1635) he became involved in local controversies and in controversies with the Massachusetts authorities. As advocating opinions dangerous to the common welfare he was banished in 1635. He made his way amid winter's hardships and perils to Narragansett Bay, where he

was joined by a number of Massachusetts sympathizers and founded a colony on the basis of soul-liberty, which with the co-operation of John Clarke and others was developed into Rhode Island.

By 1639 Williams had become convinced that infant baptism was unwarranted by Scripture and a perversion of a Christian ordinance, and with eleven others introduced believers' baptism, and formed at Providence the first American Baptist church. Coddington, who was in Rhode Island at the time, accused Williams as at one time insisting on immersion, and as Williams remained with the Baptists only a short time, it is natural to apply his remark to the time of the introduction of believers' baptism. This church, after Williams' withdrawal, continued for years in an exceedingly weak state. The General Baptist type of teaching, with insistence on the laying-on of hands as an ordinance of Christ, came to prevail by 1652, and the opponents of this view withdrew to form a new congregation.

The second American Baptist church was that formed at Newport, about 1641, under the leadership of John Clarke. Clarke arrived at Boston in November, 1637, when persecuting measures were being inaugurated against Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers on account of their Antinomian teachings. How far he sympathized with Mrs. Hutchinson's views at this time we have no means of knowing. But he cast in his lot with the persecuted party and led them in seeking a new home in unsettled territory. Through the kindly offices of Roger Williams they secured from the natives a title to Aquidneck Island. Here they founded a government in which the headship of Christ was recognized and which was purely democratic in form. This colony united with Williams' Providence colony in procuring a charter in which civil and religious liberty was fully provided for. Clarke deserves quite as much credit as Williams for this feature of Rhode Island polity, and his services in England on behalf of the colony were quite as distinguished. For some time Clarke, who was physician and theologian as well as statesman, ministered to the entire community in religious things. About 1641 or earlier Clarke and a number of his fellow-colonists became "professed Ana-

baptists," and began to hold their meetings apart. In what form and under what circumstances they introduced believers' baptism we are not informed; but about 1644 Mark Lukar, who was among the English Separatists who were immersed in 1641 (1642) became a member of the Newport church. If immersion was not practised from the beginning, it was no doubt introduced on Lukar's arrival. The Newport church was full of missionary zeal. Members of this body sought to form a Baptist church at Seekonk, Massachusetts, in 1649, but were thwarted by the authorities. In 1651 Clarke and two of his brethren suffered severe treatment at the hands of the Massachusetts authorities for conducting religious services at Lynn. Clarke narrates these sufferings and denounces Massachusetts intolerance in "Ill News from New England" (1652).

As already indicated, the Massachusetts government pursued a policy of extermination toward Baptists and no permanent organization of Baptist life was allowed until late in the century. Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College (1640–1655), was obliged, under circumstances of great hardship, to relinquish his position because of his persistence in opposing the baptism of infants. In 1663 John Myles, a Welsh Baptist pastor, emigrated to Massachusetts with his church, secured a grant of land near the Rhode Island frontier, and established a settlement and church, which they named Swansea. Here they enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. The First Baptist Church of Boston was organized in 1665, and for years suffered grievously at the hands of the authorities. In 1682 a small band of Baptists, several of whom had been members of the Boston church, formed an organization at Kittery, Maine. Driven from Maine soon afterward they settled in South Carolina, and formed the Charleston church, about 1684. In the Quaker colonies, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Baptists appeared about 1682, and by 1707 at least six churches had been organized. They were largely Welsh, but included a considerable number from New England. The Philadelphia Association was formed in 1707, and became a chief means of extending and conserving Baptist influence. As late as 1729 there were in New Eng-

land only three Calvinistic Baptist churches, while there were two Sabbatarian and thirteen General Baptist churches. The latter had for some time held annual Associational meetings. The Charleston church had also come under Arminian influence and had been almost wrecked by internal strife. It is not probable that the entire Baptist membership in America much exceeded five hundred at the beginning of the Great Awakening (1733).

With few exceptions, the Baptists of 1740 were not aggressive or enterprising. They held aloof from the Great Awakening led by Edwards, Whitefield, the Tennents, etc., refusing in some cases to open their churches for evangelistic services. And yet no denomination profited more largely by the revival. The Philadelphia Association from 1750 onward exerted a stimulating and molding influence on the feeble Baptist churches in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and secured the organization of many new churches and the formation of Associations for the conservation and advancement of Baptist life.

The Baptist cause in New England had received a large increment of life and strength in connection with the Great Awakening about the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of the Baptist churches that had been previously organized opposed the movement and closed their doors even to such preachers as Whitefield and the Tennents; but many of the Congregationalists of the New Light type reached the conviction that the pure and spiritual church-membership for which they contended and for which they separated from the churches of the Standing Order could be secured only by the rejection of infant baptism and the baptism of believers into church-fellowship on a profession of saving faith. These Separate or New Light Baptists soon greatly outnumbered the Regulars and were able at last to secure recognition from these. The New Light Baptists proved far more aggressive than the Regulars in evangelism and in efforts to secure civil and religious equality. Under the leadership of Backus, Manning, Hezekiah Smith, and others, the Warren Association had been formed for co-operative work, Rhode Island College had been estab-

lished, and an uncompromising warfare against the established church had been inaugurated.

New England Baptists made far less progress during the revolutionary time (1774–1783) and during the rest of the century than did their brethren in the South. The chief cause of the difference in prosperity seems to have been as follows: In Virginia and throughout the South the Standing Order (Episcopalian) had grown exceedingly unpopular, owing to the corruption of its ministers and their lack of sympathy with the aspirations of the masses of the people for civil liberty. Baptists threw themselves heartily into the revolutionary cause and gained such popularity that they went forward by leaps and bounds and were able to secure a full recognition of their religious equality and the complete separation of Church and State. In New England, on the other hand, the Standing Order was less corrupt and constituted the bone and sinew of the patriotic cause. Baptists at the very outbreak of the Revolution were agitating for a redress of their grievances, and at a critical time, when the energies of the New England people were concentrated on the necessity of resisting what was regarded as British tyranny, Baptists persisted in thrusting their demands for religious equality on the attention of the authorities, and they even threatened to withhold their co-operation in revolutionary efforts and to appeal to the English government for the rights denied them by the colonial. New England Baptists were not lacking in patriotism after the Revolution had begun; but they had lost greatly in popularity and could not hope either to win the masses to their cause or to secure a speedy redress of their grievances. The nineteenth century had made considerable progress before religious equality was secured by the Baptists for themselves and others in Massachusetts and Connecticut. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were fewer Baptists in the New England States combined than in Virginia alone, while the number of Baptists in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware did not much exceed that of North Carolina.

While the Philadelphia Association was, throughout the early and middle portions of the eighteenth century, a great evangelizing body, exercising a powerful molding

influence on the Baptist life of the Southern and Middle States, and instrumental in the founding of Rhode Island College (Brown University), it had failed to utilize the religious forces of the Great Awakening and had gained no advantage from the patriotic quickening of the revolutionary time. Morgan Edwards, one of the influential members of the Association, earnestly opposed the Revolution, and it is probable that a large proportion of the Baptists of the Middle States fell short of the chivalric devotion to the revolutionary cause that redounded so largely to the advantage of their Southern brethren.

Baptist work was still in its infancy in the Northwest. The Miami Association in Ohio, with ten churches and two hundred and ninety-one members, and four other small churches in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, were all that the beginning of the century could show in what was to prove one of the most fruitful fields of Baptist enterprise.

In Virginia Separate Baptists led in the glorious struggle for civil and religious liberty (1775–1799) and secured the co-operation of the Regulars. The two parties united in 1785. The Virginia Baptists were largely instrumental in securing religious liberty for all, and at last in compassing the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church and the confiscation of its glebe lands, etc. To them also was due in part the ample provision for liberty of conscience in the United States Constitution. In New England Separate Baptists, like Backus, co-operated with Baptists of the Philadelphia type, like Manning, Smith, Davis, and Stillman, in an equally heroic but less successful struggle for absolute religious liberty and equality. The services of American Baptists in the cause of civil and religious liberty are acknowledged by scholars of other denominations.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Baptists of America numbered about one hundred thousand. They had only one educational institution of high grade, Rhode Island College (Brown University), which had been founded in 1763. They had many Associations, but no State Conventions, no missionary or publication societies, no Sunday-schools, no religious newspapers or magazines. They had participated largely in the great

revivals of the last years of the eighteenth century, and were to participate as fully in those of the early years of the nineteenth. A large proportion of the membership of the denomination was comparatively illiterate, as were most of its ministers. The number of liberally educated ministers in the denomination at that time was exceedingly small.

By 1812 American Baptists numbered about one hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and seventy-two, of whom thirty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-two were in New England, twenty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-five in the Middle States, and the rest in the South. Most of the numerical increase had been secured through the labors of illiterate evangelists, and the Baptist population in the South and West, apart from a few churches in Virginia, the Charleston Association, some churches in the neighborhood of Savannah, and the Georgia Association, was strongly prejudiced against an educated ministry and against missionary work of any kind conducted by Boards and supported by contributions from the churches.

Since the beginning of the century Baptists in Boston and vicinity, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and a few other places, had taken a practical interest in the missionary work of Carey and his associates in India. The conversion to Baptist views of Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, who had gone to India to open up a mission for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1812, thrust upon the denomination the obligation to enter upon organized, independent work in the foreign field. Local missionary societies were formed in many of the more intelligent communities, largely through the efforts of Rice, who had returned for the purpose of providing a basis of support for a Baptist mission, and in 1814 representatives of such societies met in Philadelphia and formed the Triennial Convention. This meeting brought together the leading Baptist ministers from all parts of the country. Within a few years there grew up in connection with this national organization for foreign missions, home mission, publication, and educational societies.

The more intelligent portions of the denomination were

greatly stimulated by the foreign mission movement. State Conventions were formed in nearly all the States (1821 onward) for the promotion of missionary and evangelical work. Denominational colleges and theological seminaries sprang up with wonderful rapidity. Baptist newspapers arose and multiplied. Sunday-school work was carried forward with vigor. The introduction of so many innovations alarmed the ignorant and unprogressive elements of the denomination, and a large proportion of the Baptists of the South and Southwest zealously antagonized the missionary movement, with all its accessories. Yet the party of progress triumphed.

The Regular Baptists of the United States, according to the latest statistical report, number four million fifty-five thousand eight hundred and six, and are divided into three great sections: the Northern, the Southern, and the Colored. These divisions affect only the home and foreign mission work of the denomination. The Southern Baptists organized separately in 1845, on account of the anti-slavery agitation. They have their missionary and Sunday-school organizations. The Northern Baptists unite in the work of the American Baptist Missionary Union and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The American Baptist Publication Society seeks to serve all parts of the denomination. The Baptist Young People's Union takes in North and South alike. So does the American Baptist Education Society. The denomination has six theological seminaries (Newton, Rochester, Hamilton, Crozer, Chicago, Louisville, and the Theological Department of Baylor University), colleges and universities too numerous to name, including Brown University, Columbian University, the University of Chicago, Vassar College, Colgate, Rochester, Colby, Wake Forest, Denison, Franklin, Richmond, Furman, Mercer, Howard, Georgetown, Kalamazoo, Bethel, Des Moines, Central, Southwestern, Shurtleff, Carson and Newman, Baylor, and William Jewell. It has periodicals multitudinous. It has a literature, religious and general, that in quantity and quality compares favorably with that of the other leading denominations. [Written, 1900.]

The Baptists of the Dominion of Canada are more closely related in doctrine and practice to those of the

United States, than to those of Great Britain, though a large number of English Baptists have from time to time reinforced the Canadian churches. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only a few weak churches in the Maritime Provinces and in what are now Ontario and Quebec. At present there are in Canada about one hundred thousand Baptists, fully equipped with missionary societies, educational institutions, and religious publications. The Baptists of Ontario and Quebec possess a well-endowed university (McMaster University, Toronto) with a fully equipped theological department. The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces have in Acadia University one of the oldest and best of the educational institutions of that region (1900).

(2) *Other Anti-Pedobaptist Parties.* Besides the Regular Baptists of America there are several denominations of Christians that have much in common with them. The most important of these are :

a. The Christians.[1] As a result of the great revival of the beginning of the nineteenth century several denominations were formed in different parts of the United States on the basis of eschewing all creeds and forms and making the Scriptures the only standard of faith and practice. In 1804 five Presbyterian ministers of Kentucky and Ohio, including Marshall, Stone, and McNemar, having been suspended from the ministry by the Presbyterian Synod for Arminian teaching, organized themselves into the Springfield Presbytery, and set forth in the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery" their plans and purposes. Several of them and many of their followers soon reached the conviction that infant baptism was without scriptural authorization, and that apostolic baptism was immersion. Some years earlier (1792) James O'Kelley, a Methodist presiding elder in Virginia, had revolted from the authority of the bishop and had formed a "Christian" denomination, which attained to considerable proportions. In 1800 Abner Jones, a Baptist minister in Vermont, became greatly disturbed "in regard to sectarian names and human creeds," formed an independent "Christian" church and was soon joined

[1] See Carroll, "The Religious Forces in the United States," p. 91 *seq.*, and Art. in Schaff-Herzog.

by a number of other Baptist and Free-will Baptist pastors and churches. These three bodies, independent in their origin, soon entered into fellowship with each other and formed a denomination known as "Christians," which has reached a membership of over a hundred thousand. They are Arminian in doctrine (some of them verging on Arian denial of the absolute deity of Christ), practise believers' baptism, but do not make immersion a term of church-membership, practise unrestricted communion, repudiate creeds and doctrinal tests of all kinds, and are content with the Bible as their sole guide in religion. Stone and many of his followers identified themselves with the similar and more radical movement led by Alexander Campbell (1900).

b. The Disciples of Christ.[1] In 1807 Thomas Campbell, a Seceding Presbyterian minister from the north of Ireland, settled in Pennsylvania. By 1811 his young son Alexander, who had studied in the University of Glasgow and had come under the influence of Sandemanianism and that of the Haldanes, was ready to join with his father in a reformation on the basis of the repudiation of human creeds and practices in religion and adherence to the Bible as the sole guide. In 1811 they adopted believers' immersion as the only scriptural baptism, and from this time onward Alexander took charge of the movement. In 1813 their independent church united with the Redstone Baptist Association, and in 1823, owing to controversy that had arisen in the Redstone, with the Mahoning Association of Ohio.

The Baptists of western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, etc., were at this time hyper-Calvinistic in their teaching, laid great stress on the Philadelphia Confession as a standard of fellowship, and most of their ministers were illiterate and unedifying. In scholarship and impressiveness of address Alexander Campbell was greatly superior to most of the Baptist ministers of the region that came under his influence. A considerable number of the churches of the Baptist Associations with which he had labored accepted his views before 1827, and controversy arose

[1] See Tyler, "History of the Disciples of Christ," in "Am. Ch. Hist. Series," Vol. XII., with bibliography there given, and Art. in Schaff-Herzog.

that led to exclusion of the Campbells and their followers from the Baptist fellowship at this time. Having secured the co-operation of B. W. Stone they entered with more zeal than ever upon the propagation of their teaching. Their opposition to missionary societies and all kinds of human institutions in connection with religion proved highly attractive to multitudes of Baptists who were already in arms against the foreign mission enterprise, Sunday-schools, prayer meetings, etc., and the confident tone and (to them) wonderful learning of Alexander Campbell, combined with his strong personality and remarkable industry and zeal in bringing his influence to bear with tongue and pen, gave him great acceptance with the people. He laid much stress on the baptismal act as connected with the remission of sins, repudiated all formal statements of the doctrine of the Trinity, contenting himself with Scripture language, made of faith little more than intellectual belief in the divine sonship of a historical personage, put little emphasis on the emotional element in repentance and conversion, was strongly anti-Calvinistic in his anthropology and theology, and insisted that the Holy Spirit operates only through the word (meaning apparently the Scriptures rather than the divine Logos).

The Disciples now constitute a great denomination of about eight hundred thousand members, and are thoroughly equipped with educational institutions, missionary societies, publication societies, periodical press, etc. They have become considerably divided among themselves, many of them repudiating foreign missions, ministerial education, and human institutions in general, while the progressive majority have become more and more assimilated to other evangelical denominations in their methods of work and in their conceptions of Christianity. There is less difference to-day between the progressive Disciples and the Baptists than there was between Alexander Campbell and the Baptists of 1830 (1900).

c. The Free-will Baptists.[1] In 1779 Benjamin Randall, of New Hampshire, who had been converted through

[1] See Stewart, "Hist. of the Free-will Baptists," 1862; Carroll, "Religious Forces in the U. S.," p. 33 *seq.*; Newman, "A Hist. of the Bapt. Churches in the U. S.," p. 269 *seq.*; and Art. in Schaff-Herzog.

Whitefield's preaching (1770), but had from Wesleyan Methodism derived his Arminian views, was arraigned for heresy and disfellowshiped by a Baptist council. The charges brought against him were the preaching of unlimited atonement and of the freedom of the will. He immediately gained a considerable following, chiefly from the Regular Baptists of the New England States, and his views were widely disseminated in the Maritime Provinces of the Dominion of Canada. The Free-will churches held their first General Conference in 1827. Besides holding to Arminian views the Free-will Baptists practise open communion. Their present membership is about one hundred thousand (1900).

d. Primitive Baptists. A large number of Baptist churches and Associations, chiefly in the South and Southwest, assumed a malignant attitude toward the foreign missionary cause, ministerial education, and all "human institutions," and have so continued to the present time. They are of several types, and are without any general organization. Their main reliance for the maintenance of their existence is in shutting out educational influences, and they exist to-day chiefly in the mountainous regions and in communities where educational facilities are meager. According to the census of 1890 there were considerably more than one hundred thousand Baptists of this type. They teach an extreme and harsh type of Calvinism, practise feet-washing, and are bitterly opposed to Sunday-schools, prayer meetings, Bible societies, temperance societies, and in fact to every sort of "human institution."

e. The Church of God.[1] This denomination was founded by John Winnebrenner, a German Reformed minister of Pennsylvania, in 1830. Like the Christians and Disciples they repudiate sectarian names and human creeds and insist upon the sufficiency of the Scriptures without note or comment for the guidance of believers. They practise the immersion of believers. They drew their members, presumably, chiefly from the German Reformed body. They have at present a membership of something over twenty thousand (1900).

[1] Carroll, "Religious Forces," p. 102 *seq.*, and Encyclopædia Articles on Winnebrenner.

f. The Dunkards.[1] A party of German origin having much in common with Primitive Baptists, emigrated in considerable numbers to America 1719 onward. Like the Waldenses and Anabaptists they have a connexional organization and a three-fold ministry (bishops, ministers, and deacons), practise trine immersion, feet-washing, love-feasts, and the kiss of charity, and insist upon the greatest simplicity in dress. A large proportion of them are still resisting innovations in the direction of ministerial education, Sunday-schools, missions, and freedom in dress; but a progressive element is seeking to minimize the peculiarities of the denomination and to bring it into accord with modern ideas. It has a membership of about seventy thousand in the United States and Canada (1900).

g. The Mennonites. These are emigrants from Germany, Russia, and the Netherlands, and have maintained the party divisions of their European brethren and have added some of their own. They agree with Baptists in rejecting infant baptism; but a large majority of them practise pouring as the act of baptism. They maintain their connexional organization, and their organization is presbyterial rather than congregational. In the United States and Canada they have a membership of about seventy-five thousand (1900).

h. The Seventh-Day Baptists.[2] These originated in the seventeenth century, and have perpetuated themselves with considerable vigor, but without much increase in membership. They agree with Baptists respecting the ordinance of baptism, but they spend their strength in contending that the substitution of the Lord's Day for the Jewish Sabbath is a heathen perversion that involves a plain violation of a command of God meant to be of perpetual obligation. Their type of thought is distinctly Judaizing. They have at present a membership of about ten thousand (1900).

III. THE METHODISTS AND RELATED PARTIES.

LITERATURE: Stevens, "Hist. of Methodism," 1858, "Hist. of the M. E. Church," 1864, and "The Centenary of Am. Methodism," 1866; Taylor, "Wesley and Methodism," 1860; McTyeire,

[1] Carroll, "Religious Forces," p. 129 *seq.*, and Encyclopædia Articles.
[2] Carroll, "Religious Forces," p. 31 *seq.*; Newman, "Bapt. Ch. in the U. S.," pp. 110 *seq.*, 204, and 485 *seq.*

"A Hist. of Methodism," 1884; Atkinson, "Centennial Hist. of Am. Methodism," 1884; Buckley, "A Hist. of the Methodists in the United States," 1896 (contains fine bibliography); a history of Methodism, by Bishop Hurst, to be completed in six volumes, is in course of publication and should be the standard work on the subject.

Sufficient notice has already been taken of the founder of Methodism and his chief coadjutors, of the type of life, doctrine, and Christian activity represented by the movement, and of the influence of the revival led by Wesley and Whitefield on other bodies of Christians and on modern Christianity in general. It has been observed that Wesley was strongly averse to separation from the Church of England and until late in life, though he did much that tended toward and logically involved separation, he refused to admit that separation was inevitable. The following summary of the history of the movement by Bishop Hurst[1] will give an idea of the evolution of Methodism:

1738, John Wesley's conversion; 1739, the first class meeting, or the origin of the Methodists as a special body, and the beginning of open-air preaching and of lay preaching; 1740, Methodism becomes differentiated from Calvinism and Moravianism; 1744, the first Conference (six clergymen and five lay preachers), which fixes doctrine and polity on substantially the same basis as at present; 1747, a tract society formed; 1748, the first academy opened; 1763, a fund for superannuated ministers established; 1778, the "Arminian Magazine" started . . ; 1784, all hope of amalgamation with the Church of England or any other denomination set at rest by Wesley entering in the Court of Chancery a deed for the permanent constitution of the Conference; 1784, Wesley ordains Coke superintendent and Whatcoat and Vasey elders—the climax to a long series of acts inconsistent with his identity with the Church of England; 1785, Wesley ordains Pawson, Hanby, and Taylor as presbyters to officiate in Scotland; 1786, ordains Keighley and Atmore for England and Warrener and Hammett for missions abroad, and consents to holding services in church hours; 1787–1789, ordains several presbyters and Mason as superintendent; 1788, death of Charles Wesley . . ; 1790, further plans for the consolidation of Methodism—Wesley still presiding in the Conference session; 1791, death of John Wesley.

In 1790 there were about one hundred and twenty thousand members in the Wesleyan societies or churches, of whom more than a third were in the United States.

[1] "Hist. of the Christian Church," Vol. II., p. 828.

1. *British Methodists, 1791–1900.*

For many years dissension interfered somewhat seriously with the progress of Methodism in England. A considerable party insisted on adhering to Wesley's original plan of continuing in union with the Church of England. Others were urgent for complete separation. The unionist party triumphed for the time. Some, in opposition to Wesley's position, insisted upon lay representation in the Conference, others opposed. In 1795 a "Plan of Pacification" adopted by the Conference conceded a measure of lay representation and advanced somewhat in the direction of separation. The party of separation were still dissatisfied and seceded from the Conference in 1797 with about five thousand members (The Methodist New Connection). The Primitive Methodist Connection grew out of the refusal of the Conference to approve of camp-meetings, an American institution (1810). They gained a large following and have at present a membership of about two hundred thousand. The Bible Christians separated from the Wesleyan Methodists in 1815 from dissatisfaction with the remuneration of the itinerant preachers and opposition to the use of the term "Reverend" as a ministerial title. They also went further than the Wesleyan Conference in the matter of encouraging female preaching and lay representation. In 1816 a more important schism occurred in Ireland, where nine thousand withdrew because of the use of church hours for Methodist services (Primitive Wesleyan Methodists). They were reunited with the main body in 1877. In 1834 the Wesleyan Methodist Association was formed of twenty thousand seceders, who withdrew, under the leadership of Samuel Warren, as a protest against the establishment of a theological seminary by the Conference. About the middle of the nineteenth century widespread dissatisfaction with the centralization of power in the Conference and the refusal of the body to make any concessions in response to repeated and numerously signed petitions led to the withdrawal of about a hundred thousand members of the three hundred and fifty-eight thousand which the denomination then contained (1850 onward). Some of these united with the Protes-

tant Methodists, who had gone out in 1825, and the Wesleyan Methodist Association, to form the United Methodist Free Churches (1857), a body that has attained to considerable numerical strength. Others formed the Wesleyan Reform Union, which did not greatly prosper. The Wesleyan Methodist body soon more than regained its former strength, having increased its membership from two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight in 1855, to five hundred and nine thousand three hundred and sixty-seven in 1881. It constitutes to-day one of the largest and most influential bodies of dissenters in Great Britain. An indication of the strength and enthusiasm of the Wesleyans is the recent successful effort to raise a million guineas, as a twentieth century fund for education, missions, church building, etc. (1900).

2. *American Methodists, 1766–1900.*

Methodism invaded America in a feeble way in 1766 and met with so much opposition that it made little headway before the Revolution. The first American Conference was held in 1773, when the aggregate membership reported was one thousand one hundred and sixty. By 1775 the membership had increased to three thousand one hundred and forty-eight, and by 1777 to six thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight. There was considerable decline during the next year; yet in 1783 about fourteen thousand members and between seventy and eighty itinerants were reported. The fact that many of the Methodists were loyal to Britain was in part responsible for the comparatively slow growth of the denomination during this period. When the independence of the United States had been acknowledged, Wesley saw the necessity of giving autonomy to American Methodism, and ordained several elders for the American work and placed over them as superintendent (Wesley was strongly averse to the use of the term "bishop") Thomas Coke, a well-educated Englishman of high character and strong personality (1784). Francis Asbury, who had labored successfully as an itinerant during the Revolutionary time, was in the same year and by appointment of the Conference associated with Coke in

the superintendency, and ordained by him to this office. Asbury became the apostle of American Methodism. The organization of what is now known as the Methodist Episcopal Church occurred at the same time and place (Baltimore, 1784). The growth of this body has been remarkable. Several divisions of minor importance occurred chiefly on questions of polity during the earlier years of its history.

In 1844–1845 controversy on the slavery question and the unwillingness of the Northern Methodists to tolerate slaveholding in bishops or elders led to a withdrawal of the Southern churches to form the Methodist Episcopal Church South. This division does not, in the writer's opinion, any more than that of the Baptists, constitute the two sections different denominations. Both the Northern and Southern branches of the denomination have greatly prospered in the way of numerical growth, in institutions of learning, in home and foreign missionary work, in book concerns, etc. The total membership of the various Methodist bodies in the United States is at present more than five millions, of whom about three millions and a half are in the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Of the remainder, about a million and a quarter belong to various colored bodies, and the rest to the minor parties.

In the dominion of Canada Methodists are among the strongest and best-equipped of the denominations. They early gained a foothold, a considerable number of the United Empire Loyalists being of that persuasion. The various English Wesleyan bodies were until 1885 represented by church organizations. At that time all came together to form one great body. It sustains friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, but it follows English Wesleyans in adopting a general superintendency rather than episcopacy.

3. *Some Related Bodies to 1900.*

(1) *The United Brethren in Christ.*[1] This body resulted from the evangelistic efforts of Otterbein, a well-educated and highly gifted German Reformed minister who was sent as a missionary to America in 1752, and Henry

[1] See Berger, "Hist. of U. B. in Christ," 1894.

Boehm, a Mennonite minister. These leaders came under the influence of the Methodist evangelism and labored for some time in the hope of bringing their own denomination into accord with the principles of the new evangelism. For a time they were in close relations with the Methodist body and would no doubt have permanently identified themselves with that body but for the refusal of the Methodist leaders to allow them a larger freedom in work than the Methodist discipline provided for. Their organization is practically identical with that of the Methodist Episcopal body. They drew their membership chiefly from German Reformed and Mennonites and in the earlier years the German language was for the most part used in their work. In consideration of the antipedobaptist sentiments of the Mennonite members infant baptism was made optional and has so remained, as was also the mode of baptism. The denomination is well equipped with educational institutions, a publishing house, missionary societies, etc. There has been considerable controversy between the progressive and the non-progressive elements. The first Conference of the body was constituted in 1789. The organization was completed and the name it now bears adopted in 1800. The present membership of the denomination is about two hundred and fifty thousand.

(2) *The Evangelical Association.*[1] This denomination was founded by Jacob Albright, a Pennsylvania German Lutheran, who was converted in connection with the Methodist evangelism (1790), and soon afterward (1793) began to preach among the neglected Germans of his State with remarkable zeal and success. His converts came, it may be presumed, chiefly from the Lutheran ranks, as those of Otterbein and Boehm came chiefly from the Reformed and Mennonite bodies. The Methodists cared little at that time for the control of work among German-speaking people, and made no adequate effort to bring Albright and his work into the Methodist Episcopal system. An organization was effected almost identical with the Methodist Episcopal in 1807, and Albright was elected bishop. He died the next year. Some years later the body, which had come to be known as

[1] See Spreng, "Hist. of the Evan. Ass.," 1894.

'Albright People," adopted the above name. They have carried on their work with considerable vigor, and by 1891 had become a well-equipped body with a membership of a hundred and fifty thousand. Controversy had by this time arisen which led to schism and litigation.

(3) *The Salvation Army.*[1] In 1861 William Booth withdrew from the Methodist ministry to engage in independent work. As a result of his efforts for the evangelization of the depressed classes in East London he reached the conviction that coarse and sensational methods should be used for attracting and holding the ignorant and depraved masses, and that a military organization could be used to advantage in organizing the results of evangelization and in directing a world-wide mission to the "submerged tenth." There is something in common between the Salvation Army evangelism and that of the early Methodists, and there is much in their doctrines and discipline that shows indebtedness to Methodism; but, it scarcely need be said, the Methodists are in no way responsible for any extravagances of the army. The movement has reached vast proportions, and its evangelistic and rescue work is controlled with almost despotic authority by General Booth and his hierarchy of military officials. That much good is being accomplished in the way of direct help to the neglected classes and of stimulus given to other denominations to engage in efforts for the spiritual and temporal well-being of these classes does not admit of doubt; that the good accomplished is counterbalanced by the irreverence practised and promoted seems almost equally certain.

IV. SOME OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

1. *The Society of Friends to 1900.*

LITERATURE: Thomas, "The Society of Friends," in "Am. Ch. Hist. Series," Vol. XII., and extensive bibliography there given.

In 1647 George Fox, a young man of twenty-three, having had a deep spiritual experience and having come under the influence of Continental mysticism, began to

[1] G. Railton, "Heathen England," 1885, and "Twenty-one Years of the S. A.," 1886; Kolde, "*Die Heilsarmee*," 1899; and Hauck-Herzog, Art., "*Heilsarmee*," by Kolde.

preach his doctrine of the inner light and of the necessity of direct communion with God, and to disparage external ordinances as tending only to formalism and hypocrisy, and as worse than useless. While he did not reject the Scriptures, but treated them with reverence, he laid so much stress on the direct impartation of truth to the believer as greatly to lessen their importance. With the zeal and assurance of a prophet he denounced the divine wrath upon all forms of immorality and all sorts of ecclesiastical abuses. He soon had a host of enthusiastic followers who, by reason of their violent denunciations of ministers and other Christians of various types and of all things regarded as contrary to the divine will, incurred much persecution in Great Britain and America. Multitudes heard Fox's preaching, and many were deeply impressed. Within a few years zealous preachers of his doctrines, men and women, were preaching throughout Europe, in Africa, Asia, and America. Among his most distinguished converts was William Penn, who, with some associates of the same faith, acquired the proprietorship of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and Delaware, and secured in the new world free course for their own teachings and furnished an asylum for the persecuted of different lands and creeds. Like the mediæval evangelicals and the Anabaptists of the sixteenth and following centuries, the Friends have repudiated oaths, magistracy, warfare, and capital punishment as contrary to the spirit of the gospel of Christ, and they have been foremost in philanthropy and in all kinds of moral and social reform. After the enthusiasm of the first few decades had subsided their numbers, which had reached many thousands in Europe and America, declined. But by reason of their wealth and their deep interest in philanthropic movements their influence has been out of proportion to their numbers. Their doctrines, like those of the mediæval evangelicals and the Anabaptists, were from the beginning strongly anti-Augustinian. A schism occurred among the American Friends in 1826–1827 through the defection of Elias Hicks to anti-trinitarianism. The Orthodox Friends in the United States now number about eighty thousand, and the Hicksite Friends about twenty thousand (1900).

2. *The Plymouth Brethren, 1827-1900.*

LITERATURE: Neatby, "A History of the Plymouth Brethren," 1901. The Bibliographical Appendix, pp. 341-348, gives a critical survey of the literature of the subject.

In the so-called Plymouth Brethren we have a reproduction of some features of mediæval and sixteenth century dissenting bodies and other features that seem peculiar. About 1827 Edward Cronin, an ex-Romanist, began to hold meetings at his house in Dublin every Lord's Day morning for "the breaking of bread." Shortly afterward another assembly was formed in Dublin led by J. N. Darby, a Church of England minister, which Cronin joined. In 1828 Darby published a pamphlet, which attracted much attention, on "The Nature and Unity of the Church of Christ." This brought many to his support, and other assemblies in various places were formed. In 1830 Darby visited Paris, Cambridge, and Oxford for the promulgation of his views. At Oxford he won B. W. Newton, who requested him to visit Plymouth. Here Captain Hall, a disciple of Darby's, was already preaching, and an assembly ("Providence Chapel") was formed. Plymouth became a chief center of the movement, and gave its name to the Brethren. Darby maintained that just as the old economy had fallen by the unfaithfulness of the covenant people and as a whole had apostatized, so Christians wholly apostatized in the apostolic age. The whole Christian system depended upon continuance in God's goodness. Failure in this involved "the ruin of the church." He regarded the apostasy of the church as "fatal and without remedy." To rehabilitate the church a new apostolate would be necessary. All so-called churches, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and dissenting, are alike unauthorized and repose upon an unchristian sentiment. The church, in view of the hopeless apostasy, is a heavenly and not an earthly institution. All that is left for true believers is to gather themselves in assemblies in accordance with Christ's promise: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18 : 20). With the apostasy of the church ecclesiastical offices went to the ground

and believers worshiping in assemblies are on a perfect equality. Every believer besides possessing the general gifts of the Spirit possesses a special gift (charism) which he is bound to exercise for the good of the assembly. He maintained that those gifted for such work should evangelize, because Christ has entrusted to man the word of reconciliation.

In opposition to the rationalism of the age the Brethren have maintained most earnestly the absoluteness of Scripture authority, and have greatly promoted the careful and comparative study of the inspired records, and especially of the prophetical and apocalyptic books ; but their services in this direction have been greatly impaired by the arbitrariness of their exegesis. Taking the most pessimistic view of the present age, and utterly distrusting means at present available for the betterment of the world, they have from the beginning laid the utmost stress upon the pre-millennial advent of the Lord as the present and only hope of the church, and have been at great pains to give a chiliastic interpretation to the prophetic Scriptures.

Supposing that each body of believers assembled in Christ's name possessed the unity of the Spirit, and that all like assemblies were alike actuated and guided by the Spirit in the interpretation of Scripture, Darby and his associates adopted the policy of keeping their "testimony consistent" by rigorously excluding from communion dissenting minorities. Thus, if in a given assembly discordant testimony be given by way of the interpretation of a passage of Scripture or a dogmatic statement, and a majority should condemn the teaching, the speaker with all his supporters must withdraw. It is open to them to appeal to all other assemblies in fellowship with their own and to compel them to consider the question involved, and if unanimity cannot be reached, to excommunicate the minority. As issues are often raised on what to others would seem exceedingly delicate shades of teaching, the divisiveness of the system can be easily understood.

Holding, as did Darby and his followers, that existing church organizations are evil and only evil, it was natural that they should devote their energies very largely to

winning earnest Christians from membership and support of these apostate organizations to membership in their own assemblies. The only possibility of securing a continuously consistent testimony lay in the acceptance by all of Darby's own scriptural interpretation and dogmatizing.

In 1845 Newton revolted from Darby's leadership and authority. It was a source of profound grief to Darby that Newton should have views of prophecy and church order different from his own, should claim for his teachings the appellation "the truth," and that he should be willing to lead others into what he considered a truer form of teaching. These two parties, who came to be known as "Exclusive" and "Newtonian" Brethren, were soon supplemented by a "Neutral" party, led by George Müller, that refused to go the length of excommunicating all who were in fellowship with Newton, and came to be known as "Open" Brethren. The Exclusive Brethren afterward underwent further schism, and three parties since 1881, known as Darbyites, Kelleyites, and Cluffites, are distinguishable.

The Brethren have laid much stress on vicarious atonement and upon the blood of Christ, and have taught a modified Calvinism, eliminating reprobation and proclaiming an unlimited gospel. Darby was a Pedobaptist; but a large proportion of the brethren have rejected infant baptism and practised the immersion of believers.

The Brethren soon had their assemblies throughout the civilized world; but they have never attained to great numerical strength. They have exerted an influence, however, quite out of proportion to their numbers. Their chiliastic views have gained acceptance among English Low Churchmen and in nearly all of the evangelical denominations. The large class of evangelists, of whom Dwight L. Moody was the most eminent, have drawn their inspiration and their Scripture interpretation largely from the writings and the personal influence of the Brethren. Young Men's Christian Association work has come largely under the influence of this type of teaching.

CHAPTER VII

TWENTIETH CENTURY SUPPLEMENT

I. RECENT PAPAL ADMINISTRATIONS

1. *The Last Years of Leo XIII*

Leo XIII, whose death occurred, July 3, 1903, shortly after the publication of the first edition of this volume, was regarded by many as the tutelary genius of his Church, and as supremely wise in his dealings with civil governments. He was praised for his love of art, his classical culture, his interest in biblical and scientific studies, and his efforts to unite the Greek and Roman Churches. Yet he adhered rigorously to Roman Catholic orthodoxy, refused to recognize Anglican ordination, denounced "Americanism," and censured Hermann Schell's work in which that writer recognizes and deplores the inferiority of Catholics to Protestants in every department of learned research and insists on greater freedom for Catholic scholars. Yet Leo incurred the hostility of conservative Catholics by allowing to the parish clergy much freedom in the promotion of social reform whereby younger, better educated, and liberal-minded clergy were brought into sharp conflict with older and more conservative priests.

Many of the teachers in the Italian and other Catholic universities, and even in the Roman theological schools, became pronounced liberals, and yet were tolerated and patronized by the "Modern Pope." A considerable faction of the Roman Curia became imbued with modernistic views and conservative Catholics, some time before the death of Leo, became convinced that infidelity would become wide-spread and the authority of the Church destroyed unless rigorous mea-

sures were employed for the enforcement of orthodoxy.

The fact is that Leo attempted the impossible in trying to provide the Church with a clergy that should equal or excel the Protestants in all departments of science, philosophy, and biblical research, and who would yet be perfectly loyal to Church authority and accept the philosophy and theology of Thomas Aquinas as final. It is probable that this inconsistency was due to the influence of Cardinal Rampolla, who was more concerned about political advantages than the conservation of orthodoxy.

How far he was from being tolerant may be illustrated by a few of his pronouncements. He continued the papal practice of excommunicating the Jansenist archbishop of Utrecht; offered indulgences to those who would pray for the conversion of German Protestants; expressed approval of the medieval Inquisition with its tortures and burnings; and ascribed the unity and peace of the Spanish Church to the thoroughness of the Inquisition. "O blessed flames . . . by which a very few, and indeed the most contemptible manikins having been removed from our midst, hundreds and hundreds of phalanxes of souls have been snatched from the jaws of error and perhaps of eternal damnation. . . O renowned and venerable memory of Thomas Torquemada, who, conspicuous for most prudent zeal and invincible virtue, while he decreed that Jews and infidels were not to be compelled to baptism, at the same time. . . made excellent provision for safe-guarding the baptized from the apostasy of the Judaizers."

In 1897 he denounced doubt as to the authenticity of 1 John 5. In the same year he renewed the censure of all books condemned before 1600, even though their titles have been omitted in later lists of prohibited books. He allowed the use of original scripture texts, provided they contained nothing in prologomena or notes that impugnes the dogmas of the Catholic faith. The censuring of all books hostile to the faith was carefully provided for. The trial before the Inquisition of a French Catholic named Philippot in 1897 may serve to illustrate and explain Leo's fear of heresy. Questioned as to his beliefs and teaching, Philippot declared: "I am a Christian." During the same year a large association of French Catholics made the following profession: "We are all priests: secular monks, or religious. Some have already departed from the Roman Church. Others are under the hierarchy. All of us desire a religious, a rejuvenated Catholicism; a Christianity such as the Apostles, the only authentic interpreters of the preaching of Jesus, established. The papacy for us is but a human institution." "Nothing other than the gospel—but the whole gospel!" (Mirbt, *"Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsthums," 443.*) Leo

insisted (1899) that church history should record the facts, so far as the established doctrines of the Church are not impugned: "God has no need of our falsehoods."

Leo and his chief adviser Rampolla could pay compliments to Protestants when it seemed politic to do so. In recognition of a congratulatory letter from the German Emperor on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign, Leo wrote (among other things): "The land in Europe where good behavior, discipline, respect for the magistracy and esteem for the Church still dominate, and where every Catholic can live untroubled and free regarding his faith, this is the German Empire"—and for this he thanks the German Emperor.

Bismarck received from the pope the honor of knighthood in a Catholic order for which he was grateful.

At the time of his death a multitude of professors and educated priests were pronounced "Modernists," and the conservative members of the Curia, who were convinced that modernism was destroying the foundations of the Church, were determined that his successor should be a stalwart of the stalwarts, who would cooperate with them in remorselessly crushing it.

2. *Pius X (1903-1914)*

Born in 1835 in a large, indigent family, Joseph Sarto received his early education under very severe conditions. When seventeen years of age he professed a call to the priesthood and was sent to the seminary at Padua. Strictly moral, greatly concerned for the spiritual as well as the physical well-being of the people, he became successively parish priest (1858), archpriest (1867), Bishop of Mantua (1884), Cardinal and Patriarch of Venice (1893), and Pope (1903). The simple life he always advocated and practised. "A commoner he was born and a commoner he lived and died." His scholastic attainments and appreciation of scholarship in others were inconsiderable. In fact he had come to the conviction that the rapid growth of modernism was due to excessive devotion to higher education and indifference to the practical interests of

the Church. He is said to have been unappreciative of the great Vatican library, which his predecessor had made available to the scholars of the world, making no personal use of it and grudging it the customary financial support. It is told that his admirers who examined his private papers with a view to finding something noteworthy discovered only a single distich. Even this may not have been original. When presented a certificate of membership in the academy he remarked, "Poetry! Poetry! Why don't you think a little about studying the catechism?"

The question may well be asked, Why was a man of such rudimentary attainments promoted to the highest office in the Church? It was no doubt due to his known hostility to the late "Modern Pope," his known single-minded devotion to the maintenance of the orthodoxy of the Church and his irreproachable character.

Merry del Val, whose learning supplied the deficiencies of the pope's education, and whose servility to his overlord and hostility to the Leoniani and Rampolliani were notorious, cooperated in every way in carrying out the reactionary policies.

Pius and his secretary began at once relentless warfare against all in the Curia who were known to have been favorites of Leo XIII. These were driven from the Vatican and spied upon as "Modernists." The Jesuit Mattiussi was put forward as orator at a meeting of two hundred priests at Bergamo, presided over by the Bishop. He praised the new pope as the restorer of order and orthodoxy and denounced Leo as the "Malefic Star" of the Church. The Bishop, indignant, left the hall and appealed to the pope for the punishment of the priest who had thus insulted the memory of Leo. The pope gave the impression that he would administer proper discipline, but after a few days called Mattiussi to the chair of dogmatic theology in the Gregorian University. Some time later a former

French Jesuit published a life of Leo in which the "Modern Pope" is represented as the secret head of Free Masonry and the destroyer of the Church of Christ. This scurrilous work was put on the Index, but its author was honored and aided by the Vatican. The early years of the pontificate of Pius X were thus occupied very largely with efforts to obliterate all traces of the policy of his predecessor. His public declarations were numerous and elaborate; but it is not to be supposed that he personally composed them.

Hostility to Leo XIII was likewise manifested in the Seminarian reforms which virtually destroyed the Seminary founded by him and bearing his name. Gifts sent to Leo from all parts of the world on the occasion of his Jubilee were scattered or stored in subterranean chambers. It is said that groves and vines planted for the late pope were uprooted by order of Pius. He discredited efforts of priests promoted by Leo for social reforms and the improvement of the living conditions of the poor. He ascribed such efforts to the influence of the apostate Lamennais.

Father Ginocchi had made a new translation of the New Testament and annotated it with Catholic interpretations. Three hundred thousand copies had been circulated by the Society of St. Jerome. Pius suppressed it because he suspected the translator of modernism. He disapproved of the reading of the Bible by the laity, claiming that it "does more harm than good, . . because it accustoms them to a too free examination, and as a consequence to individual interpretation." When Minocchi conversed with the pope about his biblical studies, the latter remarked: "You work so assiduously and so radically upon the Bible that in a very short time nothing will be left of it but the binding." His hatred of the modernists was so great that he is said sometimes to have walked the floor muttering, "I crush them, I crush them!"

His chief advisers were Merry del Val, a noted sportsman (shooting, fishing, swimming, etc.), acquainted with many languages, useful in detecting and convicting modernists, always complacent and subservient; Gaetano de Lai, who has been characterized as "the very incarnation of anti-modernism" and who remorselessly pursued for the pope those suspected of the heresy; and Vives Y Tuto, confessor and moral counselor of the pope. To him was intrusted the task of investigating the teaching in the Church schools in Italy and elsewhere, and the most objectionable inquisitorial methods were used in detecting and punishing those suspected of "Modernism." Vives is said to have had spells of insanity and to have imagined himself to be pope. He sought to exclude from monasteries as well as Catholic schools all literature suspected of modernistic tendencies. He is supposed to be the author of some of the anti-modernist documents put forth by the pope, including the censure and ultimate excommunication of such authors as Duchesne, Loisy, Schell, Schnitzer, and Tyrrell, whose writings contain most of the propositions anathematized in the Encyclical *Pascendi.*

A Commission appointed by the pope to settle the question as to the *authorship and date of the Pentateuch* decided in favor of the Mosaic authorship. Opposing theories were anathematized.

The *New Syllabus* (1907) specifies sixty errors: those "being regarded as by far the more pernicious which are concerned with sacred disciplines, the interpretation of Sacred Scripture, and the special mysteries of the faith." Among the errors condemned are denial of the right of the Curia to censure critical scientific works on the Bible; denial of the right of the magistracy of the Church to determine the genuine sense of scripture, or to pronounce upon the assertions of human disciplines, to accuse of too great simplicity those who say that God is truly the author of Sacred

Scripture, to deny that the Gospels, especially the Johannean, contain authentic accounts of the words and works of Jesus, to maintain that revelation can be nothing else than a consciousness of his relation to God acquired by man, that Jesus did not claim to be the Messiah, that the divinity of Jesus is not proved from the Gospels, but is a dogma which the Christian consciousness deduced from its notion of Messiah, that the doctrine regarding Christ, which Paul, John, and the early councils delivered, is not what Jesus taught, but what the Christian consciousness conceived concerning Jesus. Similar views about the sacraments, the primacy of Peter and the Roman Church, and the assertion that the Catholic Church can not be reconciled with true science unless it shall be transformed into a non-dogmatic Christianity are censured.

The Encyclical *Pascendi,* which was promulgated in September of the same year, charges the modernists with seeking to destroy the very foundations of the faith, their teachings being all the more dangerous because they lurk in the bosom of the Church, and because they are learned and austere in their morals. They intermingle philosophy, theology, history, criticism, apologetics, and reformation. The remedies proposed are: Restoration of scholastic philosophy as the foundation of studies; selection of heads and teachers of Catholic seminaries and universities free from any taint of modernism; and the expulsion of all who are suspected of modernism. No one must be admitted to the study of Canon Law who has not been trained in scholastic philosophy. Bishops are required to prevent, if possible, the publication of modernistic books, to prohibit the reading of those already published, and to see to it that no such books or periodicals find entrance into the seminaries and universities. The bishops should also prohibit the writing of bad (modernistic) books by Catholic scholars. Bishops must not permit conventions of priests to be

held, except very rarely, and if such are held, to see to it that nothing is said in the way of impugning the authority of bishops or the pope, or that savors of modernism. Bishops are to keep a close watch over the parish clergy to make sure that they are not reading modernistic literature or in any way aiding or abetting modernism. Bishops are required to make an annual report to the pope of conditions in their dioceses, including seminaries and universities, having special regard to their doctrinal teachings (*i. e.*, whether they are scholastic or modernistic).

With a view to efficiency and economy Pius X and his Cardinal advisers RECONSTRUCTED THE ROMAN CURIA (1908), eliminating sinecures and combining closely related administrative departments. The number of distinct Congregations or Boards was reduced to eleven: The Holy Office (pope's cabinet); Consistorial (to prepare agenda for consistories and to look after diocesan matters); the Council (to interpret and apply the Tridentine decrees); Monastic institutions; De Propaganda Fide (world-wide Missions); Index of books prohibited and to be expurgated; Sacred Rites; Ceremonies (specially in the Vatican); Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; Studies (including universities and seminaries). Besides these eleven Congregations there are three Tribunals: Penitentiary (court, for heresy trials, etc.), Rota (supreme court), and Apostolica (the pope's legal advisers). Then there are five Offices: The Apostolic Chancery (legal tribunal); Apostolic Datary (for registering and filing documents); Apostolic Chamber; Secretariate of State; Secretariate of Briefs to Princes and of Latin Letters.

The CANONIZATION OF JEANNE D'ARC occurred in 1909. The *Borromean Encyclical* of 1910, on the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the canonization of one of the protagonists of Rome in the time of the Reformation, in the most intemperate lan-

guage denounced the Reformers and their followers as "enemies of the cross of Christ . . . who mind earthly things . . . whose God is their belly, who have been intent only on the destruction of the faith; have confused all things; have made safe the way of license; have fled away from the authority and leadership of the Church; have called good evil and evil good." Responsibility for civil strife, wars and social conditions worse than prevailed in the Middle Ages are laid to the charge of Protestants.

Naturally this intemperate tirade aroused the INDIGNATION OF GERMAN PROTESTANTS, especially as there was no occasion for it and it seemed in sharp contradiction of the very friendly interchange of compliments between pope and emperor in 1897. The pope disclaimed any intention of censuring the German Protestants and their ruler, but claimed to have had in mind solely the modernists in his own church. In what is said in the encyclical about Borromeo's fight with the enemies of the Church, no mention is made, he insists, of the people or princes of any particular country. The encyclical was reproduced in the German papers and aroused intense indignation throughout the land. Civil and ecclesiastical authorities took the matter up and sent strong expressions of indignation to Rome. The pope's explanation had to be accepted, though it was by no means satisfactory. In June, 1910, Pius X published a form of oath to be taken by candidates for the doctorate in Sacred Scripture, in which the candidate is required to accept unconditionally the principles and decrees put forth, or to be put forth, through the Apostolic See and the Apostolic Biblical Commission, to promise that he will whole-heartedly, sincerely, and faithfully keep and inviolably guard them, and that he will never, whether in teaching or in any way whatever, in words or writings, impugn them. "So I promise, so I swear, so help me God and these Holy Gospels of God!"

A few months later Pius put forth a formula for the DEPOSITION OF PARISH PRIESTS who destroy rather than build up the flock. The specific grounds for deposition are, insanity, inexperience and ignorance, deafness, blindness and other mental and physical infirmity, unpopularity, even if unjust, loss of good esteem of upright and sober-minded men, crime, improper administration of temporal things, neglect of parochial duties, and disobedience to the precepts of the ordinary.

Perhaps the severest calamity that befell Pius X was the enacting (1905) of the FRENCH LAW SEPARATING CHURCH AND STATE. Since the establishment of the French Republic (1870) French Catholics had frequently manifested their dissatisfaction at the failure of the government to recognize them as the state church. Leo XIII had attempted in vain to promote among Catholics a spirit of loyalty to the government. In 1901 the government made it unlawful for members of religious orders not under the control of the state to engage in teaching, and in 1903 suppressed monasteries and nunneries that refused obedience, and took possession of their properties. The following year the President of France visited the King of Italy. Pius X protested. France thus affronted, broke off all diplomatic relations with the papacy, and in 1905 enacted a law for the complete separation of church and state, took possession of Church property, and withdrew financial aid from Catholics and Protestants alike. The government provided for the use of church buildings by local associations for worship, preference being given to those who had previously enjoyed the use of the properties. Pius X forbade the use of the churches on such terms. A *modus vivendi* was finally established, but Catholics and Protestants alike found it exceedingly difficult to maintain their work on a voluntary basis.

It may be said in conclusion that Pius succeeded measurably in suppressing modernism in the Church

by excommunicating many of the more flagrant offenders, humiliating and degrading great numbers of those suspected, establishing a system of espionage in churches and institutions of learning, and requiring of graduates and those entering the ministry, and candidates for higher offices as teachers and prelates, ironclad oaths involving acceptance of his antimodernist legislation, papal infallibility, and the whole of the accepted papal system.

Among the many achievements of this stalwart pope was the repudiation of the right of Catholic governments to exercise a veto on the election of popes (1904) and the codification of the Canon Law with a view to simplification and adaptation to modern conditions (1908). He promoted the Worship of the Heart of Jesus, representations of which were placed in most local churches; encouraged and strengthened the great monastic orders in their educational, missionary, and hospital work in all parts of the world. The Jesuits (as always since their restoration) were the power behind the throne.

Pius X was no doubt in full sympathy with Cardinal Katsschler's pastoral letter on the exaltation of the priesthood, a few quotations from which must suffice:

"Honor your priest . . . on account of the two inconceivably high powers with which he has been endued by the goodness of God. . . The Catholic priest has power to forgive sins. . . The word of the priest itself, the word, 'I absolve thee from thy sins,' effects the forgiveness of the same . . . God has . . . given up his omnipotence to the plenipotentiary priest. . . Where upon the whole earth is a power that equals this power?" He proceeds to specify emperors and kings who have no such power. Archangels, patriarchs, thrones and dominions, cherubim and seraphim, have no such power. "Mary herself, the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven, cannot do it, although she is the bride of the Holy Spirit, the Mistress of the Universe." Again: "Honor the priests, since they have the power to consecrate, . . to make present the body of the Lord with his precious blood, with his entire holy humanity and his deity . . . to change the bread and wine into the true body and precious blood of our Lord." He goes on to show that there is no one in heaven who can do this. "Once Mary brought the divine child into the world; and, behold, the priest does this not once, but hundreds and thousands of times. . . The question is

raised whether the priest whom God has so highly exalted, bound so intimately with himself, really given power over himself, is still a man? Christ, the only begotten Son of God, through whom the heavens and the earth were created, and who administers the universe, is herein subject to the will of the Catholic priest." In case the priest should prove a reprobate, what are the parishioners to do? They are not to noise it abroad, but pray for him, "and still honor even in such a one the priestly dignity."

Pius X and his successors have exerted themselves to the utmost through eucharistic conferences, and otherwise, to promote worship of the Host, Mariolatry, saint-worship, and sacerdotalism; and these are still the chief means of Roman Catholic propaganda, along with the benevolent and humanitarian work of the religious orders.

3. *Benedict XV (1914-1922)*

Giacomo della Chiesa, born in 1835 not far from Genoa, as a member of one of the oldest Italian families, was perhaps a logical successor of the peasant pope, whom he succeeded as Benedict XV. His education was in accord with his rank and was no doubt conducted with a view to a career in the Roman Curia. He won the degree of doctor of laws in the University of Genoa. While a student there he was secretary of a committee whose chief duty was to pay respects to the pope, who demanded and appreciated worshipful regards, and who was not unmindful of such subservience when desirable positions were to be filled. After his graduation at Genoa he was admitted as a student in the Capronica Seminary in Rome, where a select group of students, preferably of noble birth, were prepared for careers in the Curia. From the Capronica he proceeded to the Academy for Noble Ecclesiastics. Having attracted the attention of Cardinal Rampolla, secretary of state and influential adviser of Leo XIII, he was employed by him in the secretarial office, and rapidly promoted. While he had no doubt been in sympathy with the liberal attitude of Rampolla and Leo, he seems to have joined heartily in Pius X's antimodernistic crusade. He was made Archbishop of Bologna in 1907, Cardinal in May, 1914, and Pope the following September.

There was no doubt a realization by a majority of the cardinals that Pius had gone too far in his intolerant and inquisitorial methods, and had alienated civil governments and great numbers of liberal Catholics; and while his drastic measures could not consistently be withdrawn, consideration could be shown in their application. The Curia itself contained discordant elements and a learned and astute diplomatist was felt to be desirable for the papal office.

Shortly before his election, as Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna, he delivered an address in favor of the strictest neutrality of the Roman See in the World War that had just broken out. His position during the war was an extremely difficult one. There were Catholics on both sides. France still largely Catholic, Belgium, Poland, and Italy almost wholly so, with the Allies; and Austria almost wholly Catholic and a large Catholic constituency in Germany on the other side. While his sympathy was naturally with the Allies, he dared not antagonize Germany, which during the early years of the war seemed likely to triumph. Benedict deserves credit for his early, frequent, and persistent efforts to end the war. A week after his coronation he issued an encyclical in favor of peace. He appointed a day of prayer for peace to be observed by Catholics throughout the world (July, 1915), to be repeated February, 1916, and August, 1917. He sent a representative to the Peace Conference in 1918 with instructions to promise the fullest cooperation in carrying out any terms that might be agreed upon.

He was severely criticized by the Allies because of his refusal to denounce the Germans for their atrocities in Belgium and France. His excuse was that he regarded himself as a representative of the Prince of Peace. In May, 1916, he urged the United States, through President Wilson, to aid in conciliating the belligerents. In 1917 he advised the belligerents to make peace on the basis of "complete and reciprocal

condonation." He arranged with France to renew diplomatic relations with the Vatican and to send an ambassador to the Papal Court. He induced Great Britain to send a representative to the Vatican for the first time since the seventeenth century. In January, 1919, he released Italian priests from the prohibition to participate in Italian politics, imposed by Pius IX, as a protest against the seizure by Victor Emmanuel of the States of the Church, and sought to restore friendly relations with the Italian Government. Able, wise, and diplomatic, he seems to have conducted wisely and successfully all his negotiations with civil governments.

4. *Pius XI* (*1922*—)

The present pope is one of the most accomplished and well-balanced in the long line of succession. Born in 1858, as Achille Ratti, while spending some holidays with an uncle in the Alpine regions, by his affability and brilliancy he attracted the attention of the Archbishop of Milan, who called him his "young-old man" and arranged for his further education at the Lombard College and the Gregorian College in Rome. He won his doctorate in philosophy and canon law with high honors, and served as professor of theology (1882-1888). He was knighted by the King of Italy in 1907 because of distinguished services as diplomat and library director, and was appointed prefect of the Vatican library in 1913.

He visited England several times and made researches in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. Benedict XV sent him to Poland as Apostolic Delegate, where his familiarity with the German and Polish languages rendered his services particularly valuable. In 1919 he was made Nuncio Apostolic in Poland and Titular Archbishop of Lepanto. Thus because of his learning, affability, and diplomatic skill honors and responsibilities were heaped upon him.

In 1925, as pope, he is said to have personally received more than a million pilgrims from all parts of the world. "By all he is revered for his learning, his charity, piety, and width of sympathy, his courtesy, tact, and charm of deportment, and most of all for his untiring devotion to the duties of his office," says a Roman Catholic writer, and so far as one can judge, he is an almost ideal pope.

His adoption of the name Pius is sufficient evidence of his purpose to make good all the claims to papal infallibility and the right to world-wide authority in religious and civil matters put forth by Pius IX and Pius X; but he pursues his ends after the manner of Benedict XV.

In February, 1929, peace seemed to be fully restored between the Italian Government (Mussolini) and the papacy. An indemnity for the seizure of the States of the Church, offered to Pius IX and refused by him and his successors as a seeming condonation of what was regarded as an outrage, and, with interest, amounting to $87,500,000, was accepted by the pope. A few acres were added to the Vatican grounds and a Vatican Free State was constituted, with all the privileges and immunities of civil governments. It was agreed that papal canon law should control all Italian Church matters, and that civil law should be kept in harmony with canon law. The teaching of religion in Italian public schools was made compulsory. Yet Mussolini insisted upon religious liberty for all.

Recently the bitterest strife has prevailed between Pius XI and Mussolini. The fact that the papacy has used the utmost diligence in organizing Catholics of all classes into societies for the promotion of Catholic enthusiasm and propagandism caused the trouble. The *Movimento Cattolico* (embracing Popular Union, the Society of Catholic Youth, the Union of Catholic Women, and several others) whose Directorate, with a president appointed by the pope, resides at the Vatican,

is extremely active in promoting Roman Catholic sentiment and loyalty among all classes of Italians. Mussolini regarded the activities of these organizations as pernicious in that their aims are at variance with Fascism for which he has secured organizations of all classes. The recent controversy centers about a young men's Catholic organization whose dissolution Mussolini ordered. Pius accused Mussolini and his followers of worshiping the state instead of God; attributed to them spiritual blindness; and prayed for their enlightenment.

In February, 1931, a powerful radio, installed by Marconi, was accepted by the pope with elaborate ceremonies and was first used by him to broadcast throughout the world, in several languages, greetings and fatherly advice to all creation, Catholics, the Hierarchy, religious orders, missionaries, the faithful, unbelievers and those outside the fold, leaders of the people, subjects, the rich, the poor, laborers, employers, and the afflicted. Such use of the radio for propaganda is symptomatic of the determination of the Roman hierarchy to use every means available for promoting Roman Catholic influence throughout the whole, wide world.

The *Encyclical Quadrigessimo Anno* of Pius XI discusses the reconstruction of the social order and bringing it into harmony with the precepts of the gospel. He protests against socialism, economic liberalism, individualism, and grasping capitalism. Church and state should work harmoniously in preserving the Christian balance between capital and labor and securing an equitable division of their products, which must be done in conformity with the demands of the common good and social justice. Unemployment he declares a "dreadful scourge." Wages should be neither too high nor too low. He denounces despotic economic domination in the hands of a few.

5. *Roman Catholic Losses*

Besides the loss of power and prestige in France through the separation of church and state, revolutions in Portugal and Mexico have deprived Pius X and his successors of their power to control and exploit these thoroughly Catholic countries. Portugal suspended diplomatic relation with the Vatican in 1912, and the Portuguese legation at the Vatican was abolished in 1913.

In 1917 the Republic of Mexico adopted a new constitution, providing that "Congress shall not enact any law establishing or forbidding any religion whatsoever." Article 30 provides that "The Federal authority shall have exclusive power to exercise in matters of religious worship such intervention as is by law authorized." It recognizes no corporate existence of religious associations; marriage is a civil contract; ministers of religious sects are recognized only as professional men; state legislatures are given power to decide how many ministers are needed in each locality; ministers are forbidden to hold or participate in public meetings or in any public way to criticize the laws, the government, or individual officials; new church buildings are not to be consecrated without government permission; changes of ministers and introduction of new ministers must be reported to the government; no credit in state institutions is to be given for work done in religious schools; church publications are not to criticize the government or its officials; all church property is vested in the nation and cannot be sold or given away; no trial by jury for infraction of these rules is allowed; only Mexicans by birth or naturalization can acquire ownership of lands.

Foreign prelates and priests, as well as evangelical missionaries, were promptly driven into exile. In keeping with the Constitution, the State of Vera Cruz recently decided (1931) that only thirteen priests were

needed for its population of over a million. Papal negotiations for better terms have failed.

In July, 1931, Mussolini issued an order prohibiting Fascists from joining any club or group affiliated with Catholic Action. No one is allowed openly to oppose Fascism, but these Catholic organizations are suspected of opposing it under the guise of religious endeavor. Mussolini is attempting to bring the rural schools, whose teachers have been for the most part priests, monks, and nuns, more completely under the control of the Fascist government. The pope claims that education is a function of the Church. He insists that no Catholic citizen can render unconditional obedience to the state, for the reason that "the state can give orders against truth and justice"; but unconditional obedience is due to the Church because its orders are always in harmony with truth and justice. On July 23, 1931, the pope called a conference of all the Cardinals with a view to determining on a policy in dealing with serious church troubles in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Mexico, and Russia.

The recent revolution in Spain has involved the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church, the confiscation of church property, the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the drastic reduction of state support of church work.

A *Concordat* was finally reached (September, 1931) between Pius and Mussolini, in accordance with which the Catholic societies are to be tolerated on condition that they shall not antagonize Fascism, and that Catholics may join Fascist organizations on condition that Catholicism be not opposed. High officials on both sides who became obnoxious to each other during the controversy are to be replaced by others not thus disqualified. It remains to be seen whether the terms of the Concordat can be satisfactorily carried out. A few months later Mussolini visited the pope in the Vatican for the first time and was amicably and ceremoniously received.

II. GERMAN PROTESTANTISM SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Up to the World War the Evangelical Church was the established religion of the German Empire. The Kaiser, as King of Prussia, was at the head and a system of General Superintendencies, each responsible to the Consistorial Council appointed by and responsible to the ruler, providing thorough organization and centralized control for the Evangelical Church in Prussia. The Prussian universities were under similar control, and the Kaiser took pride in making them highly efficient. Each constituent state had its own organization patterned on that of Prussia. Saxony had a Catholic king, who tolerated Protestants and subsidized them from public taxation.

1. *Disestablishment and Loss of State Support*

When Germany lost the War and became a confederation of republican states, public support was withdrawn from the churches, Protestant and Catholic, and they were thrown largely upon their own resources. With their world-wide and thorough organization, and the determination of the Roman Curia to make the most of their opportunity, Catholics have probably suffered less from the withdrawal of state aid and the general impoverishment of the country than Protestants. The concentrated voting power of the Catholic Center (Centrum) has made the Catholic vote essential to the carrying on of government, despite the opposition of Socialists and Fascists, and has enabled them to secure more advantageous relations than the Evangelicals in the way of financial support and control of appointment of professors in the Catholic faculties of the universities.

Long before the War a large proportion of the Protestant working people had lost interest in religion and had become unbelieving socialists. Having no

official head and without government support, local churches have found it difficult to raise sufficient funds to carry on their work in a vigorous way. Eloquent ministers, who emphasize the social side of Christianity, command good congregations and secure adequate financial support for their work; but the great majority of the churches are poorly attended and supported.

Besides the Evangelicals supported and controlled by the civil governments, there are many Free Lutheran churches that had refused to enter into the state-enforced union of 1806. After severe persecution and the loss of thousands of members through emigration to the United States they finally secured toleration; so also a comparatively small number of Methodists, Mennonites, and Baptists. In Bavaria Lutheran and Reformed churches that had for over a hundred years wrought together as Evangelicals have used their freedom to separate.

Of Germany's total population of 60,000,000, one-third are classed as Catholics and two-thirds as Protestants; but it seems that a large percentage of the latter are either indifferent religiously, or pronounced unbelievers. This is especially true of the Socialists. Lutherans in the United States have not been indifferent to the depressed and distressed condition of their brethren in Germany, Russia, and other European countries.

2. *Efforts to Reorganize and Strengthen the Evangelical Churches*

Following the revolution and disestablishment, the Evangelical churches in the different German states have been seeking to bring about complete harmony and cooperation. The Evangelical Union has resulted from negotiations to this end.

In 1919 a Church Parliament (*Kirchentag*), representing as many bodies as had agreed to cooperate,

was held at Dresden, with a view to establishing a nation-wide Evangelical organization. A triennial meeting was agreed upon. At the second meeting at Wittenberg a constitution was enthusiastically adopted. The constitution leaves the Free Churches with all their privileges. Its purposes are declared to be, "to bring about a firm and enduring unification of the German Evangelical state churches in order to conserve their common interests, to cultivate the common consciousness of German Protestantism and to utilize the combined powers of the German Reformation on behalf of its moral and religious positions." The Parliament consists of two hundred and ten members, one-third clergy and two-thirds lay. Twenty-eight state churches are represented. The constitution adopted leaves to the Free Lutheran churches all their rights and privileges.

3. *The Eisenach World Convention*

In 1923 Lutherans held a World Convention at Eisenach. This important meeting was doubtless arranged for and financed, in part at least, by the United Lutheran Church of America. Its most important act was the appointment of a committee of six for continuation work. It meets from time to time in different places and is supposed to look after the interests of Lutheranism throughout the world. Up to 1926 German Lutherans (Evangelicals) received financial aid from America. At this time they decided to become self-supporting. This decision was celebrated on July 4 with thanksgiving for the fellowship that existed between German and American Lutherans. It was reported at the time that American contributions for German Lutheran rehabilitation had amounted to $870,000, besides a large amount of clothing, etc. Recent depression in Germany has occasioned renewed expressions of sympathy and fellowship from American Lutherans.

4. *Recent Negotiations Between Church and State*

While the central government and the states withdrew direct financial aid to the churches, some of the states and finally the Reich (Federal government) authorized the levying and compulsory collection of fees for church support. Great numbers withdrew to escape assessment. When German finances became stabilized and relative prosperity prevailed many resumed their membership. The present financial depression and government instability are doubtless bringing upon the churches another period of extreme distress.

Negotiations, continued for more than a year between the Protestants of Prussia and the Prussian Ministry of Education looking toward more favorable relations for the former, were concluded June 29, 1931. The solidarity and dependability of the Catholic vote in the legislative bodies had enabled the Roman Catholic Church to secure advantages long withheld from the Protestants; such as veto power on the appointment of Catholic professors in the theological faculties, who, as well as the professors in the Protestant faculties, were after as before the War supported by the State. Another Protestant grievance was the law requiring state consent for the appointment of general superintendents, with the penalty of removal from office in case of any show of hostility to the government. The seeming political necessity of subsidizing the Roman Catholic Church had led to similar contributions to the Evangelical Church, many of whose leaders still strive for complete autonomy. Some of the Evangelical theologians and leaders have insisted on a closer relation between the church and the Protestant theological faculties. The professors and liberal theologians have insisted on complete academic freedom. The new Concordat put the Evangelicals virtually on a level with the Catholics. The number of

students in the Protestant theological faculties of the universities is surprising, when the depressed condition of the nation and the churches is considered. The total of these students, a considerable proportion of whom were women, during the first semester of 1931, was 5,528; 830 at Berlin alone. The supply of theological graduates is far in excess of the demand.

5. *Recent Theological and Religious Thought Among German Protestants*

As regards the spirit and faith of the German Protestants of the present time, Professor Weinel, of the University of Jena,[1] remarks: "The soul of our people swings in much greater oscillations than before; the oppositions are opened wider; everything gentle and tranquil is thrust into the background; the middle path is outrun, and is counted impotent to put an end to the vast distress of soul. . . As in politics, so also in religion, immense numbers, especially among the young, tend to the Extremists and the Radicals, right and left." Weinel speaks of Harnack (since deceased) as still standing "before the growing coarseness of this generation, which threatens to turn away entirely from intellectual activity and science, as a far-shining sign of Protestant freedom, disinterested piety, and comprehensive culture."

A mystical movement, partly the outcome of the intensive study of Oriental cults, has gained a considerable following. Rudolf Otto, whose book *The Holy* has had a very large sale, and Johannes Müller represent this movement on its more theological side. "Müller has become for many thousands a great physician of the soul's energy and health" (Weinel).

The "*League of Free Protestants,*" with Rade as leader, *The Christian World* as its organ, and its "Evangelical Social Congress," has lost much of its

[1] *Hibbert Journal,* Vol. 22, p. 271.

mediating influence by reason of the enormous proportions now assumed by social questions.

Then there is an influential group calling themselves "*Modern-positive,*" or "*Faithful to Christ,*" which perpetuates the mediating theology of Ritschl. It has been represented by Schlatter, Seeberg, Schader, Ihmels and Heim. Its theology is sometimes designated "theocentric" as compared with Schleiermacher's "anthropocentric" or "Christocentric." Heim is a member of the theological faculty of Göttingen, and is exceedingly popular. This type of thought is still highly influential in most parts of Germany and beyond.

It is not to be supposed that the old orthodoxy that still respects the authority of Scripture as interpreted by Luther, the Augsburg Confession and the Book of Concord, has entirely disappeared. "The orthodoxy of today," writes Weinel, "not only opposes every liberal theology, but has quite consciously begun to attack German idealism itself. . . This movement is also very powerful in the church parliaments of the large states, especially Prussia. There a preamble has been inserted into the new church constitution, which expressly confirms all the old (Lutheran) confessions by name. In spite of the resistance of the center party (Roman Catholic) and the left (extreme radicals), the majority (orthodox) would make no concession. In Bavaria a pastor has recently been turned out of office on the ground of free teaching."

There is also a small *High Church* (Romanizing) *Party. Rittelmeyer,* a Berlin pastor, highly educated and refined, has organized for the propagation of this type of religion the "Christianity Society." Rittelmeyer passed from extreme liberalism to mysticism, and then combined his mysticism with elaborate sacramental rites, hoping thereby "to bring to our too sober Evangelical church more immediacy and experience of God." Many young theologians have adopted this

point of view and are working in several cities for the Christianity Society.

By far the most popular of recent German theologians is *Karl Barth,*[1] a Swiss pastor who a few years ago became a member of the Göttingen theological faculty. His intense earnestness and his utter repudiation of all other modes of theological thought have attracted to his ranks great numbers of younger theological students and ministers, notwithstanding the obscurity, contradictoriness, and impracticability of his point of view.

Weinel summarizes his earlier theologizing as follows: "To God alone is due the power and the honor and the glory; man is nothing and less than nothing, a lost and reprobate sinner. A deep seriousness lies in this movement, which is full of promise, if it does not remain a mere seriousness of thought, or pass into a game of dialectic . . .; but animates all life so as to stir our people in their inmost nature and bring them to God."

Barth concentrates attention upon the cross and the resurrection. The *crisis* in the crucifixion involved recognition of "the meaninglessness, the moral obliquity, the misery, and also the shame and horror and absoluteness of man's abysmal separation from God, together with the fulness of consent to the righteous judgment and fierce wrath of God against man, and the complete divine negation of all human thought, wisdom, culture, morality and religion. The 'No' of God to all that is human was never perfectly uttered before under human form." It involved also "the absolute affirmation of the divine world, the divine will, the divine character, the divine love, the perfect submission to the will of God. . . This latter is what Barth means by Christ's rising from the dead. He says that the resurrection is not a fact of history; it took place only in the transcendental world" (Quoted from Anderson's article in the *Colgate-Rochester Bulletin,* March, 1931). Barth seems to require a degree of self-humiliation and self-abnegation that has never been possible except to a few ascetics, and a conception of God not as infinite love, but as infinite wrath. It is difficult to understand how any one could find satisfaction in such a conception of God, Christ, and Christianity. Knudsen says of Barth: "His whole theology is absolutely impossible. It is a pure, simple, and radical irrationalism. It puts God and the spiritual absolutely beyond the reach of man."

[1] In his recently published *Karl Barth,* Dr. W. Pauck, the brilliant young scholar who studied under Barth and is now professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary, expresses high admiration for Barth and partial approval of his teaching. He regards his maintenance of the existence of a transcendent God as Barth's chief merit, and stresses his return to old-fashioned authoritarianism and his demonstration of the shallowness of liberalism and modernism.

III. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1. *Present State of Anglican Parties*

The three well-defined parties in the Church of England have persisted to the present time and there are still several gradations in each.

a. The *High Church Party* embraces (*a*) the older type of stalwart churchmen, who stress apostolic succession, in which they claim full equality with Rome, rigorous adherence to the ritual, and repudiation of the Reformation, and who are reasonably content with existing relations of church and state; (*b*) those who make similar claims, but insist upon more elaborate ritual and less or no government interference, would rejoice in papal recognition of Anglican ordination, favor Anglican monastic orders, and are zealous in all kinds of humanitarian work, in which they would rival or outdo the Roman Catholics; (*c*) those who like Bishop Gore and his Oxford associates (as in *Lux Mundi*), probably influenced by Roman Catholic modernists (Tyrrell, Loisy, Murri) and their sufferings at the hands of Pius X, admit the propriety of biblical criticism and insist upon the free use of reason in the discussion of theological questions; and lastly (*d*) the avowedly Romanizing section that go far beyond what the law permits in teaching the primacy of the pope, transubstantiation, Mariolatry, saint worship, etc. This last is by far the most energetic and enthusiastic party. Some of them have no doubt already united with the Roman Catholic Church. They are encouraged to retain their benefices as a means of winning converts. Others shrink from the hardship involved in surrendering their benefices and hope for the triumph of Roman Catholicism in England. From this class of High Churchmen and their parishioners accessions to the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church in

England have been very numerous, especially since the War.

b. The *Low Church Party* has probably lost ground during the last thirty years. Most of its educated clergy, while seeking to establish and maintain friendly relations with Free Churchmen, and protesting against the Romanizing tendency of High Churchmen, and the undermining of the faith by Broad Church extremists, have almost ceased to contend against the application of the evolution theory to religion and have relaxed in their efforts to maintain a high standard of semi-Calvinistic orthodoxy. Many of those who oppose biblical criticism are premillennialists.

c. The *Broad Church Party* includes in its ranks the great body of liberal thinkers, who take nothing for granted in the theologizing and symbolism of the past, deny the supernatural, and regard Judaism and Christianity, along with other religious systems, as products of an evolutionary process. The universities of England are at present largely in the hands of Broad Churchmen.

d. Churchmen of all types, with individual exceptions, are opposed to disestablishment, which has been persistently advocated by Dissenters. The manifest advantages to those who are content to enjoy state support with comparatively little state interference, and the fear that disestablishment would lead to ultimate disendowment, account for this attitude.

The disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, where a large majority of the population were Dissenters, just before the World War, would no doubt have been followed by active efforts to overthrow the entire establishment. Agitation to this end was suspended by the War and since then conditions have not been favorable for united effort to this end by Free Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Jews, and unbelievers. If the disestablishment and disendowment of the church were put to a popular vote it would probably carry.

2. *Some Anglican Movements in Favor of Church Union*

a. The Kikuyu Incident. In April, 1913, a conference of South African missionaries of several denominations was held at Kikuyu, under the auspices of the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda. The chief purpose of the conference was to abolish competition and overlapping and to secure for each mission field immunity from the intrusion of missionaries of other denominations. It was agreed to divide the territory to be evangelized among the various denominations, regard being had to missions already established, each district to be worked exclusively by one denomination. Those entering into the agreement accepted as authoritative the Bible and the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and professed their belief in "the atoning death of our Lord as the ground of forgiveness." The Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda pledged themselves to recognize common membership between the federated churches. At the close of the proceedings the Bishop of Mombasa celebrated communion in a Presbyterian church and invited all Dissenters present to participate.

The High Church Bishop of Zanzibar protested and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who declared that ministers of other denominations may be welcomed as visitors to preach in Anglican churches; that non-Anglicans may be admitted to communion in Anglican churches on their acceptance of the authority of the Scriptures, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and the deity of Christ; but that *Anglicans must not receive communion at the hands of ministers not episcopally ordained.* While refusing to censure the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda, he declared that it was wisest not to hold such meetings. Leading High Churchmen protested. The Bishop of Zanzibar declared there had not been a conference of such importance in the Anglican Church since the Reformation.

b. The Lambeth Quadrilateral. In 1886 eleven hundred Protestant Episcopal clergy and three thousand laymen, meeting in Chicago, issued a memorial in favor of union with other evangelical bodies on the basis of acceptance of the authority of the Scriptures, the Nicene Creed, the two sacraments, and the historical episcopate. The preamble declares: "This Church does not seek to absorb other communions. . . but rather by cooperating with them . . . to discountenance schism." The Lambeth Conference (the ecumenical Anglican Conference meeting from time to time in the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury in London) was urged by the Australian and Canadian Synods (1888) to take action in favor of Christian union. In response, the Lambeth Conference adopted the Chicago Quadrilateral, with slight modifications. The Apostles' Creed is joined with the Nicene in the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

On several occasions during the past few years dissenting denominations have been invited to send representatives for conference with Anglican authorities regarding terms of more harmonious relations and possible reunion with the established Church. These invitations have been accepted and the discussions have been conducted in a very friendly way. Dissenters have gone as far as possible in concessions, but have taken a firm stand against the uncompromising insistence of the Churchmen on the *Historic Episcopate,* which would set at naught the ordination of dissenting ministers and make episcopal ordination compulsory. This would mean that the dissenting bodies might be allowed to conduct their church affairs in their own way, practise or reject infant baptism, continue to hold their own views and practises regarding the Lord's Supper; but they must all become Episcopalians. There was apparently no promise to share with Dissenters the Church wealth accumulated during the centuries, or to give to the ministers and their families

the social recognition, the withholding of which is one of their greatest hardships.

c. Appeal of the Lambeth Conference of 1920. The Lambeth Conference of 1920 put forth a very earnest and conciliatory appeal to all non-Anglican Christians everywhere to unite with the Church of England:

"The time has come, we believe, for all the separated groups of Christians to agree in forgetting the things behind and reaching out toward the goal of a reunited Catholic Church. . . May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing . . . a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body. . ? It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those communions which do not possess the Episcopate. On the contrary we thankfully acknowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace." Further argument follows as to the advantages to be derived from united acceptance of the Historic Episcopate. . . If ministers of Dissenting communions are unwilling to be episcopally ordained, a form of commission or recognition by a bishop might be acceptable. Ministers favorable to union may be invited to preach in Anglican churches, and Anglican ministers allowed to preach in Dissenting churches, and baptized members of other communions may be admitted to communion in Anglican churches." This appeal led to new declarations by the assemblies and conventions of leading non-Anglican denominations throughout the Christian world.

It is not conceivable that Free Churchmen would have finally accepted the terms of union, even if the Churchmen had yielded on the Historic Episcopate, or have identified themselves with a body in which the most pronounced liberals and virtual Roman Catholics have equal standing, or that denominations like Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers, would so far countenance the union of church and state.

d. South India Efforts at Church Union. For many years earnest efforts have been put forward by Anglican missionary bishops and several missionary societies of other denominations doing missionary work in Southern India to reach a basis of union that would avoid overlapping and competition and present a united

Christianity to the natives. As early as 1908 the Presbyterian synod of South India was permitted by the Presbyterian Church in India to unite with the mission churches of the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in constituting the *South India United Church.* Negotiations were carried on with the Anglican Mission Church (1919) and with the Wesleyan Church in South India (1925). The basis of union and cooperation has been the adoption of a constitutional episcopate and recognition of the ordination of the ministers of all the denominations already united, or negotiating for union. Negotiations regarding the union of the South India group and some churches in North India have been started and efforts have been made to secure the approval of the Anglican Church. It was hoped that the Lambeth Conference of 1930 would deal with the union in such a way as to lead the Archbishop of Canterbury to give his unqualified approval; but nothing definite was done. The English and American denominations and boards that support these South Indian missions have not all as yet expressed approval. It is thought the matter will not be finally settled until 1934.

The Bishop of Dornakal thus pleads for union: "The necessity for union in India appeals to us with an urgency unknown in Europe. There the union of Christendom is a desirable ideal; here it is a vital necessity. In Europe disunion is a weakness; in India it is a sin and a scandal."

The Bishop of Bombay: "Not because of our virtue or wisdom, but because we are called of God we are the pioneers of unity in the world. . . Because we have got so far God will enable us to the end. . . Unity will come because the Spirit is moving men toward it."

It is the opinion of the South Indian Bishops that in thirty years all the missionaries will have been episcopally ordained, those not so ordained having passed away and all new-comers having accepted episcopal ordination as a condition of employment. Bishops are to be ordained by the joint laying on of hands of bishops and presbyters. The non-Anglican Churches accept the historical episcopate without committing themselves to any theory regarding the necessity of apostolic succession in the episcopacy or the conferring of spiritual power in ordination.

e. Controversy on the Revised Prayer-Book. High Churchmen of the Romanizing type have for a long time manifested their dissatisfaction with the Prayer-Book and demanded a revision in the direction of more elaborate ritual and more Romanizing teaching; while Low Churchmen have protested against the Romanizing elements already present. In the revision actually achieved the Romanizing High Churchmen had their way. To become authoritative the assent of Parliament was requisite. Parliament, composed as it is of High, Low, and Broad Churchmen, Dissenters, Jews, and agnostics, with High Churchmen in a minority, refused to authorize it. The opposition centered upon the *Reservation of the Sacrament,* which, from the context, involves the idolatrous use of the consecrated bread and wine, as in Roman Catholicism, and implies acceptance of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The refusal to give Parliamentary authority to the revision did not involve prohibition of its use. High Church ministers and their members are using it, with the reservation of the sacrament and many other Romanizing features, without government interference. A sharp controversy has recently taken place between Bishop Barnes, a pronounced Broad Churchman, and Archbishop Lang. The Bishop refused to install a young minister who had acquired a benefice in St. Aidans, Birmingham, because he suspected him of holding to extreme High Church views regarding the "reservation of the sacrament" for idolatrous purposes, and like Romish practises. His refusal to define his attitude convinced the Bishop of his unfitness. The Archbishop overruled the Bishop's objection and the candidate was duly installed. St. Aidans is one of the most notorious of the Romanizing churches, and has frequently incurred censure for unauthorized practises.

f. The Lambeth Conference of 1930. Christians in all parts of the world interested in church union looked

forward with keen expectation to the Lambeth Conference of 1930. It proved to be by far larger and more widely representative than any of its predecessors. All parts of the world were represented, including the ancient Syrian Churches of Minorca and Southern India, and the Swedish Lutheran Church. Among Orientals present were the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Metropolitan of Thyatira, the Patriarch of Antioch, prelates from Roumania, Jugoslavia, Corsica, Cyprus, Poland, Bulgaria, the Old Catholic (Jansenist) Archbishop of Utrecht, and many others.

The disestablished and downtrodden condition of the Russian Church, which had attained to the virtual primacy of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, sufficiently accounts for its failure to be represented and for the increasing friendliness to the Anglicans of the Orthodox Orientals of the countries actually represented, where extremely depressed conditions prevail. The Orientals agreed to recognize the validity of Anglican ordination, which Rome persistently and decisively refuses to do. But it is inconceivable that they would abandon any of their ancient doctrines and practises in favor of union with the Anglican Church. The fact that the High Church Anglicans are so anxious for papal recognition should repel them as it undoubtedly does the English Dissenters. The Orientals could scarcely be expected to desire any kind of effectual union with a church in which extreme modernists and virtual Roman Catholics have the same status as evangelical Christians of the conservative type.

The Dissenting bodies invited to participate sent representatives as a matter of courtesy, but it was manifest to deeply interested Anglicans, like the Bishop of Gloucester, that they had lost interest, if they ever were sincerely interested, and were lacking in moral earnestness in the matter of church union.

It was evidently the purpose and hope of the Anglicans by making concessions and by kindly dealing

to secure the good-will of the Dissenters and by insistence on the Historic Episcopate ultimately to make Episcopalians of them all.

There is a serious deficiency in the supply of Anglican clergy, as well as in the means for their support, and a marked tendency to combine three or four smaller parishes into one.

IV. SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS

When our first edition was being prepared a very happy union had just been accomplished between the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. A small minority, popularly called the "Wee Frees," protested against the union, basing its protest on the claim that the Free Church had violated its constitution by adopting "Voluntaryism," or complete freedom from state control, for which United Presbyterians contended. The small minority laid claim to all the property of the Free Church and sued for its possession. The Scottish court decided against them. An appeal to the English Law Lords gave to the "Wee Frees" their entire claim. Parliamentary legislation was necessary before an equitable division of the properties was possible.

The United Free Church and the Church of Scotland had become closely assimilated in modes of thought and work. The universities and theological faculties had become equally modernized and both parties had some years before the union reached the conviction that union was highly desirable. The only serious obstacle was the possibility, under existing laws, of state interference with the Church in the appointment and dismissal of pastors (Lay patronage, compulsory installation of pastors, etc.). In 1921 Parliament enacted a law quite in accord with the requirements of the United Free Church, giving it complete autonomy. Both parties desired to be still regarded as the national Church of Scotland, while enjoying

perfect freedom. The king is still pledged to maintain Presbyterian government in the Church of Scotland, and while in Scotland to be a member of its Church. He may attend in person the meetings of the General Assembly as an honored guest, but without the right to vote.

The Westminster Confession retains its place as a nominal standard, but perfect freedom is claimed "under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to formulate, interpret, or modify its subordinate standards, always in agreement with the Word of God and the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained in the said Confession, of which agreement the Church itself shall be the sole judge." The Union was consummated October 2, 1929.

V. THE CANADIAN UNITED CHURCH

In 1925 the Canada Presbyterian Church, the Canada Methodist Church, and the Congregational Affiliated Churches of Canada celebrated with rejoicing and *éclat* an organic union, after more than twenty years of earnest effort to accomplish this end. The persistence of the Lambeth Conference and the Anglican churchmen in urging union upon non-Anglican churches no doubt led several denominations to think seriously of the evils of sectarianism and the desirability of union where it could be accomplished without sacrifice of vital principles.

1. *Earlier Unions in Three Groups*

a. Methodist. In 1874 the Methodist Church of Canada had resulted from the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British North America, the Canadian Wesleyan New Connection, the Canada Conference of the Wesleyan New Connection, the Protestant Methodist Church of Eastern Canada, the Canada Conference of

the Wesleyan Church (Ontario), and the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada. In 1884 the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Eastern District Meeting (Quebec) joined the union.

b. Congregational. The Congregational Union of Canada had been formed (1906-7) of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, the Ontario Conference of the United Brethren in Christ, and the Congregational Union of Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

c. Presbyterian. The Presbyterian Church in Canada had been formed in 1875 by the union of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada with the Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church Synod in Canada, the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church, the Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada, Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America, Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick, and Synod of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

d. Negotiations for Larger Union. The success attending the merging of these small bodies into three much larger and more effective groups no doubt encouraged the leaders who had church union at heart to attempt a still larger union. It was understood from the beginning of negotiations that there was no hope of bringing Anglicans into the union, on account of their persistent insistence on the Historic Episcopate and their general attitude of aloofness, and that Baptists could not be expected to abandon their contention for the restriction of church-membership to believers baptized by immersion, or to accept any form of church government that compromised the independence of the individual local churches.

e. Basis of Union. After negotiations had proceeded for several years in a rather quiet way and it had been ascertained that a large majority of the more influential members of the three denominations favored the union and considered it practicable, representatives of the three denominations appointed for the purpose drew up a basis of union (1903), in which every possible precaution was taken to avoid definitions of doctrine or polity that could give offence to any of the denominations involved. The fact is, the educated leaders of the three denominations had to a great extent come under the influence of modern thought; and while all alike held fast to the fundamentals of the faith, Presbyterians were no longer inclined to stress unconditional predestination, reprobation and related doctrines; and Methodists no longer felt the need of emphasizing the possibility of falling from grace. As finally adopted, the basis of union is a masterpiece of irenic diplomacy.

It is probable that conditions in the home mission fields in Northern Ontario and among the rapidly increasing population of the Northwest had more to do with the inauguration and success of the union movement than any other consideration.

Doctor Patrick, of Winnipeg, a Presbyterian, lately from Scotland, took the liberty of appealing to the Methodist Conference for cooperation with the Presbyterians in a union movement. The Methodists showed themselves eager for union. After much preliminary negotiation, a joint committee was appointed to draw up a basis of union and to take such preliminary steps as might prove feasible. Much delay resulted from the obstructive measures of about a third of the Presbyterian ministers and churches. Every effort was made to conciliate and win them. When it became evident that they were becoming more and more determined and polemical it was decided by the Presbyterian majority, the Methodists, and the Congrega-

tionalists (a very small body) to adopt the "Basis of Union" and secure the necessary legislation.

f. Consummation. The Union was virtually consummated in 1921. After legislation had been secured and all preliminaries arranged it was put in full operation in 1925. The Union seems to have been a happy one and, as far as an outsider can judge, is a complete success.

g. Continuing Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian minority, with a church-membership of about one hundred and fifty thousand, received an equitable share of the Presbyterian property and adopted the designation "The Continuing Presbyterian Church of Canada."

VI. AMERICAN LUTHERANS

1. *United Lutheran Church in America*

The celebration in New York City in 1917 of the beginning of the Reformation brought together the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, and the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South. The fellowship manifested there and the enthusiasm for evangelical Lutheranism led to negotiations for a merger, which was consummated in a very happy way in 1918. (The slavery question and the war between the States had caused the separate organization of Northern and Southern Lutherans.) There was little difference in doctrine or practise to be ironed out. This union embraces most of the Lutherans of the earliest type who had long been in close and friendly contact with other evangelical bodies, and had long since disused the German language.

This Lutheran body accepts the Scriptures as "the inspired Word of God and as the only infallible rule and standard of faith and practise, according to which

all doctrines and teachers are to be judged," the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian creeds "as important testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and rejects all errors which they condemn." They accept the unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalkald Articles, Luther's Catechisms, and the Formula of Concord, "as in the harmony of one and the same pure Scriptural faith."

In 1916 the churches that united had a membership of 763,596; in 1926, 1,214,340. This body is actively engaged in home and foreign mission, publication, hospital, and educational work, and other forms of Christian benevolence.

2. *Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States*

This Synod is the second great aggregation of Lutheran churches and resulted from agreements of several like-minded synods in several States to cooperate. This Lutheran group had its nucleus in the immigration from Germany, from 1839 onward, of thousands of exceedingly strict Lutherans who refused to recognize the union of Lutheran and Reformed churches forced by Frederick William III of Prussia and other German rulers. After suffering severe persecution, emigration to the United States began and continued for years. Most of them settled in Missouri and the neighboring States. They accept the Lutheran symbols unconditionally, and put upon them the strictest construction. They might well be designated High Church or Fundamentalist Lutherans. They are said to be so rigorous that it is scarcely possible for controversy between Fundamentalists and Modernists to arise. Any show of modernism would lead to the prompt exclusion of the offender. The State and nation-wide synods assume no authority over the local churches, which are regarded as independent; but any defection on the part of a local church would in-

volve exclusion from fellowship. They have limited the use of books in churches and schools to those prepared by orthodox Lutherans. They consider any mingling of religious denominations as undesirable and dangerous. The "Missourians" are active in home and foreign missions, education, hospital work, and orphanages.

3. *Evangelical Lutheran Joint-Synod of Wisconsin and Other States*

When the Northwestern territories were opened up for settlement there was a great influx of Lutherans from Germany and the Scandinavian countries. There were few ministers among them, but in many communities local churches were formed and their needs were gradually supplied by missionary preachers from the older settlements. They appreciated the value of education and supplied themselves with schools. They knew nothing about ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters, but gave unquestioned loyalty to the Lutheran symbols, of the contents of which and of the Bible they had very little knowledge. It seems very remarkable that while the German universities were leading the learned Christian world in radical biblical criticism and speculative theology the German Lutheran immigrants were so uniformly and persistently orthodox. Most of those who constituted this group were ultra-conservative middle-class people, having no highly educated ministers, and were content with the Scriptures as interpreted in the Lutheran symbolical books.

The churches of this group soon became enterprising enough to organize themselves into small synods, and ultimately came together for educational, missionary, eleemosynary, and publication work into a larger synod, as designated above. This synod had a membership of 229,242 members in 1926. Its attitude toward other denominations seems to be midway between that of the United and that of the Missourians.

4. *Evangelical Lutheran Joint-Synod of Ohio and Other States*

The churches embraced in this Synod grew out of missionary work inaugurated by the ministerium of Philadelphia and supported by Lutherans of Pennsylvania and other Eastern States. Its organization occurred in 1896. These churches had for a time affiliated with the "Missourians," but abandoned this connection in 1881 because they could not accept the rigorous predestinarian views of this body. No doubt other features of this intensely fundamentalist body rendered the affiliation unsatisfactory. They carry on the activities of evangelical Christians efficiently. Their membership in 1926 was 247,783.

5. *Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States*

This group of Lutheran churches, with a membership of 217,873, in 1926, seceded from the "Missourians" on doctrinal grounds and formed a separate organization in 1875. While accepting the Lutheran symbols, they insist on freedom of interpretation and maintain, against the "Missourians," that there are open questions and that ministers ought not to be cast out for opinions different from those insisted upon by the "Missourians"; such as apostolic succession in the ministry; premillennialism or postmillennialism; the "first resurrection"; the conversion of Israel; and antichrist—on all of which the "Missourians" had fixed views which they regarded as heretical. Like most American Lutherans, they lay special stress on the independence of the local churches. The Synod is fully equipped with educational, missionary, and benevolent institutions. The most influential leader of this group was Wilhelm Löhe, who came out from Bavaria under the auspices of the Missourians and who revolted against their dogmatism.

6. *The Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America*

The churches composing this synod were originally Scandinavian, chiefly Swedes. Norwegians withdrew to form a synod of their own. Its principal educational institutions are Augustana College and Augustana Theological Seminary, at Rock Island, Illinois. The synod is actively engaged in home and foreign missions and charitable work. It was formerly connected with the General Council, but refused to enter into the merger of 1918. This synod seems to be more liberal than the "Missourians," but less so than the United Lutherans. Their total membership is 311,425 (1926).

7. *Independent Lutheran Bodies*

Besides these larger aggregations of Lutherans there are independent synods of Slovaks, Danes (two bodies), Norwegians, Icelanders, and Finns (three bodies); the Church of Lutheran Brethren of America, the Evangelical Jehovah Conference, and a considerable number of independent Lutheran congregations.

The Lutherans have been given more space than can be allotted to most other denominations because they furnish the best illustration of the tendency of American Christians to schism on comparatively small issues, and because of their wide departure from European antecedents. Evidently there is still much room for future union effort. Most of the Scandinavian and German Lutherans now speak English, and division on national and linguistic grounds seems to be growing less and less excusable.

VII. METHODISTS

After years of negotiation the Methodist (Wesleyan) parties in England have consummated their

union (August, 1931), to be publicly celebrated at a conference in 1932. The united Methodists will constitute one of the strongest and most aggressive bodies of Dissenters in England.

There have been no important changes in this large and important body in the United States since the beginning of the century, apart from their steady growth. Repeated efforts have been made to reunite the northern and southern branches, disunited by the slavery question and the war between the States. The reunion has been urged by the Northern Methodists and favored by many Southern leaders; but differences of attitude regarding relations with the great Negro Methodist bodies, and suspicion as to the orthodoxy of many Northern Methodists entertained by many of the Southern, has so far prevented organic reunion. Their doctrinal standards are practically identical and there is a free interchange of members and ministers, so that they can not fairly be regarded as distinct denominations. The same is true of the larger Negro Methodist organizations, among which some unimportant changes of name and alignment have occurred since the beginning of the century. The minor Methodist parties, on various grounds, still prefer to remain apart.

VIII. DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

Long before the beginning of the present century, a wide breach had occurred between the Progressives of this denomination, who had adopted the types of organization and the methods of conducting cooperative Christian work that had proved effective in other evangelical bodies, and had agreed to ignore some of the more extreme positions taken, in the midst of controversy, by their founder, and the Conservatives, who laid special stress on the founder's maxim, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak, and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."

1. *The Conservatives, or Churches of Christ*

Among the points of dissension and protest were, the organization of a missionary society on a money basis of membership, the employment of a salaried ministry, the use of musical instruments in church worship, and what they considered unscriptural means of raising money.

In the United States Census of 1890 the two parties were numbered together. In the census of 1906 the Conservatives insisted on separate enumeration, which was only partially carried out. This was accomplished more completely in the census of 1926, in which they appear as Churches of Christ, with a membership of about half a million.

2. *The Progressives, or Disciples of Christ*

These have become one of the best organized and most successful of the evangelical denominations, and now have a membership of over a million and a half baptized believers. They maintain friendly relations with other evangelical bodies, practise open communion, lay special stress on New Testament authority, reject creeds and confessions of faith, and while they reject party names and prefer to call themselves "Christians," or "Disciples," they lay no claims to a monopoly of these designations. Like the Conservatives, they practise weekly communion as Apostolic. While they repudiate the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, they regard baptism by immersion on a profession of faith in Christ as "commanded in order to the remission of sins."

The Disciples are earnest advocates of a unified Christianity and are active in all national and international organizations that are seeking to promote a wider Christian fellowship. Many of them are ardent pacifists. Some of their northern leaders, notably in the Chicago center, are avowedly modernistic.

The Disciples sustain an "International Convention of the Disciples of Christ," constituted of individuals and with no legislative power. In 1917 the various missionary and benevolent societies were brought together by a syndicating arrangement in the "United Christian Missionary Society," each society retaining its legal status and all the general work of the denomination thus coordinated being controlled and safeguarded by this central body, which receives and distributes about $3,000,000 a year.

IX. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

This is one of the oldest, most thoroughly organized and equipped, wealthiest, and most active and aggressive of our nation-wide denominations. From 1890 to 1926 its membership has increased, according to Government census reports, from 532,048 to 1,859,086.

An authoritative statement in the United States Census of Religious Bodies, 1926, gives the following information:

"The opening years of the twentieth century saw an unprecedented growth in the interest and activities of the Episcopal Church. During these years the greatest advance was probably in the field of religious education. Provision was made for improved methods and more careful supervision, not only in the field of Christian instruction in both the church and the church school, but also in preparatory and technical schools, colleges and universities, and in the training of men for the ministry . . . In the realm of Christian social service, parochial, diocesan, and provincial boards and commissions were formed throughout the country and, directed by a national commission, were very active in their investigation and study of social conditions." An effort to raise $5,000,000 as a permanent fund for supplementing ministerial salaries and the relief of aged and infirm ministers resulted in securing nearly $9,000,000 at the time (1913). This fund had grown to over $20,000,000 before 1926.

In 1919 a National Council for the control of all denominational agencies was created, and is said to have contributed largely to efficiency and economy. The phenomenal increase in numbers has been due in part to immigration from Canada and Great Britain.

We have no statistics to show the relative strength of the High, Low, and Broad Church parties, which may still be distinguished. A considerable majority of the bishops would probably be classed as High Churchmen. Discussions and decisions in the national General Convention would indicate a preponderance of the Broad Church, or liberal element. In the recent General Convention at Denver (September, 1931) the majority voted in favor of more liberal views on divorce and the remarriage of divorced persons, and refused to protest against the decision of the Lambeth Conference of 1930 in favor of birth-control under certain conditions. A large proportion of Episcopal ministers and their parishioners might be classed as Evangelical.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has still more than its proportion of professional men, politicians, statesmen, and leaders in finance, utilities, and industries. It has been estimated that a tenth of the wealth of the United States is in Episcopalian hands.

X. THE PRESBYTERIANS

Northern and Southern Presbyterians, divided by reason of the slavery question, have maintained their separate designations and their separate activities, partly, no doubt, on account of their continued difference of attitude regarding the race question, partly because of convenience of administration, and partly because of difference regarding modernistic modes of theological and scientific thought. Northern Presbyterians are becoming increasingly modernistic, while Southern Presbyterians are still, as a body, highly conservative. The official designation of the northern body is, "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America"; that of the southern body, "The Presbyterian Church in the United States."

The minor Presbyterian bodies, that have grown out of local disagreements or Scottish Presbyterian schisms long since extinct, have undergone little change.

As illustrations of the growing liberalism of Northern Presbyterians the following facts may be adduced. The conservative majority in the General Assembly undertook to discipline members of the Faculty of the Union Theological Seminary for modernistic teaching, with the result that the trustees declared the independence of the Seminary, and the Board was reconstituted with Presbyterian, Congregational, Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist representation. At the Centennial celebration of the Princeton Theological Seminary, in 1912, President Patton boasted that in the century of its activity not a single new theological idea had been advanced by a member of its faculty. Since that time the death and retirement of conservative professors and the introduction of several professors of modernistic tendencies led to the withdrawal of the remaining fundamentalist professors to found a new seminary in Philadelphia.

While the Northern Presbyterians are on the whole decidedly more liberal in their theology than the Southern, they still maintain a very high standard of evangelical life and doctrine and are active in all forms of missionary, benevolent, and educational work.

Alterations in the Westminster Confession, with renewed emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit and on the love of God as an incentive to world-wide evangelism, emphasizing the universality of the gospel offer of salvation, and affirming belief in the salvation of unbaptized infants, 1902, made it appear practicable and desirable to a majority of the Cumberland Presbyterians (p. 619) to unite with this body. They had found it impracticable to unite with the Southern Methodists, with whom they had always had much in common, because of Methodist denial of the necessary "perseverance of the saints." A minority of the Cumberlands used every available means, including the civil courts, to defeat the union and have continued their separate denominational life and work.

In 1925 the Northern Presbyterians completed the reorganization of their various cooperative agencies and put all the separate boards under the supervision of a General Council, subject to the authority of the General Assembly.

Southern Presbyterians are still strictly Calvinistic,

requiring subscription to the Westminster Confession as a condition of acceptance as ministers or office-bearers. They lay stress on the plenary inspiration and inerrancy of the Scriptures. They regard the ordination of women to the ministry as distinctly unscriptural and contrascriptural. They are actively engaged in all departments of Christian work and their membership ranks high in Christian character and activities.

According to the United States religious census of 1926 the Northern Presbyterians had a membership of 1,894,030; the Southern, 451,043.

XI. BAPTISTS

Little that is especially noteworthy has occurred among Baptists since the beginning of the century. There has been steady progress in numbers, in missionary and educational activities and in resources. Circumstances, including the World War, have militated against any large increase in membership or enterprises on the part of English Baptists, but they have, to a remarkable degree, maintained their home and foreign missions and educational work, and their position as one of the leading Free Church denominations. With far more favorable conditions, American Baptists have gone forward more noticeably than most other evangelical bodies in the United States. Canadian Baptists, constituting a small percentage of the evangelical population, have progressed slowly, but have heroically maintained their home and foreign missionary and educational work.

Perhaps the most noteworthy achievement of Baptists during the present century was the organization in London in 1905 of the Baptist World Alliance. The object in view was not to insist upon uniformity in doctrine or practise, but to bring the Baptists of the world into a closer, friendlier, and more helpful relation to one another, and to facilitate the spread of Baptist

principles regarded as vital among all peoples. The chief officers are the president and the general secretary. The president is elected for the three years' interval between Congresses, and is expected to issue from time to time through the denominational press edificatory addresses, and, if possible, to make a world tour of the Baptist constituency, including foreign mission stations, holding inspirational meetings in each country. He is usually accompanied by the general secretary, whose tenure of office is more permanent, and who is supposed to keep in touch with the entire constituency and to use all the influence at his command on behalf of oppressed and persecuted Baptists.

Northern and Southern Baptists are nominally on the same footing. There is a perfectly free interchange of ministers and church-members, each freely enjoys the educational facilities of the other, and each sends a fraternal delegate to the Convention of the other. Yet there is a considerable and increasing divergence in the attitude of the two sections in regard to what for convenience may be designated modernistic modes of thought. The Divinity School of the University of Chicago, still listed in the Baptist *Year-Book* as Baptist, is now practically undenominational or interdenominational, Baptists of the liberal type cooperating with Congregationalists, Disciples, and others on a modernistic basis. The older Northern Baptist theological seminaries have all become avowedly modernistic.

Recently (1931) Newton, the oldest of them all, was amalgamated with Andover Theological Seminary as the Andover-Newton Theological School.

A significant indication of the liberal attitude of Northern Baptists as compared with Southern was the pronouncement preceding the union consummated in 1911 with the Free-will or Free Baptists of New England (see p. 701 seq.). At the Northern Anniversaries in 1905 it was declared: "We are of the

opinion that Baptists and Free Baptists are so near together in faith and practise that cooperation is not only desirable, but may be made practicable." In 1907 the newly organized Northern Baptist Convention declared the two bodies "in all essentials of Christian doctrine, as well as of church administration and polity . . . substantially one." In 1908 a joint committee adopted a platform with the understanding that "differences, if still existing, may be left where the New Testament leaves them—to the teaching of Scripture under the guidance of the Holy Spirit." The union seems to have been a complete success. No such negotiations were inaugurated or could have been carried to a successful issue between Southern Baptists and Southern Free-will Baptists.

A considerable number of churches and associations in Southern Illinois withdrew some years ago from the Northern Convention and united with the Southern, on the ground of the doctrinal and practical laxity of the former. Two well-known Baptist churches, one in New York and the other in Chicago, have, among other innovations, ceased to require baptism (immersion or other), as a condition of church-membership.

There is still a strongly conservative element among Northern Baptists, which voices its protest against modernism in the Conventions, and which has established seminaries in Chicago and Philadelphia for the education of conservative preachers and missionaries. It appears that a large proportion of the most active opponents of modernism are premillennialists, some of them representing the Second Coming of Christ as indescribably sanguinary. The oldest and perhaps the most influential of the Northern Baptist weeklies is still conservative and is premillenarian.

The Southern Baptists are to a great extent still loyal to the old standards of orthodoxy, look with disfavor upon any compromising measures, such as comity in mission fields; seek to exclude the teaching

of the doctrine of evolution from their educational institutions; and refuse membership in such interdenominational organizations as the Federal Council of Churches. The union of either of their theological seminaries with one of another denomination would not be considered. The denominational weeklies and the periodicals of the Sunday-school Board carefully avoid the publication with approval of anything savoring of modernism. Evangelism is still in vogue and great numbers of accessions are gained every year through "protracted meetings." Premillennialism seems to be gaining ground among Southern Baptists. The Negro Baptist organizations do not represent differences in doctrine or practise. They are in general accord with those of Southern Baptists.

According to the latest statistics Baptists of all parties in the United States number 9,141,856. Baptists throughout the world number over 11,000,000.

XII. RUSSIAN CHRISTIANITY FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY ONWARD

1. *Ivan IV, and the Orthodox Church (1533-1584)*

With the fall of the Eastern Empire, Russia was prepared to come forward as the Christian Empire of the North and East and the control of the Orthodox church passed over from the Greeks to the Slavs. The Russian rulers soon began to adopt the title Czar (Cæsar) and a Russian Patriarchate was established with the cooperation of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, who were at the time in sore need of financial aid and had little actual authority.

Ivan IV (the "Terrible") inherited the Russian throne when a child. When he began to rule he showed marked ability as a soldier and administrator. He soon brought order into his vast domain, deprived the Tatars of their remnant of power, provided the church with Bibles and other religious literature, brought order into the administration of monasteries and churches, ap-

pointed prelates, and deposed or executed them on the slightest suspicion of insubordination.

He organized a body-guard of six hundred young men ("Peculiars") who accompanied him and were ready to execute his most atrocious orders on civil and ecclesiastical offenders. A document has been preserved in which he asked for the prayers of the church for 986 of his victims, and gave a list of 3,470 of those who had suffered, apparently, at his hands. He was deeply religious in his way and punctilious in the observance of church rites. A Polish poet characterized him as "the most finished tyrant known in history." A Russian historian wrote, "His conversion would have scandalized the world and shaken belief in Providence. He had advanced too far into hell to be able to turn back."

The plenipotentiary Patriarchate was established not under Ivan but under his comparatively weak son Feodor (1583-1598). Up to this time and later there was little education in Russia. Literature of any kind was exceedingly scarce and the priests could only go through the liturgical ceremonies, perform marriage, funeral, and baptismal rites, and promote the superstitious veneration of the icons.

2. *Cyril Lukar and Peter Mogilas*

a. Cyril Lukar and His Creed. During the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century the Russian church was sorely pressed by Jesuitical propaganda in the Polish territory, that had been acquired in little Russia, by Lutheran propaganda, and in Lithuania and the Ukraine, by the efforts of Cyril Lukar (born 1572). He had been educated in Italy and had become familiar with Roman Catholic and Protestant thought. Returning to the East he was promoted from stage to stage until he became Patriarch of Constantinople (1620). As patriarch he came into close relations with Protestant members of the diplomatic corps and with Jesuit leaders. His relations with the former were friendly, with the latter the reverse. He read much Protestant literature, especially the writings of Arminius and other liberal Reformed theologians. His correspondence with Arch-

bishop Abbott of England led to his gift to Charles I of the *Codex Alexandrinus*. He was greatly influenced by Antoine Leger (1628 onward), who resided in Constantinople for several years and secured the publication of the Bible in modern Greek (1638). In his Confession of Faith (1629) Cyril sought to harmonize moderate Calvinism with Greek church orthodoxy. His Jesuit enemies sought in every way to discredit him with churchmen and the Sultan, who deposed and restored him five times and finally had him strangled and thrown into the sea on suspicion of treason (1638).

b. Peter Mogilas and His Confession. To counteract the influence of Cyril's creed, of Lutheranism in newly annexed and contiguous territory, and of Roman Catholic Jesuitical propaganda in Poland and Little Russia, Peter Mogilas (born 1597), a high-born Moldavian, educated at the University of Paris, successively soldier, monk, Archimandrite, Metropolitan of Kiev and Exarch of the Patriarch, drew up (1640), in collaboration with others, an "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East," which after much revision was approved by the Czar and published in several languages. It defines and emphasizes orthodox doctrine with special emphasis on the points of dissent from Roman Catholic and Protestant teaching. Besides the Confession Mogilas prepared or caused to be prepared a number of liturgical and devotional books, translations of lives of the saints and extracts from the Greek fathers, for whose publication he procured and set up a printing press. He founded an academy and a library for the education of clergy, etc. He gave a considerable impulse to Russian culture, which was still exceedingly backward. Mogilas died in 1647. (See the Confession or Catechism in full in modern Greek in Michalcescu, and the more important parts in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom.*)

His Confession has retained its authority side by side with that of Dositheus contained in the decrees of the Jerusalem Synod of 1672. This Synod was concerned to deny that Cyril Lukar was author of the Protestantizing Confession ascribed to him, to vindicate his orthodoxy and to condemn and anathematize Protestantism as the "supreme Coryphæus of heresies."

3. *Nikon and His Reforms*

When Michael Romanov ascended the throne (1619) his father was made Patriarch and became virtual ruler of church and state. The third in succession, Nikon, exercised for several years similar authority under the Czar Alexis.

Much disorder, which earlier Czars and Patriarchs had endeavored to correct, had from ignorance or heathenish superstition developed in the rites of the church, the manuscript liturgies, etc., which were supposed to be literal translations of the early Greek service books. Nikon, who was able, but arbitrary, arrogant and cruel, resolved to use his authority for bringing order and uniformity into the services of the churches and monasteries and to raise the educational qualifications of parish clergy so that they would at least be able to read the liturgies. Without securing the approval of those in charge he sent officers to install the newly prepared rituals and ikons, and to seize and destroy those in use. Many of the churches and monasteries had secured ikons painted in the "Frankish" manner. Multitudes of priests, monks, and people regarded these proceedings as outrageous, and resisted to the utmost. As the young king developed in a realization of his authority, his political advisers (the "royars") encouraged him to exercise his prerogatives, and as Nikon had on some occasions acted very offensively toward them and him, Nikon was deprived of his office and imprisoned in a monastery for the rest of his life (1658). Nikon had exiled to Siberia his leading opponents and had their tongues cut out to render them harmless.

The government confirmed the reformatory work that he had accomplished and required unconditional submission to the obnoxious changes. Many defied the authorities and became dissenters.

It should be borne in mind that the changes were almost wholly liturgical. Stress was laid by the dissenters (Raskolniks, Old Believers) on the insertion of a letter in the name of Jesus, the omission of a superfluous "but," the introduction of a threefold "Hallelujah" instead of a twofold, a different arrangement of the fingers in the sign of the Cross, and like non-essential things. It is probable that the "Old Believers" were and are more idolatrous and superstitious than members of the Orthodox church. They were deprived of the use of church property, heavily taxed, and in some periods severely persecuted. Having

only one ordained prelate at the time of the schism who died soon afterward, and believing as many of them (the Pepovsky) did in the requirement of ordination for the valid administration of the Supper, they had recourse to renegade priests from the established church, while others (the Bezpopovsky) disapproved of such services and reconciled themselves to temporary deprivation until the Lord should send them an ordained prelate. Baptism could be validly administered by the unordained. Not until 1846 did the Pepovsky secure a metropolitan capable of ordaining priests, in the person of Ambrose, a deposed Bosnian bishop, who united with them, but was not allowed to live in Russia. (For fuller account of Raskolniks see section on Russian Dissent.)

4. *Peter the Great (1689-1725) and the Holy Synod*

Peter, son of Alexis by a second marriage, four years old when his father died, was brought up by his half-sister Sophia, who became regent and is said to have neglected the education of Peter with a view to his permanent incapacity to rule. Yet when seventeen years of age he had developed a masterful spirit and an ambition to place Russia side by side with the great manufacturing, commercial, and well-educated nations of Europe, such as England, Germany, and France. With the help of the royars he now ascended the throne, imprisoned Sophia in a convent, and entered upon the stupendous task of modernizing and civilizing his still barbarous country. Having firmly established himself as Czar he visited the great manufacturing centers of Western Europe and familiarized himself with methods of manufacture and trade. He was so interested in ship-building that he took his place at Deptford side by side with the workers. It may be said that he succeeded to a considerable extent in modernizing his great domain. With a view to building up a naval power he established a new capital on the Baltic, St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Institutions of learning were multiplied.

Having in view the domineering of Nikon and some of his predecessors and realizing that because of the superstition of the people the authority of the Patriarch exceeded that of the Czar, he resolved to abolish the patriarchal office and to put ecclesiastical matters in the hands of a commission of prelates

and laymen over which a High Procurator, completely in his confidence and wholly subservient, should preside, and without whose approval no action could be taken. This body was dubbed "The Holy Synod." Thus, without claiming to be supreme head of the church he was able to exercise complete control. He was tolerant in spirit, and encouraged Germans and English, who could help forward his economic schemes, to settle in Russia without changing their religion. From this time onward great numbers of German Lutherans settled in Russia and Lutherans in annexed territory have been tolerated. German Mennonites were encouraged to take up farming lands, and being skilful and industrious farmers they became exceedingly prosperous and enjoyed the special favor of the later Czars.

5. *Catherine II and the Confiscation of Church Estates*

The monasteries had become numerous and had acquired much of the best farming land. At one time they are said to have possessed nearly a million serfs. Peter did not think it best to confiscate their estates. It was left for Catherine II (1762-1796), a shockingly immoral woman but an able ruler, to confiscate the property of churches and monasteries and to put monks and clergy alike on the pay-roll of the State. Catherine was of German birth and had come under the influence of French skepticism. She was tolerant toward dissent, but considered it good policy to support liberally the Orthodox church, and to promote learning and the fine arts. The millions of serfs taken over with the monastic and ecclesiastical estates remained in bondage to the Czars.

6. *Nicholas I (1825-1855) and Alexander II (1855-1881)*

Nicholas I persecuted dissenters and induced a million and a half Roman Catholics in Poland to conform.

Alexander II (1855-1881) is most favorably known as the emancipator of twenty-three millions of serfs. He suffered defeat in the Crimean War. Yet he acquired considerable Turkish territory and greatly extended his possessions in central and eastern Asia.

He introduced many civil reforms, but refused to meet the demands of socialists and constitutional reformers and was assassinated by members of the former. He was tolerant in his relations with Russian dissent, but uncompromising in his attitude toward the rebellious Poles.

One of the worst features of this and succeeding reigns was the banishment of political offenders to Siberia, where conditions of living were extremely severe. Radical antagonism to the autocratic government was manifested in socialistic, communistic, nihilistic and anarchistic propaganda, which threatened to dominate the educational institutions, the press, the army, and the city proletariat.

7. *The Later Czars*

Urged on by their highly privileged advisers, they adopted more and more drastic measures for the suppression of revolutionary propaganda. The monarchy was greatly weakened by the defeat of the Russian army and navy at the hands of Japan (1905). The granting of religious toleration in 1905 may probably be regarded as a sop to Cerberus. Tolstoi's radical social religious views no doubt contributed in some degree to the overthrow of irresponsible monarchy. The conscripting of an enormous army, many of whose members were German and in sympathy with Germany, inadequately equipped and poorly officered and fed, to fight against the thoroughly equipped German-Austrian armies, and the merciless massacre of the Russian soldiers, compelled the Russian authorities to desert the Allies and make a separate peace with Germany.

8. *The Revolution and the Soviet Government*

The peace with Germany was speedily followed by the dethronement and cruel execution of the Czar

and his family, and after a feeble effort to form a constitutional government under Kerensky, to the triumph of the extreme socialist (Bolshevik) party, which proceeded to confiscate all church property, not previously appropriated by the monarchy, and the vast estates of the Czar, the nobles, and the entire propertied class, to distribute the land among the peasants, and to use the wealth acquired in equipping and supporting a great army and in seeking to build up industries and trade on a communistic basis. The nobles and all suspected of hostility to the new régime were executed on the slightest manifestation of insubordination. Many managed to escape by flight.

9. *Russian Sects*

a. General Observations. It is probable that dissenters of the earlier type, such as Paulicians, Bogomiles, Marcionites, and Massalians, in degenerate or modified forms, persisted throughout the medieval and modern times in the southwestern parts of Russia, especially in the Ukraine and Lithuania. The Hussite, Taborite, and Bohemian Brethren movements exerted considerable influence in these regions. With the acquisition of Lithuania and the Baltic provinces *millions of Lutherans* became subjects of the Czars. Modified *Calvinism, Socinianism,* and *Antipedobaptism* persisted to some extent as well as *Roman Catholicism,* in the Polish and Transylvanian territory.

A significant feature of Ukranian-Cossack religious life was the *organization of Brotherhoods* of the intelligentsia, first under Hussite and later under Protestant influence. In the later time they sought to protect the Orthodox hierarchy against Jesuitical propaganda, established several institutions, educational and philanthropical, and in some cases adopted the name "Society of St. Cyril and Methodius" in honor of the early Slavic missionaries. These

brotherhoods were almost exterminated under Catherine II.

b. The Stundists. A far more important and persistent movement was that of the Stundists, whose name is derived from Gebetstunde (hour of prayer). Three Ukranian Cossack peasants, Rutushnij, Rabosshapka, and Cymbal, were converted in meetings of a group of German Pietists who had settled in their neighborhood after the time of Catherine II. These converts spread their teachings among members of the Orthodox church. For some time they remained nominally members of the Orthodox church, but rapid increase in numbers and ill treatment led to separation. This movement is said to have originated in Norway and to have spread to Denmark and Germany, and thence to the Ukraine.

A somewhat similar movement was inaugurated at Kiev in 1870 by German Baptists and Mennonites, who adopted the name *Baptists* or *Brethren of Christ.* These seem to have become affiliated with the earlier party. A conservative estimate in 1900 gave to the Stundists a membership of two millions. More recently they have been credited with eight million members in Ukrania. A large proportion of them practise believers' baptism by immersion. They seem never to have had a general organization. All profess allegiance to Christ as he is revealed in the New Testament, and lay much stress on devotional meetings. The Stundists have from the beginning belonged almost exclusively to the peasant class and have enjoyed few educational advantages.

Basil Kusiw, a present-day Presbyterian Ukranian, describes their doctrine and practise as follows: "They acknowledge only the baptism of adults, and these are baptized in the rivers. Once a month they have communion service in houses of prayer. . . The general service consists of reading an exposition of the Bible, prayer, and the singing of hymns. The

Bible is the only rule of faith." According to recent accounts many thousands of the Stundists have become professed Baptists.

Since the Revolution the Ukranian intelligentsia have been more appreciative of Stundism, and Stundists have become more interested in education. The fifty thousand Ukranian exiles in Bohemia are said to have two thousand students in the universities.

c. The Dukhobortsi. The Dukhobortsi are a mystical sect that has much in common with the Khlysty, although no historical connection appears. We first meet them in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Eskaterinslav. Repudiating all of the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Orthodox church they were mercilessly persecuted, the officials regarding them as all the more dangerous because of their moral rectitude. They were sober and industrious, paid their taxes regularly, and fulfilled all their social duties. They spread rapidly over Southern Russia and the Caucasus, and northward to Archangel, Finland, and Siberia. They call themselves *Christians,* consider themselves all that was left of the universal and apostolic church, and claim to be filled with the Spirit. In their meetings they sing psalms and discuss the Scriptures from memory alone. They practise communism and emphasize brotherly love. They surpass in hospitality and under the Czars kept special apartments for the accommodation of government officials and strangers. Every Dukhobor is regarded as the Trinity incarnate just as Jesus was. They claim that their elders know more than Jesus did. They repudiate miracles such as the resurrection and bodily ascension of Jesus and regard regeneration as the great miracle. An adult baptizes himself with the word of truth and is then baptized with the Holy Spirit and with fire. The only communion recognized is forgiveness of sins and inward acceptance of divine truth. They regard external sacraments as

offensive to God. Jews, Mohammedans, and others may be saved by hearkening to the inward word. So far as they make use of the Scriptures they interpret them symbolically in a way to support their contentions. They deny the existence of heaven and hell and disbelieve in bodily resurrection. They believe in the transmigration of souls. While they teach that Christ is born again in every true believer, a leader appears among them from time to time who gains recognition as Messiah. They insist upon the universal priesthood of believers. "There is a God. He is a Spirit. He is in us, we are God." When they bow to each other they are bowing to the inexpressibly precious image of God. Husbands and wives are equally free to quit each other and to form new connections, if either suspects the other of lack of spirituality. Like Waldenses, Anabaptists, and Quakers, they reject oaths, warfare, and magistracy. Because of their refusal of military service and other disloyal principles they were mercilessly persecuted. Through the good offices of Tolstoi and the Quakers about ten thousand were settled in Western Canada in 1887. Because of their communistic principles these have been invited by the Soviet government to return to Russia, but have declined to do so.

d. The Molokani (Milk Drinkers). Like most of the sectarian names this is not a self-chosen one, but was applied to them because they disregarded the prohibition of the use of milk on fast days. They call themselves *Spiritual Christians*. They claim to have originated in the time of Ivan IV as a result of the visit of an English physician, but they are thought to be an offshoot from the Dukhobors. They are in accord with the mystical views of this sect, but they are less fanatical and more rational in their understanding of the indwelling Christ in each believer. They repudiate all the forms, ceremonies, idol worship, formulated doctrines of the Orthodox

church, oaths, warfare, capital punishment, magistracy, water baptism, and physical celebration of the Supper. They are less self-contained and more aggressively propagandist than the Dukhobors, have had more educated leaders, and have often confounded the Orthodox priests in argument. They give more attention to the study of the Scriptures than Dukhobors or Orthodox, discuss them in their meetings, and use them in defence of their teachings, but allegorize or spiritualize as suits their purpose. A considerable amount of their devotional, apologetical, and polemical literature has been made available in English by Frederick Conybeare in his "Russian Dissenters." Most of them were driven by severe persecution from the Ukraine where they abounded into the Caucasus and Siberia. They are said to be recognizable by their fine countenances and physiques.

e. Baptists. According to Spinka "the best elements of the Molokans" (meaning probably the most evangelical) were won over by the Baptists under the leadership of Pavlov. These with hundreds of thousands of Stundists and a group of evangelicals led by Lord Redstock, constitute the Baptists of Russia.

According to Prokhanoff, President of the Evangelical Christian Union, one of the large Baptist bodies made up mostly of Stundists, the phenomenal growth of Russian Baptists began in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century largely as a result of the publication of the Bible in modern Russian. He stated in 1924 that a movement was on foot for the union of this body with the other large Baptist body led by Pavlof (Molokans) and other smaller groups. It was his opinion that there were at that time more than 3,500,000 Baptists in Russia. The two large bodies had been permitted cooperatively to establish a preachers' college in Leningrad, which in 1924 had a student-body of forty-eight. Sir Bernard Pares, Slavonic professor in the University of London,

thinks there are at least 2,000,000, while Spinka's guess is 1,500,000, and Rushbrooke does not venture beyond 1,000,000.

Several other denominations, English and American, have done missionary work among the Russians and gained each a few thousand adherents.

There are now in the United States and Canada about 1,000,000 Russian Christians representing several different communions, the Orthodox being divided between the Patriarchal and Synodical parties.

f. The Raskolniks. Those members of the State church who resisted the changes wrought by Nikon and the Czar, whose policy was regarded as anti-Slavic, pro-German, and antichristian, were most numerous in the Ukranian and Caucasus regions. As they had only one bishop, who died in 1656, those who felt that the validity of priestly ministration depended wholly upon ordination by a bishop were sorely distressed. Their needs were partially supplied by renegade priests from the Orthodox church; but they sought in every way, including deputations to the East, to secure a properly qualified bishop. They found at last a discreditable and discredited Oriental who was glad of the emoluments but unsympathetic in his work, and who was obliged to reside in Austria. Later they secured permission to have a Russian bishop. From time to time they were severely persecuted and were dispersed over all Russia, including Siberia and Archangel. The *Popovtsy* (Priest party) were no more evangelical than the Orthodox church, and seem to have been even more superstitious and idolatrous. Their extreme hostility to the Czar was a chief cause of their persecution. On one occasion four thousand of them burned themselves with their monastic building rather than submit to the punitive measures of the police. Toleration and freedom to form establishments in the cities were granted by the government in 1863. In 1908 they had fifteen.

bishops and an archbishop, who resided in Moscow, and were permitted to hold annual synods. Efforts were made without large success to win them over to a Uniat position, with the privilege of retaining their modes of worship, crossing, etc. From the beginning they have insisted that "the sole head of Holy Church is our Lord Jesus Christ." The Raskol as a whole is faring better at the hands of the Soviet government than the Orthodox because of their sympathetic attitude toward communism and their hostility to the government of the Czars. The parties that heartily accept the communistic principles of the Soviet fare best of all.

The *Bezopopovtsy* (Priestless party). From an early date a large proportion of the Raskolniks, which became later a large majority, disapproved of the frantic efforts of the Popovtsy to supply themselves with priests and reached the conviction that the age of antichrist was already present and that all ordinances, except baptism which could be administered by a layman or self-administered, should be discontinued. They considered baptism administered in the Orthodox or Popovtsy churches as invalid. One of their leaders who had been baptized by an Orthodox priest and again with the Popovtsy, baptized himself over again. Recognition of the validity of any act of the apostate State church was bowing the knee to Baal. To contribute to State church charities was to crucify Christ afresh. They soon became divided into several groups which vied with each other in fanatical zeal. One group thought it more meritorious to burn themselves alive rather than to submit to any government requirements and were denominated *Self-burners*. Another repudiated the use of government money and passports and the payment of the double taxes long exacted by the government of all Raskolniks.

Among the most fanatical parties was the *Stranniki*

(Wanderers) who thought Christians should have no abiding-place, but should be pilgrims on earth. Some rather large communities were formed in unfrequented regions, whose huts were provided with secret cellars and hiding-places. Those who were permitted to remain in the settlements must promise to become pilgrims ultimately.

Another sect the *Netovski* (Nothingites), like the medieval Brethren of the Free Spirit and other extreme mystics conceived themselves as so spirit-filled and so identified with God that nothing material mattered. They practised self-baptism and self-conducted marriage rites and had no regard for the letter of Scripture.

The *Prayerless* assumed a similar attitude and insisted that the use of the vocal organs in prayer was inadmissible.

Closely related to the last two sects were the *Khlysty* (Sighers), who maintained that they were living in the age of the Holy Spirit which began the eight thousandth year after the creation. Hence spiritual worship conceived of as spiritual aspiration manifested itself in *sighs*. They were said to indulge in wild religious dances and continue their frantic kicking, hopping, leaping, and shrieking until they are bathed in sweat, foaming at the mouth, and when finally exhausted drop upon the floor, a sign that they are filled with the Spirit. Having become spirit-filled they speak with tongues and are free to discard earlier marriage relations and to form new ones. They are commonly believed to close their religious dances with indiscriminate debauchery. Some of their practises are thought to be derived from Finnish Shamanism. They regard Jesus as a mere man until adopted as Son of God at his baptism, disregard his supernatural birth and resurrection, hold that he becomes reincarnate in every believer and appears as Messianic leader from time to time. About 1645 an educated

peasant, a deserter from the army, who came to be known as Danila, claimed that God descended from heaven and constituted him the Living God. He was said spiritually to have begotten Suslov of a woman a hundred years old, who thus became Mother of God. The tradition is that when Suslov was thirty years old, Danila ascended with him to Heaven and conferred Godhood upon him; that he was crucified by the Czar three times (once flayed, and each time rose from the dead; that after his third resurrection he evangelized for thirty years and ascended to Heaven leaving his body behind; that Danila lived to be a hundred years old and went bodily to Heaven, January 1, 1700, and that this occasioned the adoption by the government of January 1 as the beginning of the year. Naturally a type of religion that has so many miracles to its credit along with its mysticism, jumping, dancing, singing, and ecstacies, with its repudiation of marriage and its freedom in forming and dissolving spiritual unions of men and women, spread rapidly among the rude peasantry, notwithstanding severe persecution.

The *Skoptsy* (Eunochs), who call themselves *White Doves,* led by one who came to be called Selavanov, a member of the Khlysty, who seems to have been repelled by the immoralities of the sect, reached the conviction that self-castration (male and female), which he identified with baptism with the Holy Spirit and with fire, was the only way to salvation. This rite, which he administered to himself with a red-hot iron, along with the mystical elements of the Khlysty, gave him enormous influence, and the Skoptsy are said to have taken Russia by storm. Many of the members engaged successfully in business and some became wealthy. It seems to be the conviction of their leaders that when the number (Rev. 14:4) 144,000 of virgins who have not defiled themselves with women is reached Selavanov will return and inaugu-

rate the millennium. It is thought that this number had been approximated at the time of the Revolution. They are said to be noted for their benevolence and good behavior.

10. *The Patriarchal Party and the Holy Synod*

Long before the revolution wide-spread dissatisfaction with the administration of the Holy Synod was manifest in the Orthodox church, and demands were made for the assembly of representatives from all Russian constituencies and missions to consider the situation and, if possible, to secure the reestablishment of the Patriarchate. "The Great Sobor of 1917" assembled in Moscow early in that year. During its sessions the Empire fell, the Kerensky Duma was held and was dissolved by the Bolshevik régime. The reestablishment of the Patriarchate and the election of Tikhon as Patriarch was disapproved by the Soviet State, Tikhon was imprisoned, and his leading associates were imprisoned, exiled, or executed. Church groups who sympathized with the Soviet government were encouraged by the latter to reorganize the Orthodox church with bishops and clergy in harmony with the government. The Sobor called for such reorganization, abolished the Patriarchate, deposed Tikhon, and declared communism as expounded by Karl Marx essential to salvation. These proceedings created so much disturbance that the Soviet attempted to restore the Patriarchate and invited Tikhon to resume his office with the understanding that he would cooperate with the government. He died before he could resume his office.

The Synodical party that opposed the attempted restoration of the Patriarch and the hostile and defiant attitude of Peter, to whom he delegated the patriarchal authority, proceeded to organize itself as the Church of the Holy Synod (the New Church, the Living Church), reorganized the Holy Synod of clerical and lay members, and in a Sobor (1923) introduced a number of important reforms, providing for married prelates, allowing widowed priests a second marriage, arranging for the autonomy of the various provinces with prelates of their own, and declaring hearty accord with the Soviet government. The Synodical party sought repeatedly to effect reconciliation with the Patriarchal party, but Peter was as uncompromising as Tikhon. Most of the prelates

of this party were soon banished or imprisoned, and no Sobor was permitted by the government. The Synodical party seems to be less idolatrous and less dominated by ancient forms, ceremonies, and doctrinal definitions, and to be in every way more progressive than the Patriarchal. It secured the approval of several Greek prelates and the allegiance of perhaps a third of the membership of the Orthodox church.

Since 1929 no Christian party has been allowed to hold a Sobor or general meeting.

The Soviet schools, which all children are required to attend for three years, inculcate atheism and seek to bring Christianity into contempt. Religious instruction of children in classes is prohibited, but Christian parents can impart such instruction to their children.

It seems to be the unanimous testimony of dissenters of all types that they are better conditioned under the Soviet government than they were under the Czars.

NOTE: Limitation of space made it impracticable to include in the Twentieth Century Supplement many of the comparatively large and well-established denominations, some of which, no doubt, are as worthy of study as those that have been selected. The same may be said of the "Orthodox" churches outside of Russia, regarding whose modern history abundant materials are now available.

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